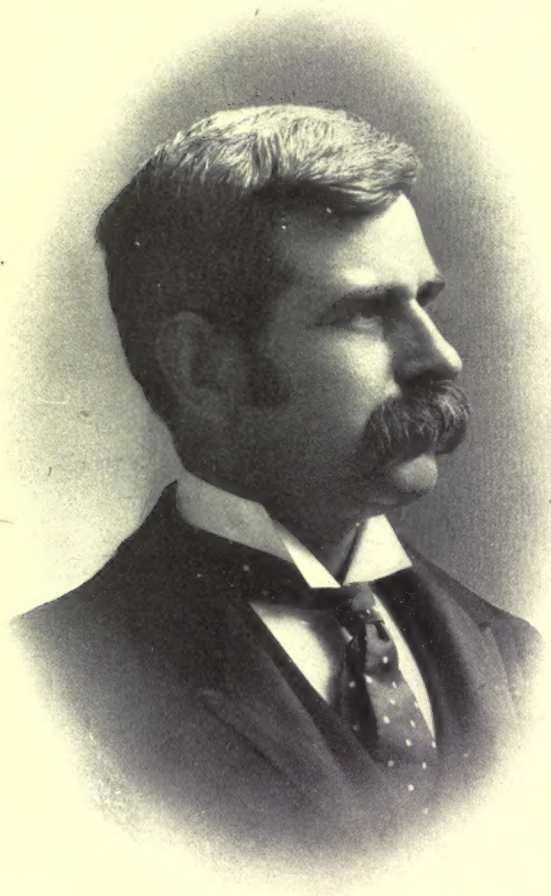


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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Alexander Fraser.



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A HISTORY  
OF  
ONTARIO

Its Resources and Development

BY

Alexander Fraser,  
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189611.

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## PREFACE.

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EOGRAPHICALLY, the Province of Ontario may be considered as the heart of Canada. Her navigable lakes and rivers are the arteries that vitally connect the Atlantic seaboard to the great provinces of the west, while they afford a convenient and valuable means of transportation to her own trade and commerce.

The development of her natural resources has been steady. The field and the forest are yielding of their best to the touch of the specialist; the fisheries and the mines are beginning to show to the explorer and capitalist the magnitude of their all but exhaustless wealth; while the new land of the north offers millions of fertile acres to the enterprising husbandmen who may seek homes on its virgin soil.

The old and the new are combined. The great northland known but yesterday as "New Ontario," is to-day the scene of bustling mining camps, and progressive towns, of railway extension and the manifold activities of sleepless business enterprise—lavishing its untold wealth on the fortunate ones, and holding out inducements "beyond the dreams of avarice." The southern or old counties, that more than a century ago yielded to the axe of the United Empire Loyalist and the British immigrant, have long outgrown the pioneer stage. The well-tilled field, the laden orchard, the comfortable home; the busy artisan, merchant and manufacturer, alike bespeak long-established conditions. Public duty has kept pace with individual advancement. The liberty of the subject, civil and religious, and the rights of property are held in high regard. Democratic government is tempered by wise counsel and directed to the public good. Learning has flourished, its institutions are generously supported by the people, and a high standard of intelligence prevails. The amenities of social life are extensively practised; the people are essentially hospitable, peace-loving and well-behaved.

Ontario, thus happily circumstanced, has a story, interesting and



important, a story of the fading past too; for not only does she share with Quebec in the romance of the early Canadian days, but she has many stirring chapters that are peculiarly her own. In the shelter of her primeval forests, by her streams and lakes, and on her fertile plains, the Indian hunted, fished and cultivated his corn. To him the missionary came, and purchased the land with the price of his martyr blood for a coming civilization. Feud and foray, tribe against tribe, trader against trader—pawns to greater interests on the chessboard of nations, furnish incident and event to which the commingling of human passions lend a never absent pathos.

The great fur trade marks a period of exploration, progressing through conflict and struggle to times of remarkable development and prosperity.

The sufferings and services of the United Empire Loyalists receive considerable attention, for to these pioneers Canada, and especially Ontario, owes a deep debt. They laid the foundations of the province and left to posterity the priceless heritage of loyalty, patriotism and untarnished honor, as well as an example of personal character distinguished for its moral fibre and strength.

From the organization of the province as Upper Canada, down to our own time, the leading political events have been followed, necessarily briefly, yet, it is hoped, nothing essential to the continuity and comprehensiveness of the narrative has been omitted. The demands of space, obvious in a work of this scope, will explain the congestion of data to be noticed on these pages.

Every source of information open to the writer, has been placed under tribute freely, acknowledgment of which will be found in the text. Special thanks are due to Professor W. G. Miller, Toronto, in connection with the chapter on the mineral resources of Ontario; and to Captain E. J. Chambers for that on its military development. The assistance of Mr. J. Stewart Carstairs, B.A., Toronto, was also most helpful; and to him I am under obligation for the kindly, and all too flattering personal reference which closes the biographical sketches in the second volume.

ALEXANDER FRASER.



# CONTENTS.

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## CHAPTER I.

### POSITION AND EXTENT—PHYSICAL FEATURES.

The boundaries of the province—Natural areas—Lower Ottawa—Gananoque and northern townships—Lake Ontario section—Erie and Huron district—Manitoulin and other Islands—The Upper Lakes—James Bay Basin—The lake acreage—Navigable waters—Geology and mineralogy—The great groups—Geological map—Table of mineral production—Iron smelters in operation—Mineral industries—The climate—Flora and fauna. . . . . 1-24

## CHAPTER II.

### NATURAL RESOURCES.

The forest—Appointment of Forestry Commission—Its report—Forest reserves—Timber rights—The farm—Area under cultivation—Northern Ontario—The great clay belt—Water powers in the north—Climate suitable for agriculture. . . . . 25-34

## CHAPTER III.

### THE ABORIGINES—INDIAN TRIBES.

The territory they occupied—From the great lakes northward—Between Lake Erie and the Georgian Bay—Eastwards to the Quebec boundary—Crees, Chippewas, Potawatomies—Iroquois, Eries, Cherokees—The Mississaugas—Hurons—Tionontatis—Neuters—Attitude of the British government—Settlement of Indian lands—Indian reserves—Principal reserves in Ontario. . . . . 35-41

Loyalists—Sacrificed by the British Commissioners in the treaty of peace—Franklin's craftiness—Ryerson's and Sabine's views—The British Parliament intervenes—Commissioners appointed—The loyal Indians—Grants of lands to the Indians—Brant's memorandum—Loyalists settle in Ontario—The townships from Kingston westward occupied—Description by Canniff and Croil—Haldimand's instructions—Land grants to the Loyalists—Lord Dorchester's instructions—The four old districts, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau, Hesse—The Land Boards—Mark of honor for the Loyalists, "U. E."—Claims for compensation for losses sustained.....132-163

## CHAPTER IX.

## UNDER BRITISH RULE.

Pontiac's conspiracy—Siege of Detroit—Fall of Fort Venango—Fort Pitt—Bloody Run—Colonial indifference—Bushy Run—Bouquet's victory—Sir William Johnson's services—Detroit relieved—Governor Murray—Governor Carleton—Growth of trade and commerce—Quebec Act of 1774—Alarm of British settlers—Revolution of 1775—The Canadian frontier—Haldimand as governor—Influx of Loyalists.....164-172

## CHAPTER X.

## THE PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA.

The early settlers—Emigration from the Palatine—The Glengarry Highlanders—Scots' emigration—English and Irish settlers—Division of the Province—Lymburner—The Act of 1791.....173-196

## CHAPTER XI.

## LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS.

Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe—Sir Alured Clarke's proclamation—Simcoe at Quebec—First government of Upper Canada—Personal notes—First



## CONTENTS.

ix

Legislature—The members—Statutes passed—Cartwright's report on the eastern district—Upper Canada *Gazette*—Selecting the capital—London v. Toronto—Simcoe and Dorchester disagree—Second Parliament—Headquarters removed to York—Third Parliament—Indian boundaries—Commissioners at Niagara—Deputation of Miamis to Lord Dorchester—Simcoe erects a fort at Miami Rapids—Fourth Parliament—Rochefoucauld-Liancour—Presbyterians petition against Marriage Act—Fifth Parliament—Simcoe's resignation.....197-218

## CHAPTER XII.

### RUSSELL AND HUNTER—1797-1805.

Hon. Peter Russell, Administrator—Parliament meets at York—Indians protected—The de Puisaye settlement—General Hunter arrives as Lieutenant-Governor—His military duties—A brusque governor—Committee of Council—First ports of entry established—Visit of the Duke of Kent—"Heaven descended barristers"—Loss of the "Speedy"—Death of Governor Hunter.....219-230

## CHAPTER XIII.

### GRANT, GORE AND BROCK—1805-1812.

Hon. Alexander Grant, Administrator—Provincial finances—Appropriation of money for the purchase of science apparatus—Appointment of Francis Gore as Lieutenant-Governor—Thorpe's political agitation—Wyatt and Willcocks—Establishment of district schools—Underhill shot dead by United States soldiers—Absence of Gore—Sir Isaac Brock, Administrator. ....231-237

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE WAR OF 1812-1814.

Desire of United States to possess Canada—Treaties between the Indians and the British—Tecumseh—General Brock—Prevost's policy—Capture of

## CONTENTS.

Mackinaw—General Hull invades Canada—Brock's arrival at Amherstburg—Capture of Detroit—General plan of United States attack—Affair at Gananoque—Battle of Queenston Heights—Fall of Brock and Macdonell—Smyth's empty threats—Operations near Detroit—Ogdensburg taken—The rival fleets on Lake Ontario—Capture and burning of York—Attack on Fort George—Battle of Stoney Creek—Beaver Dam—Laura Secord—Black Rock—Willcocks—Sackett's Harbor—Barclay defeated on Lake Erie—Procter's defeat by Harrison—Chrysler's Farm—Capture of Fort Niagara—Buffalo burned—Outrages at Long Point—Expedition against Oswego—Fort Erie—Burning of the village of St. David's—Lundy's Lane—Drummond's failure before Fort Erie—Kentuckians ravage western Ontario—Michilimackinac and Nottawasaga—Treaty of Ghent.....238-273

## CHAPTER XV.

## LEGISLATION DURING THE WAR—GORE'S RETURN.

Sheaffe, Administrator—De Rottenburg—Sir Gordon Drummond—Monument to Brock—Sir George Murray—Gore—Medals for officers and for Loyal and Patriotic Society—Report on the condition of the country—Legislation—Money for schools—Service of plate for the Lieutenant-Governor—Robert Gourlay—Hon. Samuel Smith, Administrator—Demand for constitutional reform—Colonel Talbot—Rev. Alexander Macdonell and the Highlanders.....274-285

## CHAPTER XVI.

## MAITLAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sir Peregrine Maitland—Political discontent—Restoring the journals of the House—Provincial bank at Kingston—The settlement at Perth—Rev. Wm. Bell—Rev. Dr. Strachan—Sir John Beverley Robinson—Maitland as Administrator of Quebec—Increased representation in The Assembly—Postal charges—Mr. Livius Sherwood, Speaker—Improvement of inland navigation—Failure of the Bank of Kingston—



Lash, Zebulon A.....	721
Laurier, Wilfrid . . . . .	497
Lazier, Samuel S.....	943
Lazier, Stephen F.....	1257
Leckie, William R.....	885
Lee, Lyman . . . . .	867
Lennard, Samuel . . . . .	1209
Lindala, Jaakko . . . . .	758
Lippert, George . . . . .	975
Loftus, John T.....	746
Logan, Frank A.....	1057
Logan, John . . . . .	1065
Lovelace, Edwin J.....	889
Lytle, Thomas A.....	606

MacCallum, George A.....	1031
MacLaren, Alexander F.....	1255
MacLaren, William C.....	937
MacMahon, Hugh . . . . .	536
McBurney, Fred C.....	1056
McCleary, Leonard B. E.....	1096
McClelland, William R.....	1068
McClenchy, Alexander . . . . .	1094
McClung, Maxwell . . . . .	1092
McColl, John B.....	907
McCulloch, Hugh . . . . .	1286
McCutcheon, James K.....	1202
McDougald, John . . . . .	511
McDougall, Allan . . . . .	788
McDougall, John . . . . .	961
McEvoy, John M.....	1212
McGaughey, George A.....	1233
McGillivray, John A.....	1252
McIntyre, Duncan J.....	923
McKay, Daniel H.....	1228
McKellar Bros. . . . .	765
McMurray, William J.....	1300
McLauchlan, James . . . . .	1115
McLaughlin, Robert . . . . .	915
McLaurin, John . . . . .	781
McMichael, Solon W.....	596
McNaught, William K.....	563
McPherson, George G.....	979
McQuay, George . . . . .	1144
Macdonald, John K.....	600
Macdonald, Randolph . . . . .	569
Macdonell, Angus C.....	740
Mackenzie, Philip E.....	819
Mackenzie, William . . . . .	538
Maclaren, William . . . . .	630
Main, John J.....	673
Main, Thomas . . . . .	1079
Makins, James C.....	976
Manion, Patrick J.....	770
Mann, Donald D.....	541
Marks, George T.....	1284
Marquis, Alexander W.....	900
Marsh, Daniel . . . . .	1106
Marshall, Noel G. L.....	592
Marshall, William S.....	1290
Mason, William H.....	1200
Massey, John. . . . .	649
Mathieson, John H.....	992
Matthews, Gordon E.....	941
Matthews, Richard. . . . .	1084
Matthews, Wilmot D.....	561
Maughan, John . . . . .	594
May, George S.....	1177

May, Samuel . . . . .	720
Meagher, John . . . . .	792
Meek, James . . . . .	1272
Meikle, John L.....	1195
Meldrum, William H.....	1154
Melville, Rochfort M.....	636
Menzie, Robert E.....	672
Menzies, George. . . . .	1132
Meredith, William R.....	545
Merner, Samuel . . . . .	1276
Merritt, William . . . . .	894
Middleton, James T.....	863
Millar, Alexander . . . . .	966
Millar, David E.....	1097
Miller, John B.....	755
Millichamp, Reuben . . . . .	660
Milligan, George . . . . .	605
Millman, Thomas. . . . .	1247
Mills, Nathaniel . . . . .	1037
Milne, John . . . . .	1040
Mitchell, William . . . . .	1105
Monro, William . . . . .	1095
Montague, William F.....	873
Monteith, Samuel N.....	580
Moore, George . . . . .	1274
Moore, John M.....	1045
Moore, Samuel J.....	1244
More, Andrew . . . . .	1176
Morphy, Harcourt L.....	1052
Morris, Frederick R.....	772
Morrison, James. . . . .	567
Morrow, William G.....	1151
Morton, Ernest A.....	790
Mowat, Frederick. . . . .	647
Mowat, Oliver. . . . .	1191
Muir, John. . . . .	1011
Muir, John . . . . .	1063
Munro, John M.....	1288
Murphy, Edward . . . . .	1107
Murphy, James . . . . .	777
Murray, Hugh . . . . .	886
Murray, James P.....	625
Murray, John A.....	729
Murray, William A.....	730

Nicholls, Frederic . . . . .	529
Nelles, John A.....	1023
Nelson, William H.....	805
Nesbitt, Wallace. . . . .	574

O'Hara, Henry. . . . .	736
O'Loane, James . . . . .	985
Orchard, William H.....	689
Oronhyatekha. . . . .	1245
Ostrom, T. Marshall.....	681
Owen Sound Iron Works Co.....	1127

Palling, William . . . . .	791
Parker, Robert . . . . .	662
Parker, Stephen J.....	1133
Parsons, Alfred J.....	814
Patterson, Edward G.....	1281
Patterson, John . . . . .	1260
Pedlar, George H.....	1226
Pellatt, Henry M.....	733
Penfold, Thomas. . . . .	804
Pennington, John D.....	1289
Perley, George H.....	833

Perry, James H.....	789
Peterson, Henry W.....	1222
Peuchen, Arthur G.....	1230
Phelps, E. H.....	1102
Phemister, William .....	1061
Phillips, George P.....	1270
Plummer, Frank .....	711
Potter, Charles E.....	1203
Powell, Charles B.....	1178
Puddicombe, Robert W.....	1030
Purdom, Thomas H.....	1019

Quackenbush, Edward . . . . . 1108

Ralston, Albert J.....	608
Ratliffe, William G.....	1048
Rennie, George S.....	1258
Richter, John G.....	1039
Riddell, Andrew.....	888
Riddell, William R.....	717
Rideout, Harding .....	813
Ritchie, Frederick A.....	598
Roberts, James E.....	623
Robertson, David .....	1148
Robertson, Donald M.....	706
Robertson, William J.....	897
Robinson, Horace W.....	1283
Robson, Thomas E.....	1043
Robson, Thomas O.....	995
Rogers, Henry S.....	1161
Roper, Frederic.....	1236
Roschman, Richard .....	974
Ross, David .....	1073
Ross, George W.....	519
Rowland, Frederick J.....	1072
Rumball, Frederick G.....	1024
Rumpel, George .....	969
Russell, James .....	881
Rutherford, George .....	855
Rutherford, John .....	1139
Rutherford, Samuel J.....	678
Rutledge, Albert E.....	785
Rutledge, Edward S.....	776
Rutledge, James .....	924
Ruttan, Robert A.....	1214
Ryckman, Edward B.....	654
Ryerson, George S.....	1186

Sale, Julian .....	628
Sanderson, John A.....	1165
Sanford, W. E.....	1183
Schmalz, William H.....	963
Schofield, Jonathan.....	910
Schreiber, Collingwood.....	838
Scott, William .....	701
Seymour, Walter J.....	1064
Shantz, Dilman B.....	951
Sheldon, William D.....	1219
Shenstone, Joseph N.....	588
Simpson, David B.....	903
Slater, Robert P.....	1058
Smallman, Thomas H.....	1029
Smith, Frederick J.....	560
Smith, Henry R.....	514
Smith, Herbert G.....	1001
Smith, John S.....	892
Smith, Marcus F.....	911
Smyth, Robert.....	970
Snider, William .....	1173

Soper, Warren Y.....	832
Stagg, James W.....	939
Stanley, T. D.....	988
Stevens, Herbert H.....	1168
Stewart, Charles E.....	1114
Stimson, G. A.....	1305
Storey, T. J.....	934
Stratton, James R.....	1156
Strout, Sherman.....	1099
Sutherland, Alexander .....	610
Sutherland, Alexander D.....	1282
Sutherland, George W.....	1076
Sutherland, James .....	1266
Sutherland, Robert F.....	506
Sweet, Theodore.....	893

Telford, William P.....	1122
Telier, Theodore.....	759
Templeman, William .....	503
Thompson, Alexander R.....	1100
Thompson, Alexander W.....	798
Thompson, Robert A.....	857
Thomson, Walter .....	1197
Thomson, Walter W.....	1198
Tilden, John H.....	853
Trinity College School.....	928
Truax, Reuben E.....	1220
Turner, Alexander.....	865

Van Norman, Charles C.....	742
Verity Plough Company.....	1164

Wade, George V.....	1009
Wagner, Charles F.....	756
Waines, Frederick M.....	1081
Walker, Norman.....	1055
Ward, Henry A.....	932
Ward, John J.....	688
Wardell, Alexander R.....	1010
Waterous, Charles H.....	1166
Watson, George H.....	634
Waugh, James M. A.....	1108
Webb, Albert E.....	709
Weller, John L.....	1049
Wheaton, Charles F.....	616
Whelen, Peter .....	847
White, David B.....	1066
White, Humphrey A. L.....	993
Widdifield, Joseph H.....	725
Wigmore, Alfred S.....	700
Williams, Alfred R.....	684
Williams, Robert.....	912
Williams, Samuel J.....	972
Wilson, James M.....	1128
Wood, David B.....	1013
Wood, Edward R.....	544
Woods, George B.....	687
Woods, James W.....	848
Woods, Walter .....	882
Woodside, Thomas A.....	802
Woodyatt, Thomas .....	1010
Wright, Henry .....	668
Wright, John .....	1135
Wyld, Frederick .....	637

Yearsley, Owen J. B.....	747
York, I. E.....	1093
Young, Samuel C.....	779



# THE HISTORY OF ONTARIO

## CHAPTER I.

### POSITION AND EXTENT—PHYSICAL FEATURES.



IN the early times the Province of Quebec embraced the region of Upper Canada and the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, part of Indiana and Minnesota, the country east of the Wabash and north of the Ohio. By the Treaty of Paris, 1783, Canada lost the territory south of Lake Erie as far as the Ohio and all west of Lakes St. Clair and Huron, as far west as the Mississippi River.

The southerly and southwesterly boundaries now consist of the River St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario, the Niagara River, Lake Erie, the Detroit River, Lake St. Clair, the St. Clair River, Lake Huron, the Sault Ste. Marie River and Lake Superior. The international boundary follows the centre line of the various lakes and rivers, with certain deviations, intersecting the northerly shore line of Lake Superior at or near the mouth of the Pigeon River, on the 48th parallel of north latitude, from this point westerly it follows the Pigeon River, a chain of lakes and rivers into the Rainy Lake and River, etc., on to the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods. Thence along a line drawn due north until it strikes the middle line of the course of the river discharging the waters of the lake called Lac Seul, or the Lonely Lake, whether above or below its confluence with the streams flowing from the Lake of the Woods, towards Lake Winnipeg; and thence proceeding

eastward from the point at which the before mentioned line strikes the middle line of the course of the same river (whether called by the name of the English River, or as to the part below the confluence by the name of the River Winnipeg) up to Lac Seul or the Lonely Lake, and thence along the middle line of Lac Seul or Lonely Lake to the head of that lake; and thence by a straight line to the nearest point of the middle line of the water of Lake St. Joseph; and thence along that middle line until it reaches the foot or outlet of that lake; and thence along the middle line of the river by which the waters of Lake St. Joseph discharge themselves to the shore of the part of Hudson's Bay commonly known as James Bay; and thence southeasterly following upon the said shore to a point where a line drawn due north from the head of Lake Temiscamingue would strike it; and thence due south along said line to the head of said lake; and thence through the middle channel of the said lake into the Ottawa River; and thence descending along the middle of the channel of the said river to the intersections by the prolongation of the western limits of the Seigneuries of Rigaud, such midchannel being as indicated on a map of the Ottawa Ship Canal Survey, made by Walter Shanly, C.E., and approved by order of the Governor-General-in-Council dated the 21st July, 1886; and thence southerly following said westerly boundary of Seignury of Rigaud to the southwest angle of the said Seignury; and thence southerly along the western boundary of the augmentation of the Township of Newton to the northwest angle of the Seignory of Longueuil; and thence southeasterly along the southwestern boundary of the said Seignory of Longueuil to a stone boundary on the north bank of Lake St. Frances at the cave west of Point au Baudet, such line from the Ottawa River to Lake St. Frances being as indicated on a plan of the line of boundary between Upper and Lower Canada, made in accordance with the Act 23 Vict. ch. 21, and approved by order of the Governor-General-in-Council, dated 16th March, 1861. The province may be divided into seven natural areas, more or less distinct in their physical, geological and topographical features.

1. *The Lower Ottawa District.*—This district is an agricultural area, occupying the country lying between the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers as far west as a line drawn roughly between Brockville and Perth and a



point on the Ottawa River lying a little to the north of the mouth of the Madawaska River. It presents a generally level surface; the height above the sea at the confluence of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers is about sixty feet, and at the Chaudière Falls on the Ottawa near the City of Ottawa about 118. From those levels the district rises near its northwest boundary to about 400 feet above the sea. The average elevation may be placed at from 200 to 300 feet above the level of the sea. There are large areas of swamp, capable, as a rule, of being readily drained. On the whole it is an area of good fertility. The Rideau Canal passes through the central portion, a large part of its more southern and eastern area is drained by the South Nation River, which rises near the St. Lawrence River in Edwardsburg Township, flowing northeasterly into the Ottawa in Plantagenet Township. The strata of this district are lower silurian overlaid with drift deposits and other more modern superficial accumulation.

2. *The Gananoque and Northern Townships District.*—This section, lying immediately west of that just described is of a different character. It forms a narrow belt of more or less broken and rocky land, extending along the St. Lawrence River between Brockville and Kingston, but in its northern and northwestern extension it widens and covers a large area. In its southern prolongation, it crosses the St. Lawrence River into the State of New York and forms the wild region of the Adirondacks. North of the St. Lawrence River it extends over Leeds and Renfrew and embraces the Northern Townships of Frontenac, Addington, Hastings, Peterborough, Victoria and Simcoe counties, its southern boundary striking the Georgian Bay near the mouth of the Severn River. From this point it forms the shores of the Georgian Bay to beyond Killarney. Its northwestern boundary is to some extent a merely conventional line running from the latter point to near the head of Lake Temiscamingue. The average elevation of the district is about 700 feet above the level of the sea. Lake Nipissing, its largest body of water, lies at an elevation of 665 feet above the sea, but the ground to the north and south of the lake is considerably higher. The maximum elevation is probably 1,000 to 1,100 feet above the sea level. The district is a rugged country of crystalline rocks, high ridges, and hills, and deep swamps and valleys. The soil is rich and productive, and in places

large areas of fertile land are found. It is a land of lakes, rivers and streams. Nearly all the rivers which drain the rich and fertile portions of the older Ontario here find their source. It contains within its limits immense areas of valuable timber, pine, hemlock, spruce and the deciduous trees, oak, maple, birch, beech, elm and ash. The general direction of the river valleys is that of southwest. The principal rivers which have their source within the above area are: the Gananoque, which flows into the St. Lawrence, and which furnishes power to drive all the factories in the thriving town of Gananoque; the Napanee River which flows into the Bay of Quinte near Deseronto, the various falls on which are utilized by mills and thriving industries as at Yarker, Thompsonville, Newburgh, Napanee Mills and Napanee. From Napanee to Deseronto the river is navigable for steamers drawing eight feet of water. The Salmon River, which falls into the Bay of Quinte at Shannonville; the Moira which discharges into the Bay of Quinte at Belleville; the Trent River and its tributaries, the largest river within the area, and which is now being canalized for a six and one-half feet navigation. An immense quantity of water power will be available along the Trent as soon as access can be had to it, a portion of which only is now utilized at Trenton, Campbellford, Hastings, Peterborough and Lakefield. Flowing easterly into the Ottawa River are the Mississippi, Madawaska, Bonnechère, Petewawa, Mattawan, Jocko, Metabechewan, Montreal and the Blanche. Flowing westerly into the Georgian Bay are the Severn, which drains the Lake Simcoe basin, Moon or Muskoka which drains the large area of Muskoka Lake; Seguin, Shawanagan, Magnetewan, and the French. An almost innumerable number of minor streams are to be found, and lakes of greater or less extent abound throughout the entire area. Within the limits of this district lies Algonquin Park, a forest and game preserve; the beautiful district of Muskoka, the tourist's paradise, aptly characterized as the Highlands of Ontario, and the wonderful Lake Temagamingue.

3. *The Lake Ontario Section.*—In this district there is a rich agricultural area, underlaid by limestone, shales and other sedimentary rocks. It ranges along the shore of Lake Ontario. Its eastern and northern limits are bounded by the crystalline region embraced in district No. 2. Its western boundary is the high escarpment which runs from the Niagara River near



Queenston, at first in a westerly direction to the north of Hamilton, then northward and northwesterly to the Georgian Bay by Dundas, Georgetown, Bellefontaine, and Orangeville to the north part of Nottawasaga, and from thence northwesterly by the Blue Mountains, etc., to Cabot's Head on the Georgian Bay. From the later point eastward the district forms the shore of the Georgian Bay to near the mouth of the Severn River. It thus includes portions of the counties of Frontenac, Addington, Hastings, Peterborough, Victoria, Simcoe, Peel, Halton, Wentworth and Lincoln, with the whole of York, Ontario, Durham, Northumberland, Prince Edward and Lennox. Numerous lakes, of which Lake Simcoe is the largest, lie within this district, and especially along its northern edge. The Trent, which rises in the Laurentian country of the north, and flows through a series of lakes into the Bay of Quinte, leading to Lake Ontario, is its most important river. Other streams which flow into the Bay of Quinte are the Napanee River, Salmon River, Moira River. Into Lake Ontario direct are the Humber River and the Credit River, besides a number of smaller creeks. In its surface features the district presents but few marked inequalities of land. The ground rises gradually from Lake Ontario (245.38 feet above the level of the sea) to a series of ridges and table lands running in a generally east and west direction. These ridges are composed of drift materials, gravel, boulders and clay. The highest elevations are about 1,000 feet above the sea level. The highest region in Albion and King Townships has an elevation of about 1,000 feet above the sea level, but becomes gradually lower to the east. Near the village of Stirling, in Hastings County, it averages about 750 feet above the sea level, Lake Simcoe to the north is 719 feet above the sea, and Balsam Lake, the northern part of which lies in the crystalline boundary, has an elevation of 839 feet above the sea. Stoney Lake lies at an elevation of 771 feet above the sea, Melmont and Rice Lakes are approximately 600 feet above the sea level. Scugog Lake, in the midst of the drift ridges, lies at an elevation of 800 feet above the sea. The strata of the district consist essentially of lower Silurian formation overlaid by glacial and post-glacial deposits. Within the district the extent of forest is limited to that left by the farmers, sufficient in most cases to supply fuel and fencing material.

4. *Erie and Huron District.*—This section of country, occupied throughout by comparatively undisturbed limestones and other Silurian and Devonian strata, with overlying drift clays, sands, and more recent superficial surface deposits, is a rich agricultural area. It lies immediately west of the Lake Ontario district. On the south the district is bounded by Lake Erie, on the west by Lake Huron. The greater portion of its area is an elevated tableland from 1,000 to 1,400 feet above the level of the sea. Along its northern edge the ground rises in places to an elevation of 1,600 feet above the sea, but it slopes gradually to the level of Lake Erie on the south (871.50 feet above the level of the sea) and towards Lake Huron on the west (580.2 feet above the sea level). Its surface, except where cut by river valleys, is remarkably even and presents a marked contrast to the rest of Ontario, in the absence of lakes. It is traversed, however, by many important rivers, and especially by the Grand River, falling into Lake Erie, the Thames into Lake St. Clair, the Maitland and Saugeen into Lake Huron. The eastern and northern escarpment is also cut through by numerous small streams. Generally, the watersheds of the rivers and creeks of the district may be said to be cultivated lands, the proportion of forest being rather lower than in any of the settled regions of the province. The strata of the district consist, in its more eastern portions, of middle and upper Silurian representations, with various Devonian formations in the western end. The deep deposits of drift material, as evidenced along the valley of the Grand River, are peculiarly subject to erosion, hence the river carries in flood time an immense quantity of sand, gravel and boulders, wearing the banks and filling up the flats. In the western peninsula is found the natural gas and oil formations. Near Niagara and along the shore of Lake Erie the celebrated peach and grape growing regions lie, the quality and flavor of the fruit of the vicinity being unsurpassed.

5. *The Manitoulin and Other Islands.*—This section is in its geographical and topographical features very similar to the Lake Erie and Huron sections. The eastern end of the Grand Manitoulin Island is Laurentian rock; the middle and western the higher limestone of the Niagara, showing beautiful fossils of the coral and like ages. The northerly shore line is a





VIEW OF NIAGARA FALLS FROM THE CANADIAN SIDE.





bold high escarpment, shelving off to the level of the lake at the south. The island is well timbered and the soil is fertile.

6. *The District of the Upper Lakes.*—This region may be described in general terms as extending over the entire northwestern portion of Ontario, extending along the north shores of Lake Huron and Superior and the international boundary as far west as the western boundary of the province. On the east it is bounded by a conventional line extending from a point just west of Killarney to a point near the head of Lake Temiscamingue, on the north by a more or less irregular line which follows the height of land from near Lake Temiscamingue to Lac Seul on the northwesterly boundary of the province. It forms for the greater part a densely wooded but rugged and mountainous region, broken by numerous bodies of water and underlaid throughout by crystalline rocks of the Laurentian and Huronian series. Over the floor of the crystalline rocks by which the vast region is underlaid, drift clays, sands, gravel and boulders, and post-glacial sands and clays, and other more recent accumulations are spread in many localities. Although the country is newly opened for settlement, yet in places there are large areas of valuable farming land. Along the Sault branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in the vicinity of Thessalon and other points, there are thriving and prosperous farms which rival the older Ontario. Again in the valley of the Rainy River is an extensive tract of rich and fertile soil, and considerable areas of good land are found southwest of Thunder Bay and along the line of the C.P.R. between Port Arthur and Rat Portage. It is, however, a forest region and embraces the southerly slope of the watershed of the upper lakes within its limits. Here is the natural region for extensive forest reserves. The surface of Lake Huron is 580.2 feet above the level of the sea, and that of Lake Superior 600.48 feet above sea level. From these levels the ground rises more or less abruptly to an average height of 1,000 to 1,500 feet above the sea level, with points of considerably greater elevation. The height of land, which, roughly speaking, forms its northerly boundary although shown as a ridge on the maps, is rather a plateau, the rugged hills lie on the slopes approaching the summit. Almost innumerable lakes abound throughout the section. The rivers are large and important streams, the most notable of which are, the

Spanish River, the Missisagua, the Michipicoten, the Magpie, the White, the Nipigon, and the Kaministiquia. Lake Nipigon is the largest lake in the district and lies at an elevation of 852 feet above sea level.

7. *The District of the James Bay Basin.*—This extensive area lying north of the height of land which separates the waters of the St. Lawrence basin from those of the Hudson Bay, extends from the eastern boundary of the province to the western and includes the great clay belt which will be described as some length later on. The district is one of large lakes, and many of them, and the rivers are numerous and important. The southerly edge of the basin lies at an elevation of approximately 1,500 feet above sea level and gradually falls to the sea level at James Bay.

The lake acreage, in detail, is interesting, and, as is furnished by the census of 1901, is as follows: Abitibi (part), 211,680 acres; Bald, 1,320; Balsam, 11,200; Buckhorn, 9,280; Cameron, 3,680; Couchiching, 12,000; Deer, 4,240; Dog, 38,910; Eagle, 81,820; Erie (portion in Canada), 3,211,950; George (portion in Canada), 7,040; Huron, including Georgian Bay (portion in Canada), 9,171,840; La Croix (portion in Canada), 14,850; Long, 48,000; Manitou (Manitou Island), 24,580; Mille Laes, 66,350; Mud, 8,400; Muskoka, 34,509; Namakan (portion in Canada), 12,490; Nipigon, 1,107,200; Nipissing, 211,200; Ontario (portion in Canada), 2,385,292; Panache, 22,730; Pigeon, 9,600; Rainy (portion in Canada), 166,495; Rice, 16,998; St. Clair (portion in Canada), 164,275; St. Francis (River St. Lawrence, part), 15,260; St. Joseph (part), 78,400; Saganaga (portion in Canada), 13,520; Seul (part), 125,440; Simcoe, 173,753; Scugog, 24,986; Stony, 12,000; Sturgeon (English River), 67,760; Sturgeon (Victoria county), 11,200; Superior (portion in Canada), 7,153,856; Temagaminque, 57,960; Temiscamingue (part), 33,280; Wahnapiatae, 28,880; Lake of the Woods (part), 847,720.

A glance at the map of Canada shows how advantageous is the position, geographically, occupied by Ontario among the great provinces of the Dominion. It is practically surrounded by navigable waters, while its surface abounds in lakes and rivers rendering travel easy and pleasant, and, with the net-work of railways (about 7,000 miles), conferring on trade and commerce the inestimable advantages of convenient and inexpensive trans-



portation, the handmaiden of industrial prosperity. An unequalled system of inland waterways is formed by Lakes Superior, Huron, Erie and Ontario, with their connecting rivers and deep water canals, and the outlet of the great St. Lawrence, to the sea, along the full course of which a magnificent shipping is borne.

As now defined Ontario extends over a little more than ten degrees of latitude and over more than twenty degrees of longitude. Its southern border in Lake Erie is to the south of the 42nd parallel, and its northern, at Fort Albany, on James Bay, is traversed by the 52nd, a distance of more than seven hundred and fifty miles, while the distance from Point Fortune, on the Ottawa River, the eastern starting point, to the western boundary on the Winnipeg River, is about a thousand miles. This gives a large area, containing an acreage of 166,951,636, or 260,862 square miles, land and water, the land being 141,125,330 acres, an area larger than the German Empire. It lies on a latitude agreeing, generally, with that of France, Italy and Spain.

#### GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY.

According to the commonly accepted theory, the earth and the other members of the solar system were at one time in a fused or molten condition; hence, the first rocks formed on our globe (through the cooling of the molten mass) belong to the class known as the igneous or heat-formed rocks. These rocks are still being formed (as shown by volcanoes) through the cooling of fluid matter which rises from depths in the interior of the earth through fissures in the crust to or towards the surface.

As the first formed igneous rocks lost heat and became cooler, the water vapor which existed in the atmosphere surrounding the heated earth gradually condensed and was precipitated, forming, it is believed by some, a mantle of water which completely covered the rocky material. As the cooling went on, shrinkage and deformation of the heated earth took place, producing an unevenness or warping of the surface of the rock matter, and causing it to project here and there through the overlying watery envelope. These projections of the rock material were the first land surfaces of the earth, and formed isolated islands at a few points over the surface of the watery envelope or primeval ocean. One of the first of these islands, or

continental shields, to be formed, occupied a large part of what is now the Province of Ontario. At this early time, this land surface was by far the largest of its kind in the Western Hemisphere.

On the exposure of this land surface above the waters, it was acted upon by agents of destruction, generally, air and water, and was broken down, just as rocks are broken down at the present time, into sand, clay and gravel deposits, thus giving rise to newer rocks, which being composed of fragmental material are known as the elastic or fragmental rocks.

If we look at a geological map of Ontario, that is a wide map which shows the distribution of the rocks at the surface of the earth, we can readily trace this history of the evolution of our land surface. A line drawn directly northward from Lake Ontario to James Bay passes, half way to the northward, over what is known as the height of land, which separates the waters flowing south and eastward into the St. Lawrence from those flowing northward into Hudson's Bay. This height of land, and a considerable part of the surface, both southward and northward of it is made up of the older rocks. Further southward along the eastern shore of Lake Huron and along Lakes Erie and Ontario, there is a newer series of rocks, consisting of ordinary limestones and sandstones, which have been formed by the breaking down of the older height of land series. Near the shores of James Bay, northward from the height of land, there is a similar series of rocks, which have been deposited on that northern side of the original rocky surface.

These older rocks of the height of land extend westward along the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior to the Manitoba boundary, and in fact occupy a great part of the Province of Ontario. In some places they and the later limestones, sandstones and other rocks are covered by a mantle of loose clay, sand and other material of comparatively recent age.

In order to give a clear description of the rocks of various ages, it is necessary to give definite names to them. These names are often confusing to readers who have no technical training. If, however, they are considered from a proper point of view, they should not be more confusing than are names which are used in connection with human history. For instance, in the latter subject, we may speak of the Age of Greece or of the Elizabethan



Epoch; similarly in geology, we speak of the early or anciently formed rocks as the Archean or Azoic rocks. These are the rocks which were formed in the first period of the earth's history and are now exposed over the greater portion of the northern part of the province. Then, the later formed rocks which we have referred to as being exposed along the more southern of the Great Lakes and also along James Bay, are given the name of the Paleozoic rocks, because associated with them we find the remains of the oldest known life forms (*palaios* ancient and *zoe* life).

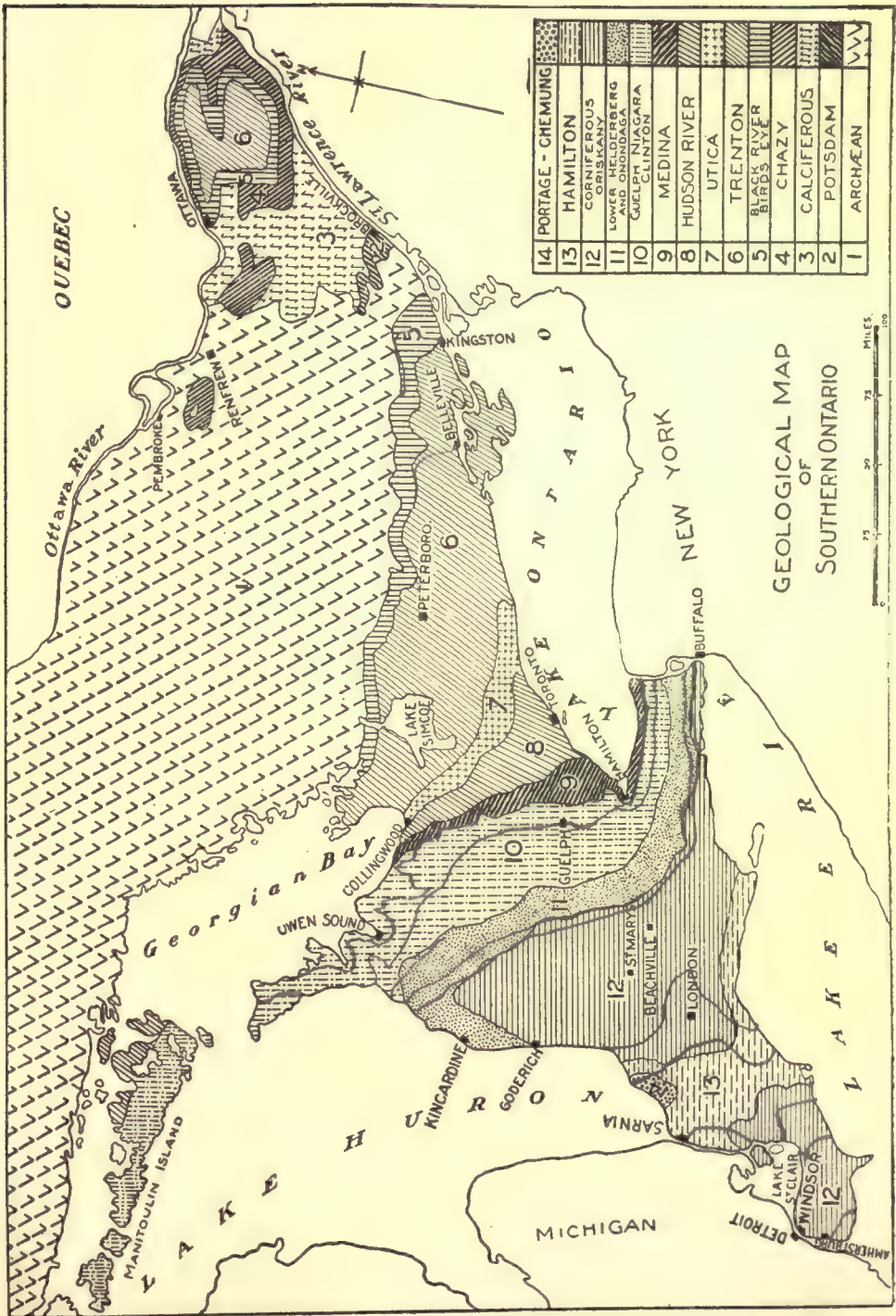
The accompanying map of part of Ontario shows the distribution of these great groups, and the tables gives the names of their sub-divisions. They are named in descending order, as follows, from the youngest to the oldest (pp. 12-13).

It will be seen that the names of a number of these subdivisions are self-explanatory; the name Laurentian having been first applied to the rocks of the Laurentide hills in Quebec Province, and the name Huronian to the rocks on the north shore of the Georgian Bay; the names Cambrian and Silurian were first applied to rocks in Wales, while certain rocks which were first studied in Devonshire were given the name Devonian. The subdivisions of the Silurian and Devonian have names which are derived largely from New York State, where rocks of this class are found which extend across into Ontario. The Cambrian, Silurian and Devonian can be recognized in all parts of the world by the presence in them of the remains of characteristic life forms.

This brief outline of the origin and distribution of the rocks of the province, will, it is hoped, give the reader a sufficient knowledge of them for the purpose of understanding the following brief description of the mines and mineral resources of Ontario.

It may be stated at the outset that the mineral resources of the province, considered as a whole, are somewhat unique in character. Most of our readers know something of the character of the animals of Australia. It has been shown that these animals belong to a past age and differ greatly from the more modern and more highly developed forms of other continents; similarly, many of the economic minerals which we have in Ontario differ from those found in most other countries. For example, the metals and ores of the great mining regions of Western North America occur in

Era or Group		Period or System	Epoch or Formation
QUATERNARY	Age of Man	{	Recent—Bedded clays, sand, sand dunes, marl deposits, peat bogs, etc. ..... Glacial—Boulder clay, moraines, etc.
PALEOZOIC or PRIMARY	Age of Fishes	Devonian	{ Portage-Chemung Hamilton Corniferous Oriskany
	Age of Invertebrates	Silurian	{ Lower Helderberg Onandaga Guelph Niagara Clinton Medina Hudson River Utica Trenton Bird's Eye and Black River Chazy Calciferous Potsdam
			Cambrian
EOZOIC	Dawn of Life	Keweenawan	
PRE-CAMBRIAN		Huronian	{ Upper Middle Lower
AZOIC	Without Life	Laurentian—Granite and granitoid-gneiss	
		Keewatin—Igneous complex	





much newer rocks and belong to a later period of the earth's development; hence, it is not surprising that they should differ greatly from the group worked in Ontario. The following table shows the production of minerals in this province for the years 1895 and 1905 respectively. This table serves two purposes. It exhibits the great progress which the mineral industry has made during the last ten years and it also shows the great variety of minerals produced in the province. It may be added that Ontario produces the greater part of the world's consumption of the comparatively rare substances, nickel, cobalt and corundum. Other rare economic minerals and metals which are produced are, mica, graphite, platinum, palladium.

The following table of mineral production shows the increase from 1895 to 1905:—

	1895.	1905.
Gold. . . . .	\$ 50,281	\$ 99,885
Silver. . . . .		1,372,877
Cobalt. . . . .		100,000
Nickel. . . . .	404,861	3,354,934
Copper . . . . .	160,913	688,993
Platinum metals. . . . .		28,116
Lead. . . . .		9,000
Iron Ore. . . . .		227,909
Pig Iron. . . . .		3,909,527
Steel. . . . .		3,321,884
Arsenic. . . . .		2,693
Brick, Common. . . . .	705,000	1,937,500
Tile, Drain. . . . .	157,000	220,000
Tile, Roofing. . . . .	6,200	
Brick, Pressed and Terra Cotta. . . . .	178,270	234,000
Brick, Paving. . . . .		54,000
Building and Crushed Stone. . . . .	438,000	700,000
Calcium Carbide. . . . .		156,755
Cement, Portland. . . . .	114,332	1,783,451
Cement, Natural Rock. . . . .	45,145	10,402
Corundum. . . . .		152,464

Feldspar. . . . .		\$ 29,968
Graphite. . . . .		9,825
Gypsum. . . . .	\$ 20,566	4,118
Iron Pyrites . . . . .		21,885
Lime. . . . .	280,000	424,700
Mica. . . . .	2,900	50,446
Natural Gas. . . . .	282,986	316,476
Peat Fuel. . . . .		1,200
Petroleum and Products. . . . .	1,894,424	898,545
Pottery. . . . .	108,000	60,000
Salt. . . . .	188,101	356,783
Sewer Pipe. . . . .	133,159	225,835
Talc. . . . .		2,240
		<hr/>
	\$5,170,138	\$17,854,296

For clearer understanding the minerals and rocks of economic importance may be classed and referred to under the following headings:—

1. Metals and their ores.
2. Grinding and polishing materials (abrasive materials).
3. Materials used to withstand heat (refractory materials).
4. Minerals used as pigments (paint materials).
5. Minerals used for decorative purposes.
6. Minerals used in chemical manufacture.
7. Minerals used in agriculture.
8. Fuel and illuminating materials.
9. Materials for brick, pottery and glass.
10. Stone and cement.
11. Waters.
12. Miscellaneous, *e.g.*, rock salt, etc.

The mineral production of Ontario compared with that of many older countries and those with larger population is small. That is owing largely to the fact that there is no coal industry in the province, all the rocks, with the exception of the loose surface deposits, having been formed before the coal period. Although there is, thus, as yet a comparatively small mineral

output, the comparative table for 1895 and 1905 given above shows that the production is growing rapidly.

Considering the first group, metals and their ores, in the classification given, it is a striking fact that although many countries lead Ontario in total mineral production, that province stands pre-eminent as a producer of the important metals nickel and cobalt, the only serious competitor in the production of these two metals being the French penal colony of New Caledonia in the southern Pacific.

The nickel deposits in the vicinity of Sudbury cover a large extent of territory, and one of them which has been developed is, as regards size and value, classed among the great ore bodies of North America. The nickel industry at Sudbury began in the late eighties and now forms the backbone of the province's metal industry. At the time the industry was begun the uses of nickel in coinage and for plating, and so forth, were limited. Some years ago, however, it was discovered that a small percentage of nickel added to steel greatly increased its toughness. Now all the navies of the world are employing nickel-steel for armor plate, and the demand for nickel has greatly increased. Nickel-steel has also important applications in the construction of certain kinds of machinery.

The metal cobalt resembles nickel rather closely in some of its properties, and if it were not for its comparatively high price, selling at about \$2.50 a pound, while nickel sells at one-fifth that price, cobalt could be used to replace nickel in coinage, in plating, and for other purposes. A small quantity of cobalt is frequently used with nickel in plating, producing a more silvery surface than does nickel. Cobalt plating does not tarnish so readily as that of nickel. The great use of cobalt is, however, as a coloring agent in glass and pottery. When fused with glass it gives a beautiful blue color to it, and has been employed for this purpose since pre-historic times. The cobalt deposits discovered in 1903 in the District of Nipissing, 330 miles north of Toronto, have now become world famous, not so much owing to their content of cobalt as to the fact that the great majority of the veins carry high values in silver together with lesser values in nickel and arsenic. The value of the silver shipped from these deposits, which are situated in what is now generally known as the Cobalt mining area, was



over \$3,500,000 in 1906. These ores, containing values in silver, cobalt, nickel and arsenic, are unique, in so far as is known in North America. Owing to this fact the methods employed in refining the ores are as yet somewhat crude and costly. Within the next year it is believed from arrangements now in progress, that suitable plants for the extraction of all the contents of these ores will be erected in Ontario.

Up to the present time the chief production of copper in the province has come from the Sudbury nickel ores, the two metals being intimately associated. Small quantities of gold and of the rare metals platinum and palladium, the former of which is now more valuable than gold, are also obtained in refining the Sudbury ores.

The iron ore industry has not as yet reached large dimensions in the province, although judging from the extent of the iron formation—similar to that of the great iron producing States of Michigan and Minnesota, which have the greatest iron deposits known in the world—in the northern districts of Nipissing, Algoma, Thunder Bay and Rainy River, there seems to be little doubt that Ontario will become a great producer of iron ore. The iron ranges, as they are called, consisting of the formation mentioned, have an extent of several hundred miles. On one of these ranges at Michipicoten, on Lake Superior, iron mining has been conducted on a comparatively large scale during the past few years. Deposits have been opened on what is known as the Atikokan range, west of Port Arthur. Another large deposit, 25 miles north of Sudbury, will, it is believed, become an important shipper during the present year. The iron mines in the south-eastern part of the province, in the Hastings and Frontenac region, which were formerly worked, have been lying quiescent for a number of years. These deposits are different in character from those of the northern region, but will likely be of importance in the future. Within a period, the end of which can be foreseen, the richer parts of the great iron mines on the south shore of Lake Superior will be exhausted, and then smaller mines and lower grade ores will be more in demand.

The following iron smelters are now in operation, namely: Deseronto, Hamilton, Midland and Sault Ste. Marie. Another is in course of erection

at Port Arthur, while two or three are projected at other points. Nearly all the iron ore now smelted in Ontario is imported from the United States.

Owing to the great number of miles of railroads which are to be built in Canada during the next few years, iron and steel will be in great demand. Hence every effort will be made to develop the iron mining industry. That deposits will, in all probability, be discovered at various points on the northern ranges when more detailed work is done on them, is the opinion arrived at by mining experts.

The metals iron, nickel and cobalt, resemble each other in the fact that they are all magnetic—each when in the metallic form is attracted by the magnet. They are known as the three magnetic elements. We have seen that Ontario now leads the world in the production of both cobalt and nickel, and that the province is likely also to become one of the great iron producing countries of the world. It might be asked whether this association of the three metals in Ontario is accidental or whether there is an explanation for it. The explanation seems to be that these metals here are found in the old rocks, the Archean, which are not so important in any other part of North America which has been developed as a mining field. The great mining fields of the United States, with the exception of the Lake Superior region, are underlain by newer rocks than those in the mining areas of Ontario. Hence it is not surprising to find that their metallic products are different and that Ontario has no competitor on the American continent, in nickel and cobalt, at least.

The production of metals other than nickel, cobalt, iron, copper and silver in Ontario is comparatively small. Gold has been produced in a number of districts—Hastings, Wahnapiatae, Webbwood, Michipicoten and at points in Thunder Bay and especially in Rainy River, between the eastern and western boundaries of the province. The production is now, however, small owing partly to exploiting and other causes for which the industry should not be held accountable. Lead and zinc are both being mined in small quantities in the Hastings-Frontenac region. Rare metals, such as molybdenum, have been worked on a small scale.

## OTHER MINERAL INDUSTRIES.

These will be dealt with briefly in order to economize space, although to the greater part of the population they are of more importance than the metal industry.

Formerly lathes were extensively employed in the shaping and grinding down of the parts of machines. Now, however, wheels built up of abrasive materials, of which corundum is the best, replace the lathes to a large extent. Producing as we do the greater part of the nickel which is used in the manufacture of nickel-steel, a substance which is destined to be largely used in the construction of machinery, it is fortunate that the province is provided with great deposits of corundum in Hastings and Renfrew counties, from which is now obtained practically all of the substance that is consumed in the world. This important corundum industry has been built up during the last eight years.

Of refractory substances, or those materials which are used to withstand heat, the province produces graphite, used for lining furnaces, and for other purposes, mica or isinglass, used in stove parts as well as being indispensable as an insulator in electrical machines. Both graphite and mica are produced in the Frontenac-Renfrew region, and in the output of mica Ontario stands among the first three of the world's producers.

Minerals used as paint materials, among which are the earthy oxides of iron and certain compounds of other metals need but slight mention. Cobalt, as already shown, can be classed with these materials. Compounds of arsenic are also of importance. In the Hastings and Cobalt areas are found deposits which are unexcelled among known deposits anywhere as regards the amount of arsenic they contain. The oxide of arsenic is also used in the plate glass industry and for other purposes.

Among decorative materials, the province has promising outcrops of marble, granite and other rocks, together with certain mineral substances such as the beautiful blue sodalite, which take good polish. Important gem stones have not as yet been found in the province, although varieties of certain minerals have been cut for use in jewelry.

The chief mineral mined in Ontario for use in chemical manufacture is iron pyrites. It is employed in the manufacture of sulphuric acid, which



has such important applications in the arts, and has been produced for some years in Hastings county. The deposits of the mineral are widespread in Ontario. Deposits have been developed or partly developed in the districts of Nipissing, Algoma and Rainy River.

The minerals and rocks found in Ontario adapted to use in agriculture include apatite or mineral phosphate, gypsum and shell marl. Apatite was at one time extensively mined in Frontenac, and adjoining counties, and shipped to Europe. The discovery of lower grade, but more cheaply mined, deposits in the Southern States, however, destroyed the industry in Ontario. Little phosphate has been mined in the province for some years except as a by-product in association with mica. Gypsum has been mined for agricultural and other uses along the Grand River in Haldimand county. Shell marl is not of much economic importance outside of its use in the manufacture of cement.

Mineral fuels and illuminating materials include coal, petroleum and natural gas. As already stated there is no coal industry in Ontario. Lignite of inferior quality occurs north of the height of land in association with superficial deposits of recent age. A coal-like substance is found occasionally in veins and in other forms of deposits in the Archean and other rocks, but is different in origin from ordinary coal, being derived, it is believed, from the distillation of mineral oils which have exuded in former ages from depths upwards through cracks and fissures.

Petroleum has been pumped for forty years or so from numerous wells in the Paleozoic rocks of Lambton county. The production of petroleum has been Ontario's most constant mineral industry. During more recent years important petroleum wells have been sunk in Essex and other parts of the Erie and Huron peninsula.

Natural gas, which is found under similar conditions to petroleum, has been produced steadily for years from the Port Colborne and other fields lying adjacent to Lake Erie.

When the Paleozoic region, lying immediately south of James Bay, is rendered accessible by railways and other means, it is likely that gas and oil areas similar to those along the north shore of Lake Erie will be discovered.

Of the brick, pottery and glass industries that of brick is by far the most important. Almost every neighborhood in the settled part of the province has its brick yard. In the vicinity of the larger cities the industry gives employment to many men, and there is considerable capital invested in it. Up to the present the clay industry has been responsible annually for about ten per cent. of the value of our whole mineral output. Clays, of recent age, suitable for the manufacture of ordinary brick, are widely distributed in the province. Near Toronto the shales of the Hudson River formation are used for superior grades of brick, and in the vicinity of Milton the shales of the Medina are employed at the important brick works.

The pottery industry has not made much headway in Ontario. Clays and other material used for better grades of ware are imported. The more common grades are made from ordinary clay.

Ontario produces one mineral, namely, feldspar, which is extensively used by pottery manufacturers. The deposit from which the mineral is produced is in Frontenac county. The output is shipped to the United States, where it is ground for use, there being no mills for this purpose in the province. The Frontenac deposits now produce an important part of the mineral used by the large potteries of the United States.

The glass industry, like that of pottery, has not become important from the mineral point of view in Ontario, most of the raw material being imported from the United States.

Among rock products employed for large structural works the two most important are stone and cement. Practically only the common kinds of stone are quarried in Ontario. That used for monumental and other purposes is nearly all imported. The cement industry is, however, reaching large dimensions. Formerly the raw materials employed in the province for the manufacture of Portland cement consisted of clay and marl. Limestone is now replacing marl, *e.g.*, at Belleville.

Mineral waters are made use of at Caledonia, St. Catharines, Preston, Chatham and at other places in the province.

Among miscellaneous mineral materials are several substances such as salt, talc and fluor spar, which are produced in the province. The principal salt works are in Goderich and its neighborhood.

## THE CLIMATE.

The climate of Ontario varies considerably, with the locality. To the north and northeast of Lake Superior, in the part of the province which forms the northern watershed of that great lake, very low temperatures are often recorded, but the dryness of the atmosphere lessens the discomfort of living which would otherwise be felt. In this respect the experience is similar to that of the settler in Manitoba and the great provinces of the Western plains. As a rule the snow does not disappear from the woods until the beginning of May, when summer makes a rapid advance, and four months of superb weather follow. In the valleys of the Ottawa and the Upper St. Lawrence there is a moderately cold winter, but a singularly exhilarating bracing atmosphere makes even a zero temperature by no means unpleasant. Signs of spring are not wanting early in April, and by the beginning of May foliage is well advanced, and then follows a warm summer. The whole of this region is, between the middle of May and middle of September, included between the same isotherms as the greater portion of France, and after a protracted autumn, winter sets in again before December. The mean annual temperature of Montreal, which is farther north than Ottawa and in a line with the northern shore of the Georgian Bay, is  $41^{\circ} 8$ , and St. Petersburg, Russia,  $38^{\circ} 7$ ; a comparison of the annual curves of the two places is interesting. The mean for January at Montreal is  $5^{\circ}$  lower than at St. Petersburg; in February it is but  $1^{\circ}$  lower, and then the Montreal curve rises steadily above the other until in August it is  $6^{\circ}$  higher; after this the two curves draw together, and by December are coincident. In that portion of the province which lies east of Lake Huron and north of Lake Erie and the western portion of Lake Ontario, the winters are by no means severe, and the summers are seldom oppressively hot; this being due to the tempering influence of the lakes by which this part is surrounded. In the western counties the April mean temperature corresponds nearly to that of southern Scotland, and in May the mean temperature of the whole district is slightly higher than for the south of England. The temperature conditions during the summer months may, as in the Ottawa and St. Lawrence valleys, be compared to those of France; the normal temperature for July ranging between  $66^{\circ}$  and  $72^{\circ}$ . September



and October are generally delightful months and seldom does snow remain on the ground until well on in December, except on the high lands of the interior and northern counties. The territory which lies immediately east of the Georgian Bay, the district of Muskoka, at an elevation of 640 feet above the sea, abounding in small lakes, possesses a wonderfully bracing atmosphere, which, with a very high percentage of bright sunshine and a pleasant temperature, has made this region a much frequented summer resort. The annual precipitation of the entire province lies between thirty and forty inches, which is fairly evenly distributed throughout the year; in summer, however, the rain generally falls in thunderstorms and cloudy and wet days are of rare occurrence.

#### FLORA AND FAUNA.

The climatic amenities are illustrated in the rich variety of the flora and fauna of the province. Writing on the flora, recently, Professor Macoun gives this distribution: That part north of the Canadian Pacific Railway and north and west of Lake Superior, has a flora in no respect different from that of the boreal sections of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. Along the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, from Montreal westward, the country gradually improves in climate, and corresponding to this change the flora takes a more southern aspect, and trees, shrubs, and all herbaceous plants not hitherto seen become common. In the vicinity of Toronto a marked change takes place and Scarboro Heights and the Humber Plains seem to be the gathering ground for many species that do not occur in a wild state farther to the east. Yonge Street, Toronto to Lake Simcoe, which was the great northern highway one hundred years ago, is still a divisional point for various reasons, but in none more so than in a botanical sense. West and south of this line a new forest with new shrubs and herbaceous plants meets the eye of the botanist and tells him with unerring certainty that he has entered on a new field for his labors, and if he be a practical man he will soon see that the capabilities of the country increase with the change. Any botanist desirous of collecting many rare Canadian plants in a small space must not fail to visit the Humber Plains and High Park, Toronto, Queenston Heights, the Niagara River and Falls, Hamilton and the district in that vicinity, and any other localities from Point Edward at

the foot of Lake Huron to Fort Erie at the head of the Niagara River. All points are interesting to the botanist, but none more so than from Kingsville to Sarnia, taking in Pelee Island, where vineyards rivaling those of Europe are seen in perfection. Amherstburg, Windsor, Chatham and Sarnia are easily accessible, and at all these places rare and beautiful species can be obtained.

Should the general flora of the northern forest be desired or the water-plants (*Potamogeton*) of the country there is no other place so advantageously situated as the Muskoka Lake district, where the diversified scenery of lake, river, rock and forest-clad promontories will delight the heart of any one, and where botanists of all grades can load themselves with treasures by very little effort, and at the same time suffer neither from fatigue nor lack of first-class hotel accommodation. While the shores of Lake Erie are clothed with vegetation that needs a high winter temperature, the east and north coasts of Lake Superior have a boreal species along the cliffs and near the water that led the early travellers and Agassiz to carry away such erroneous impressions of the Arctic climate of the Lake Superior region: a region which we now know is not climatically unsuited to agriculture. It may not be uninteresting to know that the Great Lakes have, with the exception of Lake Superior, a much earlier growth in spring on the north shores than they have on the south.

The fauna has been described in many learned articles in the *Canadian Journal*, one of the latest (1888) by Mr. J. B. Tyrell, on the mammals being specially comprehensive. In the inland forest the moose, the *waskasew*, the common deer, the bear, wolf, wolverine, wild cat, the beaver, otter, mink, fisher, martin, the wood-chuck, the skunk, the weasel, the ermine, the Canadian hare, the squirrel, the wild turkey, goose, duck and partridge are to be found, while in the lakes and streams are abundance of maskinonge, sturgeon, lake salmon, salmon trout, trout, white fish, pike, pickerel, bass, perch, catfish, eel pout, dace, chub, mullet, carp, sucker, dog fish, bull fish, lamprey, silver eel, herring and sun fish.

## CHAPTER II.

### NATURAL RESOURCES.

The natural wealth of Ontario is of vast proportions. The fisheries produce a great industry, of economic value; about two thousand men are employed in it, and the annual turnover is more than a million and a quarter of dollars. But the inestimable supply has been but barely touched in the past, and the supply, especially in the northern portion of the province and west to the Lake of the Woods, is only limited by the market demand, and the amount of capital which may seek investment, for the waters literally teem with splendid fish of the most valuable species. The Hudson's Bay connection to the north also opens up the possibilities of the varied sea fishing of that region, which with impending railway communication will be accessible to the commercial enterprise of the Ontario merchant and trader.

#### THE FOREST.

While the forest has receded before the settler's axe in the old-settled southern part of Ontario, there are stretches wide and long in the northern part which furnish material to the immense lumber industry of the province, one of its great primary sources of wealth. The northern growth belongs largely to the coniferous varieties such as the pine, spruce, balsam, cedar, larch and hemlock, birch and poplar. There is still a large quantity of white pine, although the inroads of fires and commerce have reduced the supply greatly. Spruce is found almost everywhere in the north in large quantities, extending over the height of land to the shores of Hudson's Bay, and of a superior quality for the manufacture of pulpwood, for which a rough estimate places the figures for the district of Nipissing, Algoma, Thunder Bay and Rainy River at 288,000,000 cords. In the face of this vast natural resource, it may be well to reproduce the protest of Professor Macoun regarding the wanton waste of the old pine forest in this territory. He says: "At the head of the streams flowing southward into the Ottawa



and the great lakes are to be found the remnants of the noble forests that supplied material for the devastation of the last half century. It is truly appalling when the magnitude of the national interests at stake are considered, to view the spoliation which has been carried on quite recklessly under the protection of permits and licenses. . . . If there had been any just or proportionate return to the State from such operations the objections might have less force, but when it is realized that for this splendid heritage the people of Canada have directly received only a nominal return in dues and bonuses, the responsibility for such a waste of resources, which should be guarded for the present and future generations of Canadians, is indeed grave. . . . It is not yet too late to formulate a policy which will protect the sparse remains of this once dense forest and control them for the best interests of the whole country; it is a policy which the present generation demands and the neglect of such a plain duty on the part of our legislators will only be an evidence of short-sightedness." Previous to this, however, the Director of Forestry for Ontario, Mr. Thomas Southworth, urged the importance of this phase of the question on his government. "There yet remain," he says, "in Ontario, still the property of the Crown, vast areas of wooded land not taken up by the settler. Some of it is good, some of it poor, and it has been or will be cut over by the lumberman. Government may provide for future forestry operations and future revenue, as well as to protect the climate and water supply of the region, by reserving from settlement throughout the unsettled parts of this province, blocks of land that are found to be not well adapted for agricultural purposes, or that are the sources of streams, or that for climatic or similar reasons should be kept perpetually in forest. . . . A large part of the provincial wood lands is now under license to lumbermen, and it may be some time before forestry on any extensive scale can be practised by the Government. As the licenses are allowed to expire the reservations could come into effect, and I assume that in the case of each reservation, there would be no license to stand in the way or no other vested interest to prevent an operation so evidently in the interest of the whole people."

The outcome of this representation was the appointment in 1897 by the Ontario Government of a Forestry Commission to enquire into the best

means of restoring and preserving the growth of white pine and other timber trees upon the lands of the province not adapted for agricultural purposes or for settlement. The Commission consisted of E. W. Rathbun, Chairman, Alexander Kirkwood, John Bertram, J. B. McWilliams and Thomas Southworth, secretary, and a thorough enquiry was instituted. In a preliminary report it was recommended that a strict system of fire ranging be adopted; that for all unworked limits on which arrears of ground rent had accumulated for two years the license be not renewed, but that the berths be held by the Crown as forest reserves; and that the Government take power by Order-in-Council to withdraw from sale or location and set aside to be kept in permanent Crown forest reserves, such areas of territory as are generally unsuitable for settlement and yet valuable for growing timber. These also were the main recommendations embodied in the final report. Legislation followed on the preliminary report, enacting that the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council shall have power to set apart such portions of the public domain as may be deemed advisable for the purposes of future timber supplies, and thereupon such tracts of lands shall, by proclamation, become permanent Crown Forest Reserves; and no lands within boundaries of such reserves shall be sold, leased, or otherwise disposed of. The immediate aim in passing the statute being the reclamation of the waste areas of Crown lands that had been burned over after lumbering operations had taken place, and were unsuited for settlement, steps were at once taken in this direction. The first Crown Forest Reserve made was of lands in the townships of Abinger, Miller, Barrie and Clarendon in the counties of Addington and Frontenac. A careful examination was made of the lands and it was found that 24,500 acres in Abinger; 27,500 acres in Miller; 16,000 acres in Barrie; a lot of 7,000 acres contiguous to 4,000 acres, together 11,000 acres in Clarendon; in all 80,000 acres, were available for forest reserve purposes. Accordingly these areas were set apart, and as they constitute the first Crown Forest Reserve of Ontario the memorandum on which the reservation was effected may be reproduced in full:—

“With respect to the proposed forestry reservation in the townships of Abinger, Miller, Barrie, Palmerston and Clarendon, in the Counties of Addington and Frontenac, the undersigned has the honor to state, for the

information of the Commissioner, that a map has been prepared, showing all the lots which it is proposed to include. He has also had the records of the Sales and Free Grants Branch searched to see if any of the lots have been sold, located, or leased under the Mining Act. A few of them appear to have been leased, and there is correspondence as to a number of others, although no sales or locations have been carried out.

“The undersigned is of opinion that there should be some person placed in charge of the reserve who would be the channel of communication with the Department as to matters of interest there, and who might be instructed respecting any matter requiring supervision or attention. He is further of the opinion that one or two fire rangers should be appointed during the summer months to travel through the territory and inspect the lots, in order to make sure as to whether there is any squatting or improvements on any of the lots proposed to be included in the reserve, which information ought to be had before the townships are finally proclaimed as a reserve under the Forest Reserves Act.

“Mr. Wood, of Plevna,, who is Crown Lands Agent, and who resides in the centre of the township of Clarendon, might be a good man to appoint as superintendent, as he is familiar with the country and active and energetic.

“The negotiations for the surrender of the territory having been completed, and the plans of the territory having been prepared, the undersigned is of the opinion that the future management, protection and administration of the reserve should be assigned to the Clerk of Forestry, Mr. Thomas Southworth.

“(Sgd.) AUBREY WHITE, *Assistant Commissioner*.

“May 25, 1899.

“Approved.—(Sgd.) J. M. Gibson, *Commissioner of Crown Lands*.”

In the following year a small reserve of some 45,000 acres on the north shore of Lake Superior was placed under the operation of the Act. Then took place a notable advance. A reserve was made in the District of Nipissing, including 2,200 square miles of territory that had never been under license, or on which no timber had been cut. This includes the famous Lake Temagaminque region and contains a large quantity of white pine. In 1903



a territory immediately west and north-west of this was added, comprising 3,700 square miles and was named the Western Temagami Reserve. In the same year 3,000 square miles of land further west, lying between the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Sault Ste. Marie branch of the same railway, named the Mississauga Reserve, was placed under the Act; and in 1905 the reserves were further added to by lands at Lake Nipigon covering 7,300 square miles of territory. So that, apart from Algonquin Park, which is scarcely a forest reserve in the sense that those under the Act are reserves, there has been withdrawn from settlement and placed in reservation under the provisions of the Forest Reserves Act, 16,395 square miles or about 10,493,000 acres of land. It is estimated that lands of a similar character suitable for reservation are available to the extent of thirty million acres more, or more than forty million acres in all—mainly pine-bearing country. It is estimated to contain several billions of feet of pine timber at the present time.

The timber rights are vested in the province, and conditions are imposed by Government on the licensee with the view of regulating operations and securing a small return for the public. Two of the main regulations provide that the Commissioner of Crown Lands, before granting any licenses for timber berths in the unsurveyed territory, shall, as far as practicable, cause the section of country where it is intended to allot such berths, to be run out into townships, and each township when so surveyed, shall constitute a timber berth, but the Commissioner of Crown Lands may cause such township to be subdivided into as many timber berths as he may think proper, and that the berths or limits when so surveyed and set off, and all new berths or limits in surveyed territory shall be explored and valued, and then offered for sale by public auction at the upset price fixed by such valuation, at such time and place, and on such conditions, and by such officer, as the Commissioner of Crown Lands shall direct by public notice for that purpose, and shall be sold to the highest bidder for cash at the time of sale.

#### THE FARM.

The general productiveness of the soil of Ontario so far as the older portion is concerned has long been an established fact. Agriculture is its great and paramount industry. Of the 220,000,000 square miles of territory com-

prising the province, there is about twelve and a half million acres of cleared land almost entirely devoted to field crops and pasture. At one time winter wheat was the principal grain crop. Mixed farming has now changed the character of the farmer's vocation and live stock, dairying, etc., are largely followed. About a million acres of land are annually given to winter wheat which yield an average of about twenty bushels to the acre. Of spring wheat between three and four hundred thousand acres are sown with an average yield of about sixteen bushels to the acre. Over two million acres of oats are sown every year and the average yield is about thirty bushels per acre. Barley yields between twenty-five and thirty bushels, and half a million acres are annually sown. About 750,000 acres of peas are grown, yielding an average of twenty bushels. Root crops also thrive well. The estimated area in orchard, garden and vineyard is 320,122 acres, and the possibilities of horticulture are simply limitless.

By the building of the transcontinental line of the Canadian Pacific Railway some thirty years ago, access was given to the more southerly portion of New Ontario. Settlers followed the railway and located wherever land was found suitable to agriculture. This, in addition to the increasing activity in lumbering operations in this region, resulted in considerable development taking place. The more important farming sections are (1) the district between Sturgeon Falls and Sudbury, in the valleys of the French and Sturgeon Rivers; (2) the country adjacent to Port Arthur and Fort William at the western end of Lake Superior; (3) the valley of the Rainy River, west of Lake Superior and on the international boundary; (4) the Temiskaming Valley; and (5) the Wabigoon sections.

The area of good land partly settled and yet to be settled in New Ontario south of the height of land is estimated, approximately, at six million acres, although it is probable that as development proceeds it will be found to be considerably in excess of that amount.

In the sections above described most of the surveyed land has already been located by settlers, but the progress made in clearing the land and in agricultural production has been somewhat slow. This is not due to any lack of fertility in the soil, nor to the markets, but rather to the high wages offered the settlers in all the new districts in mining and other enterprises.



A FARM SCENE IN ONTARIO.





It is also in part due to the profits made by settlers from the timber on the land. When this stage is passed, it may fairly be assumed that mixed farming, with dairying as the main feature, will characterize these settlements.

A few years ago the Government of the province undertook the construction of a railway extending northward from the town of North Bay on the Canadian Pacific Railway. This road, which is known as the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, has already been built for a distance of 200 miles, and it will eventually connect with the projected transcontinental line known as the Grand Trunk Pacific, which will traverse the province north of the height of land. Forty-five townships of excellent land at the northern end of Lake Temiskaming have been surveyed and are now being settled. The whole of the land in this section is tillable, free from stone and productive, and although heavily timbered, the timber is of comparatively small growth. This tract extends in a north-westerly direction as far as the height of land.

Northward and westward from this region there extends across the province an immense unbroken area of tillable land, 250 miles in length from east to west, with an average depth from north to south of 100 miles and comprising in all little short of 16,000,000 acres. This district, because of the nature of its soil, is commonly known as the Great Clay Belt, and to its development attention is now being directed. Only such portion of it, however, as is rendered accessible by the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario Railway is at present available for settlement. The building of the Grand Trunk Pacific, which will pass through the Clay Belt from east to west, will open a much larger territory to settlement, and there is little doubt that other railways will be built in the near future. Some of these are already projected to connect the Grand Trunk Pacific system with roads to the south.

The survey of 1900 has established that in the eastern part of the territory, north of the height of land there is an immense area of land, apparently equal in fertility to any in older Ontario, with an equable and temperate climate and an abundance of wood and water, which render the inducements it presents to those in search of homesteads as good as those offered anywhere else on the continent. The apprehension entertained by some

that our forest resources were very limited has been contradicted by the exploration and estimation of extensive pine areas on the southern slope, as well as the location of great forests of spruce and other varieties of pulp-wood north of the height of land, which will enable this province to take a leading position in the commercial world as regards the growing and remunerative pulp and paper-making industry. While the geological examinations have not resulted in any new discoveries of economic minerals (and it was scarcely expected they would), they have been of material service in identifying and establishing the character of the different rock formations and locating promising indications as a guide to closer investigations in the future. Analyses of the peat taken from the extensive deposits in Nipissing have conclusively shown its high qualities and economic utility, and established the value of this great natural store of fuel, which will probably make it useful in the industrial development of the country.

The great clay belt running from the Quebec boundary west through Nipissing and Algoma Districts and into the District of Thunder Bay comprises an area of at least 24,500 square miles, or 15,680,000 acres, nearly all of which is well adapted for cultivation. This almost unbroken stretch of good farming land is nearly three-quarters as great in extent as the whole settled portion of the province south of Lake Nipissing and the French and Mattawa Rivers. It is larger than the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Delaware combined, and one-half the size of the State of New York. The region is watered by the Moose River, flowing into James Bay, and its tributaries, the Abitibi, Mattagami and Missinabie, and by the Albany and its tributaries, the Kenogami and Ogoke. Each of these rivers is over 300 miles in length, and they range in width from 300 or 400 yards to a mile. They are fed by numerous smaller streams, and these in turn drain numberless lakes of larger or smaller size, so that the whole country is one network of waterways, affording easy means of communications with long stretches fit for navigation. The great area of water surface also assures the country against the protracted droughts so often experienced in other countries. The southern boundary of this great tract of fertile land is less than 40 miles from Missinabie Station on the Canadian Pacific Railway; and the country north of the height of land being one





NORTHERN ONTARIO WATERPOWER.



NORTHERN ONTARIO ISLANDS.



immense level plateau, sloping off towards James Bay, the construction of railways and wagon roads through every part of it would be a comparatively easy matter.

In the small part of the District of Rainy River which was explored, the proportion of good land is not so great, but the clay land in the townships around Dryden was found to extend north in the valley of the Wabigoon River, with an area of about 600 square miles, or 384,000 acres. There are also smaller cultivable areas at various other points.

A point equalled only in importance by the existence of a vast area of agricultural land in this country is the fact that it is largely covered with extensive forests of spruce, jack pine and poplar. The value of this class of timber, as everybody knows, is increasing every day and the market for it is widening; and rich, indeed, is the country which has boundless resources in these varieties of woods. In the District of Nipissing, north of the C.P.R. line, there is estimated to be at least 20,000,000 cords of pulpwood; in the District of Algoma, 100,000,000 cords; in the District of Thunder Bay, 150,000,000 cords; and in the District of Rainy River, 18,000,000 cords; a grand total of 288,000,000 cords. The pine region does not seem to extend much beyond the height of land, but on this side, in the country around Lakes Temagaming and Lady Evelyn, and to the north, an area of red and white pine of fine quality was explored and estimated to contain about three billions of feet B.M.

A feature of this region, which it is well to note from an industrial point of view, is the existence of many falls on the rivers and streams. These will no doubt be utilized with advantage in the creation of economical power when the country comes to be opened up.

An important fact established by the explorations is that the climate in this northern district presents no obstacle to successful agricultural settlement. The information obtained completely dispels the erroneous impression that its winters are of Arctic severity and its summers too short to enable crops to mature. The absence of summer frosts noted by the explorers and the growth of all the common vegetables at the Hudson's Bay posts must disabuse the public mind of this erroneous impression. The 50th



parallel of latitude passes through the centre of the agricultural belt, and the climate is not much different from that of the Province of Manitoba, lying along the same parallel, with this exception, of course, that the winter is tempered by the great spruce forests and the presence of so large a proportion of water surface. A comparison of the temperature records of this country with those of Guelph in Southern Ontario show the mean temperature to be from 5 to 6 degrees higher at Guelph during the six summer months. In the following table the temperatures for Edinburgh, Scotland, are also included for the purposes of comparison.

MEAN SUMMER TEMPERATURES.

	Edinburgh.	Abitibi.	Guelph.
May. . . . .	48.8	44.1	52.6
June. . . . .	54.9	52.2	58.3
July. . . . .	58.0	64.9	67.8
August. . . . .	57.5	59.5	63.2
September. . . . .	52.9	52.2	58.9
October. . . . .	46.1	36.2	46.1

Mean average temperature for year. . . . . 38.3.

Winter temperatures are considerably lower than in Scotland, but no lower than in many well settled portions of the province.

In rainfall, also, at Abitibi there was 25.77 inches; at Guelph there was 26.16. At Abitibi the 25 inches fell in 84 days; at Guelph the rainfall of 26 inches occurred in 98 days, and, according to the records, there was a greater degree of sunshine at Abitibi than at Guelph.

With regard to soil, while its character varies in different sections from clay loam to stiff clay and from sandy loam to sand, reports and assays put its richness beyond question, and class from 75 to 90 per cent. as good agricultural land. Taken in consideration with this the fact that tomatoes and similar crops will ripen at Hudson's Bay posts, many miles farther north, there seems to be every reason for assuming that the country is capable of successful agricultural developments.

The conclusion therefore is that the province still possesses upwards of 20,000,000 acres of good agricultural land which will prove, on development, just as productive as the land already settled.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE ABORIGINES—INDIAN TRIBES.

The early tribes inhabiting the territory now Ontario played an important part in the Indian history of the American continent. Without entering into a statement of the views regarding their origin and tribal relations, the territory they occupied may be indicated as follows:—

1. From the great lakes northward was the habitat of the Crees known by early writers as the Klistenos, Cristeneaux, etc., the Maskegons and Monsonisethnic divisions of the Crees, the Chippewas or Ojibwas, the Potawotomis, the Ottawas originally divided into the Keinouche, Kiskakon, Nassauaketon and Sable bands, the Miamis, the Nipissings, the Algonquins, the Amikwas, and the Winnebagoes.

2. In the territory north of Lake Erie to Georgian Bay and east to the Bay of Quinte were to be found the Iroquois, the Mississaugas, the Hurons, a small part of the Ottawas, the Cherokees, the Eries, the Tionontatis or Patuns and the Neuters.

3. East of this territory to the Quebec boundary was inhabited principally by the Algonquins.

Beginning with the first of these groups of tribes in the north, one of the most important members of the group was the Crees which formerly inhabited the district to the south and west of Hudson's Bay and hunted game all over the region between the Moose and Churchill Rivers and as far west and south as the Dakotas. As early as 1640 they were met by the Jesuit missionaries in the neighborhood of James Bay, but were mentioned in the Relations of 1661 and 1667 as residing more to the northwest. Although mainly a woods' people there were still many roving bands who changed their locations from time to time according to the movements of the big game.

The Ottawas, Chippewas and Potawotomis are believed to have sprung from one stem, and tradition credits them with having been originally

united at some point north of Lake Superior. Part of the Chippewas, the Potawotomis and the Ottawas then migrated southward, the two first named going across the border into what is now the State of Wisconsin, while the Ottawas located on Manitoulin Island and on the northeast shore of Lake Huron. Some of them travelled as far east as the Ottawa River on trading expeditions and from them the river is believed to have obtained its name. In the course of events the Ottawas were driven by the Iroquois in 1646 as far west as the Mississippi in the State of Wisconsin. Here they were so harrassed by the Sioux that in 1670-1 they returned to their former home on Manitoulin Island. Ten years later most of them had joined the Hurons at Mackinaw, where they remained until about 1700, when the Ottawas moved south and settled in various parts of the State of Michigan. Here they remained until the war of Independence, when their loyalty to the British Crown caused a part of the tribe to leave Michigan and settle on Walpole Island in Lake St. Clair. The remainder of the tribe in Canada is principally located on Manitoulin Island and mainland adjoining. The total number of the tribe is believed to be 5,000, of which number about 1,000 are in Ontario.

The Chippewas are the only other member of this federation which has to be dealt with, as the Potawotomies have long since made their abode to the south of the great lakes. The territory originally covered by the Chippewas was that lying between James Bay and Hudson's Bay on the north and Lakes Superior and Huron on the south, though a part of the tribe even went as far south as the State of Wisconsin. On account of their far northern location and distance from the more travelled routes, they were not much encountered by the whites in the early history of the country. At the time of their greatest strength and prosperity, however, they are known to have been the largest single tribe of Indians in North America with the exception of Mexico. Sault Ste. Marie appears to have been their headquarters about the year 1640, for in this year the earliest authentic mention is made of them (in the Jesuit Relation) under the name of Baouichtigouin, a tribe then found at the Sault. Two years later they were again found at the Sault by the missionaries Jogues and Raymbault, at war with a western tribe, probably the Sioux. By reason of their



remoteness from the frontier, the Chippewas took but little part in the early colonial wars. While the southern division of the tribe was known to be of warlike disposition, those to the north of Lake Superior were considered to be of a mild and peaceable nature, so much so indeed, that they were termed by their southern brethren "the rabbits." In the north the members of the tribe are described as the "men of the thick woods" and the "swamp people," terms used to designate the nature of the country they inhabit. Numerically the tribe appears to have grown slightly since the first estimate of 25,000 was made in 1764. A century later the figures were about 30,000, and the total strength at present is believed to be between 30,000 and 32,000, of which 15,000 are in Canada and the remainder in the United States.

The Nipissings were a small tribe according to the earliest records, but by reason of their readily accessible location on Lake Nipissing near the source of the Ottawa River, and the route of travel, they were known to the earliest missionaries and explorers. In 1615 Champlain met them, and previous to 1632 Jean Nicolet spent some time among them. In 1637 the missionaries Garnier and Chastelain paid them a visit. Like all of the smaller tribes, they suffered much at times from incursions by their more powerful and warlike neighbors. In 1650 the Iroquois massacred a large number of them and forced the remainder to seek safety in flight. They went as far to the northwest as Lake Nipigon where they made their home for seventeen years, returning at the end of that period to Lake Nipissing, where the tribe, to the number of about two hundred, is now living on a *réservation*. They are all Roman Catholics, and have a good church and a school.

The Amikwas, or "Beaver nation," were a minor Algonquin tribe, and when first discovered by the French, were located on the north shore of Lake Huron opposite Manitoulin Island. According to Bacqueville de la Potherie, they once made their home with the Nipissings on the shores of Lake Nipissing until decimated by disease and the Iroquois, when they scattered, some to the French settlements, some to Lake Superior and others to what is now the State of Wisconsin. In 1740 they settled on Manitoulin Island.

Coming next to the group of tribes located in the territory north of Lake Erie, we find that the history and movements of the Iroquois tribe are, in a measure, the history of all the tribes in this section (many of them, indeed, belonging to the Iroquoian family), as their record from the earliest times is largely one of war upon and conquest or extermination of their less powerful neighbors. Theory and tradition are at variance as to their original home, the former placing it vaguely in the northwest, while the latter asserts that it was near the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Be that as it may, they were early found in the region north of Lake Erie, which was also the home of the Hurons. This, too, was the abode for a time of the Eries and Cherokees, who subsequently crossed the lake into the district now known as Ohio. Besides the Six Nations, the following tribes of the Iroquoian family were early located in the Erie peninsula: the Hurons, who occupied the region immediately north of Lake Erie and extending from Lake Huron almost to the Niagara River on the east; the Tionontatis or Patuns (known also as the Tobacco nation), a sub-division of the Hurons and lying immediately to the east of them; the Neuters, who occupied both banks of the Niagara River, and so named on account of their efforts to preserve a neutral attitude in the wars waged by tribes on each side of them. The historian can chronicle nothing sadder in the records of the Indians of Canada than the merciless warfare waged by the Iroquois upon the Hurons, the Tionontatis and the Neuters, as a result of which the two last named tribes were exterminated and the Hurons were scattered east, west and south, after many of their number were slaughtered through the barbarous ferocity of their enemies. Not only were the Huron villages destroyed and the inhabitants massacred, but the entire waterway between Georgian Bay and Montreal was literally turned into a wilderness. To-day the Hurons residing in Canada number less than 500 and are located at Lorette, Que. A branch of the tribe known as Wyandots, numbering about 360, resides in Indian Territory, U.S. The Iroquois now residing in Canada number about ten thousand, and are distributed, in Ontario, principally at the Bay of Quinte, the Thames and Grand River, and in Quebec chiefly at Caunawaga, St. Regis and Lake of Two Mountains.

The Mississaugas, when first encountered by the French about the middle of the seventeenth century, were living on Mississauga River north of Lake Huron. Soon afterwards they emigrated to the south and took possession of the territory formerly occupied by the Hurons. In 1746 they were added by the Iroquois to the federation of Six Nations, but with limited privileges, and the compact was sundered a few years later during the French and Indian war. It was from the Mississaugas that the Iroquois purchased the site which they now occupy on the Grand River. The latest figures obtainable, place their number in Ontario at about 1,100, distributed between Mud Lake, Rice Lake, Scugog, Alnwick and New Credit.

The attitude of the British Government was, at all times, a friendly and paternal one. In the commissions of, and instructions to, the Governors-General, this was made clear, and the Governors carried out the spirit of this policy as well as circumstances of the times permitted. The earlier Land Boards received definite instructions to protect Indian lands from the grasp of the speculator, and until arrangements had been made between the Government and the Indians, no Indian lands were open for settlement, while there are records of sales of lands by Indians to traders having been cancelled in order that no injury should accrue to the Indians.

This enlightened and humane policy has been followed to the present day, and as the provinces opened up for settlement, treaties were made with the Indians by which lands were reserved for their exclusive use known as Indian reserves. These reserves were selected with an eye to the habits of life of the redman in so far as waters and forests were concerned, which would furnish fishing and hunting.

The statutes governing the settlement of Indian lands define clearly who are entitled to be located on the reserves, and in the event of the death of an Indian so located, provide that one-third of his goods and chattels shall devolve upon his widow (if any), and the remainder upon his children in equal shares. As each child attains the age of twenty-one years, or becomes married before that age, it is provided that his or her share shall be handed to him or her. Adequate provision is also made for the disposition of the property where no immediate heirs survive.

The statutes also provide that whenever any Indian man or unmarried



woman of the age of twenty-one years obtains the consent of their tribe to become enfranchised and have been assigned a suitable portion of land for that purpose, such applicant shall, if after inquiry he or she is deemed to be qualified to hold land in fee simple, be granted a location ticket as a probationary Indian.

On these reserves, the Indian customs were maintained for a considerable time in their pristine character, but gradually they have dwindled away until the "white dog" or the "potlach" are but memories with most of the young of the present generation. The statutory mode for the election of chiefs provides that at the discretion of the Governor-in-Council, they shall be elected for a period of three years unless deposed for dishonesty, intemperance, immorality or incompetency; that they may be in the proportion of one head chief and two second chiefs or councillors for every two hundred Indians; provided also that no band shall have more than six head chiefs and twelve second chiefs, but that any band of thirty Indians may have one chief.

It is estimated that there are over twenty thousand Indians in the Province of Ontario scattered over the various reserves. Each band has its churches and schools, and, as a people, they show growing intelligence and very gratifying regard for law and order, in fact, the native of the forest is gradually being assimilated in the environment of present day civilization, and dresses and conducts himself in the manner of his white brethren.

On many of the reserves there are comfortable dwelling houses and fine outhouses for cattle and crops, and at the agricultural exhibitions the products shown of field, fold and factory (though the latter but rarely of entire native manufacture) give proof that the Indian has learned to derive a comfortable living from the products of the soil, and is in a fair way to develop as a producer in the industrial arts.

Particularly in the northern parts of the province, the hereditary instincts of the redman for sport are still quite apparent, as shown by the fondness with which they pursue their native occupations of hunting and fishing, while the women of the tribes maintain their reputation as deft workers in bead and wicker ware.

The principal reserves in Ontario with the numerical strength of the tribes located thereon and the acreage of each, is as follows:—

Grand River.—Six Nations, population (latest returns), 4,267; acreage, 43,696.

Bay of Quinte.—Mohawks, population, 1,297; acreage, 17,000.

Thames River.—Oneidas, population, 778; acreage, 5,271.

Manitoulin Island.—Ojibwas and Ottawas, population, 648; acreage, 105,000.

Walpole Island.—Chippewas, population, 596; acreage, about 11,000.

Lake Nipigon.—Ojibwas, population, 499; acreage, 9,825.

Thames River.—Chippewas, population, 479; acreage, 8,702.

The total number of schools on the reserves in Ontario is 78, of which 37 or nearly one-half are undenominational, and the majority of the remainder Roman Catholic.

Of the twenty and odd thousand Indians on these reserves, 6,061 profess to be Roman Catholics, 5,253 to be Anglicans, 4,540 to be Methodists, 3,067 to be pagans and the remainder to be scattered among other leading denominations.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME—ONTARIO MISSIONS.

The history of the French missions to the Indians of Canada begins with the arrival of the Recollect or Franciscan Fathers at Quebec in the summer of 1615. The pioneers of this Order to plant the standard of Christianity among the redmen were Fathers Joseph Le Caron, Denis Jamay, John Dolbeau and Pacifique Duplessis. These men were sent at the request of Champlain, then Governor of Canada, and with the sanction of the Pope, and their names will forever remain indelibly associated with the earliest effort to proclaim the gospel to the Indians. With the reputation which the Indians then had for cruelty and vice, it required men of unbounded heroism, inspired by the noblest zeal and self-sacrifice to undertake work like this,—and such were the men who were selected for these missions. Half-hearted zeal or lukewarm determination could have accomplished nothing in these pioneer days. But not only were the Recollect and the Jesuits men of great zeal and courage, they were often men of unusual culture, scholarship and literary attainments, as well as of refinement and noble birth. With such an equipment, it is no wonder their deeds have passed into history and been handed down the ages for the admiration of posterity.

On July 1st, 1615, Father Le Caron began his great journey westward to the scene of his future labors among the Hurons or Wyandots and the Tionontates on the Nottawasaga peninsula and what is now the County of Simcoe. Accompanied by a band of Hurons and Algonquins of the Ottawa, he sailed up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, thence up the Ottawa and Mattawa Rivers to Lake Nipissing. From Lake Nipissing, by way of French River, they entered Georgian Bay, exactly a month before Champlain reached the same point. Down the eastern shore of the Bay they sailed, landing at the entrance to Matchedash Bay. The trail was then followed on foot until his guides arrived at their destination, the Huron



settlement of Otoucha. Le Caron's reception here was favorable and a wigwam was erected for him at Caragouha near Nottawasaga Bay. The Hurons at that time were estimated to number from ten to twelve thousand persons, and consisted of four tribes, increased later to five by the addition of the Tionontates.

At Caragouha he offered his first mass, and one month afterwards, upon the arrival of Champlain, mass was again chanted and the Cross was raised on the shores of the Georgian Bay. For six months Le Caron labored at this point, proclaiming the gospel and studying the language, and his estimate of the tribe at that time is interesting. In his opinion, the Hurons were almost insensible to the influences of Christianity. The gratification of the senses appears to have been their chief pursuit. "Their every inclination," he wrote, "is brutal. They are naturally gluttonous, having their farewell feasts, their complimentary feasts, war, peace, death, health and marriage feasts."

Early in February, 1616, he paid a visit to the Tionontates or Tobacco Nation, who were located on what is now the Townships of Collingwood, Sunnidale and Nottawasaga. His reception, however, was so unfriendly that he returned to Caragouha and spent the remainder of the winter in acquiring the language and in compiling the first dictionary of the Huron tongue. On May 20th, 1616, he bade good-bye to his red-skinned companions, and set off for Montreal, accompanied by a number of the tribe who were on their way to Three Rivers to exchange their furs for the white man's goods.

Seven years later Le Caron returned to the Hurons, accompanied by Father Nicholas Viel and Brother Gabriel Sagard, and was cordially received. His labors, as he says himself, now began in earnest. A chapel was built for him at Ossosanee which he dedicated to St. Joseph, and here, religious exercises were held and instruction given daily.

"It would be difficult to tell you," he writes at this time, "the fatigue I suffer, being obliged to have my paddle in hand all day long, and run with all my strength with the Indians. I have more than a hundred times walked in the rivers over the sharp rocks which cut my feet, in the mud, in the woods, where I carried the canoe and my little baggage, in order to avoid

the rapids and frightful waterfalls. I say nothing of the painful fast which beset us, having only a little sagamity, which is a kind of pulmentum, composed of water and the meal of Indian corn, a small quantity of which is dealt out to us morning and evening. Yet I must avow that amid my pains I felt much consolation. For, alas! when we see such a great number of infidels, and nothing but a drop of water is needed to make them children of God, one feels an ardor which I cannot express, to labor for their conversion, and to sacrifice for it one's repose and life."

To this record of hardships and trials, Brother Sagard adds: "Meat was so rare with us, that we often passed six weeks or two whole months without tasting a bit, unless a small piece of dog, bear or fowl, given to us at banquets."

In the meantime, Father Viel had, by dint of great industry and perseverance, made good progress in mastering the Huron language, but his efforts to give the Indians religious instruction were not encouraging, and he wrote for assistance to Father Le Caron (who was then in Quebec). The latter promptly wrote to France, with the result that two years later, or in 1625, the Jesuits appeared on the scene. Their advent practically closed the chapter of the Recollect missions in this part of Canada.

Father Le Caron never returned to the Hurons, but went to France and passed away in 1632. Father Viel, according to the historian Le Clercq, was drowned by an Indian companion in a rapid of the River Des Prairies, while en route to Quebec on business connected with the mission, and the rapid has since been known as the "Sault au Recollect." Before his death, however, he completed the dictionary of the Huron tongue undertaken by Le Caron and left other valuable memoranda at the Mission, which were afterwards recovered. Sagard also returned to France and wrote a dictionary of the Huron language, as well as a number of sketches of his travels which possess considerable historic, geographic and ethnographic value.

The mission to the Hurons on Georgian Bay was the only one established by the Recollects in Ontario.

The first of the Jesuits to arrive at Quebec in response to the invitation of Father Le Caron were Fathers Charles Lalemant, Enemond Masse and Jean de Breboeuf who reached there about the end of May, 1625. Father

Masse was the only one with experience among the Indians, having spent some time among the Micmacs in Nova Scotia. Father Lalemant, for the time being, remained at Quebec, whence he penned, in the following year, the first of the now celebrated "Relations of the Jesuits."

To Jean de Brebeuf fell the lot of being selected to carry on the work among the Hurons on Georgian Bay, so nobly established by the Recollects. In preparation for his rigorous experiences, de Brebeuf spent the winter of that year among a nomadic band of Montagnais, where he endured great hardships, but obtained a considerable knowledge of their language. In the spring, accompanied by Father Joseph de la Roche Daillon, a Recollect, he started for the Georgian Bay with a band of Hurons who were returning to their homes, after disposing of their trophies of the chase to the French traders. The journey of nine hundred miles to the west, through forest and flood, was a supreme test of endurance, but de Brebeuf was a man of great physique and uncommon strength, and proved easily able to hold his own with the best of the red men, hardened as they were by years of such journeys. Fatigue seemed unknown to him, and many a time on the toilsome march when his companion, Father Daillon, seemed overcome, he would hasten to his relief and cheerfully bear the double burden for hours at a time. Accustomed as the Hurons were to venerate physical prowess rather than Christian virtues, these exhibitions served to invest "Echon," as he was called by the Indians, with a peculiar prestige not enjoyed by many of his companions.

Eventually the Mission of St. Joseph was reached and Father Viel's chapel was found still standing. For three years they labored there uninterruptedly, with the exception of a visit paid by Father Daillon to the Neutral or Attiwindaron tribe on the north shore of Lake Erie, stretching from Detroit to the Niagara River. His reception, however, was so hostile that he returned the same year and left no record of his visit. In 1629 on the capture of Quebec by the English, the two priests were recalled and the mission was abandoned until three years later when France again obtained possession of the country.

When the way was again clear for the missionaries to return to their posts in 1634, de Brebeuf set out once more accompanied by Fathers Davost



and Daniel, and after a month of supreme toil, hardship and danger, reached their destination at Ihonatiria in the Huron country. Father Brebeuf was received with every demonstration of welcome, the children jumping about him and crying "Echon is come again." At once the Fathers began the erection of a log house which served them also as a chapel, after which they entered upon their missionary work in earnest, going about from village to village and from camp to camp, instructing, correcting and encouraging adults and children whenever the opportunity offered. So successful, indeed, was Father Brebeuf in this crusade, that he aroused the jealousy of the Medicine men or "sorcerers" of the tribe, who openly charged himself and his companions with inducing a prolonged drought, and threatened to destroy the cross which was erected before their dwelling. Brebeuf, with the courage which was characteristic of him, boldly met the Medicine men in council, and succeeded in convincing them, by forcible arguments, that the drought was not due to their presence nor was the cross responsible for it.

In 1635, the year after Father Brebeuf and his companions reached Ihonatiria, they were reinforced by the arrival of Fathers Pierre Pigard and Francis Le Mercier, and were thus able to extend their operations. Their lives at this time were one unceasing record of toil and trial, living as they did with their dusky associates, entering into their mode of life and occupation, accompanying them on the chase and sharing generally in their dangers and hardships. During an epidemic, of smallpox in particular, their courage and fortitude was tried to the utmost, for they dwelt in camps where sanitation was unknown, where the most repulsive habits were indulged and which literally reeked with decaying offal, garbage and human bodies, turning whole villages into charnel houses. The trials encountered by them, may best be studied in their own records which are now stored among the Jesuit Archives. Brebeuf himself, has left on record this advice to those who might follow in his footsteps (in a letter to the Superior of his Order in France): "Let those who come here, come well provided with patience and charity, for they will become rich in troubles; but where will the laboring ox go when he does not draw the plough; and if he does not draw the plough how can there be a harvest?"

A glimpse at the daily routine of the Fathers at this time (as recorded by Charlevoix) is interesting. "All their moments," he writes, "were marked by some heroic action, by conversions or by sufferings, which they considered as a real indemnity when their labors had not produced all the fruit which they had hoped for. From the hour of four in the morning when they rose, till eight, they generally kept within; this was the time for prayer, and the only part of the day which they had for their private exercises of devotion. At eight each went whithersoever his duty called him; some visited the sick, others walked into the fields to see those who were engaged in cultivating the earth, others repaired to the neighboring villages which were destitute of pastors. These excursions answered many good purposes, for in the first place no children, or at least very few, died without baptism; even adults who had refused to receive instruction while in health, applied for it when they were sick. They were not proof against the ingenious and indefatigable charity of their physicians."

Notwithstanding their lives of supreme self-sacrifice, however, the Fathers were charged by the Medicine men with bringing the disease upon the tribe by the exercise of their religious ceremonies, and they were informed that they were to be sacrificed.

Not for a moment, however, did Brebeuf's fortitude desert him. Again he strode fearlessly into the Council of the Chiefs and insisted on a hearing. By this time he was thoroughly familiar with their language, and he addressed them in their own tongue with such persuasive eloquence and zeal that the sentence of death was revoked. About the same time, the malady came to an end, and further hostility to the missionaries ceased.

Late in the year 1635 Fathers Davost and Daniel made a journey to Quebec with three Huron boys whom they desired to have educated, and on their way down the Ottawa River they passed Fathers Garnier and Chatelain en route to the Huron country. Proceeding towards their destination, they were met at Three Rivers by Father Jogues not long out from France, and destined in the near future to play so important a part in the history of the early Jesuit missions. Father Jogues was much impressed by the miserable and destitute appearance presented by the missionaries, and in a letter to his mother says: "They were barefoot and exhausted,

their underclothes worn out and their cassocks hanging in rags on their emaciated bodies; yet their faces were expressive of content and satisfaction with the life which they led, and excited in me, both by their looks and conversation, a desire to go and share with them the crosses to which the Lord attached such unction."

No later than the following summer, Father Jogues was invited to accompany a band of Hurons to their distant western home, and set out upon his dangerous and toilsome journey not altogether unprepared for the difficulties he would encounter by reason of certain information received from Brebeuf. The latter, indeed, presents the following graphic picture of the trip from Quebec westward: "Easy as the journey may appear, it will, however, present difficulties of a formidable nature to the heart that is not strengthened by self-denial and mortification. The activity of his Indian companions will neither shorten the portages, make smooth the rocks, nor banish danger. The voyage will take at least three or four weeks with companions whom he perhaps never before met. He will be confined within the narrow limits of a bark canoe, and in a position so painful and inconvenient that he will not be free to change it without exposing the canoe to the danger of being capsized or injured on the rocks. During the day the sun will scorch him, and at night the mosquitoes will allow him no repose. After ascending six or seven rapids, his only meal will be of Indian corn steeped in water, his bed will be the earth, or a jagged and uneven rock. At times the stars will be his blanket, and around him, day and night, perpetual silence."

On his arrival at the Mission at Ihonatiria on Sept. 11th, 1636, Father Jogues was cordially received. Soon after this, by reason of the ravages made by the smallpox at Ihonatiria, the Mission was divided between the two villages of Teanaustayae and Ossossane, that at the former village being called "St. Joseph," and that of the latter "Conception." As their work increased, however, they were obliged to establish a permanent headquarters, and for this purpose selected a site on what is now the River Wye in the Huron peninsula. Here a series of log buildings, suitable for their needs was constructed, consisting of a commodious chapel, a hospital and a





PAUL RAQUENEAU, S.J.  
1608-1680.



ISAAC JOQUES, S.J.  
1607-1646.



PAUL LE JEUNE, S.J.  
1591-1664.



GABRIEL LALEMONT, S.J.  
1610-1649.



JEAN DE BRÉBEUF, S.J.  
1593-1649.



residence. The progress of construction was watched with the greatest interest by the Attaronchronons, in whose country they were located.

The missionaries, now eight in number, had met with fair success in most of the Huron villages. The seed had been sown and the missions were growing surely, though slowly. It was then decided to enlarge their field of operations, and in December, 1639, Fathers Jogues and Garnier, without a guide, proceeded to make their way through a trackless wilderness to the Tionontates or Tobacco nation (known to the French as the Petuns), at the head of Nottawasaga Bay. After encountering perils and hardships unparalleled, they reached their destination at the end of three days, but their plight was in no way improved. The Tionontates had heard of the disastrous results of the plague among the Hurons, and the reputation of the Fathers as "Black Sorcerers" had preceded them. Everywhere they were received with hostility and curses, and only the fear in which they were held saved them from being massacred. They were obliged to return, but their mission was not entirely fruitless, as they learned something of the nature of the tribe, and enabled Father Garnier in the following year, to establish among them the Mission of the Apostles.

In the year 1641 the way was opened for the Fathers to extend their labors to the northwest, among the Ottawas residing at Sault Ste. Marie and along the shores of Lake Superior. Previous to this time, Father Raymbault who was familiar with their language had paid them several visits, but no permanent mission had been established among them. In 1641, however, a band from this tribe paid a visit to a number of their Algonquin countrymen residing in the Huron country, in order to participate in their great Feast of the Dead. Upon their return on Sept. 17th of that year, Fathers Jogues and Raymbault seized the opportunity to accompany them, and had the distinction of being the first whites ever known to have passed through the Sault to Lake Superior. Referring to this journey, Bancroft writes: "Thus did the religious zeal of the French bear the Cross to the banks of the St. Mary and the confines of Lake Superior, and look wistfully towards the homes of the Sioux in the valley of the Mississippi, five years before the New England Eliot had addressed the



tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston harbor." The two priests remained for some weeks among the Ottawas and prepared the way for a permanent mission to be established there in 1660 by Claude Allouez.

Several days' journey to the south of the Huron country, dwelt the Attiwandaron or Neutral tribe, located on both banks of the Niagara River and on the Niagara peninsula. Of this tribe who then numbered about twelve thousand persons, Father Daillon, who visited them in 1626, said he did not see a single deformed person. But though almost physically perfect, they were singularly cruel and licentious in their dispositions, surpassing in their barbarous customs even their neighbors the Hurons and Iroquois. Female prisoners were burned by them, a practice so revolting as to receive the universal condemnation of neighboring tribes. Some of their habits, too, were exceedingly repulsive, as in the matter of retaining dead bodies for weeks in their wigwams until they were in an advanced stage of decay, when the flesh was scraped from the bones and the latter were carefully put away until the periodical Feasts of the Dead.

To this tribe, Fathers Brebeuf and Chaumont prepared to pay a visit in November, 1640. After a journey of almost incredible hardship, they reached their destination at the end of nine days. As in the case of the visit of Fathers Jogues and Garnier to the Tionontates the year before, however, they found that their reputation as sorcerers had preceded them. They were received with the utmost hostility, not a door being opened to them for fear lest the unfortunate inmates in whose cabin they set foot, should be overwhelmed with curses and withering plagues. For months they persevered in their efforts to establish a mission. Almost perishing from cold and hunger, they went from town to town, only to have all their friendly overtures rejected, and prepared to depart from the country. On the eve of their departure, a singular phenomenon was presented to Brebeuf, which in view of his martyrdom a few years later, is not without its significance. Out of a clear sky a blood-red cross appeared moving toward him from the direction of the Iroquois country.

"Was it large," asked his companions, on his return to the mission on the Wye.

"Large enough to crucify us all," he replied.

Steady progress was now made by the missionaries until in 1648 the Fathers had the satisfaction of seeing the fruits of their labors in flourishing churches and missions located in what are now known as the townships of Tiny, Tay, Medonte, Sunnidale, Matchedash and North Orillia. These missions of the Conception were known as Mary Magdalene, Holy Mary, St. Michael, St. Joseph and St. Ignatius. Two missions—those of the Holy Ghost and of St. Peter—were established among the Algonquins on Lake Nipissing and the north shore of Lake Huron. Even among the Tionontates two permanent missions were established. The Fathers—now eighteen in number—were seeking for ways in which they might enlarge the scope of their operations and influence. The Puants and Nation of Fire on the shores of Lake Michigan had invited them to send missionaries, while plans were also projected for reaching the Algonquins to the north and the Dacotahs and Sioux to the west. Conversions were recorded daily. No less than eighteen hundred persons were baptized in one year, and though the labors of the missionaries at the more distant points were arduous and toilsome to an extreme degree, it was only a matter of time when the entire Huron nation would have been converted, but for events which precipitated their doom, and destroyed, almost at a blow, the patient work of years.

For many years previous to this period, a feud existed between the Iroquois and Huron nations, so deadly as to amount to a war of extermination. The Iroquois at that time mostly resided south of Lake Ontario in what is now the State of New York, as well as on both sides of the St. Lawrence River. They were a particularly war-like and ferocious confederacy made up of the six tribes, the Senecas, Oneidas, Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagas and Tuscaroras. They had long been in the habit of making war-like raids upon their less powerful neighbors, and on one of these raids in 1647 they had almost annihilated the Neutrals dwelling on the Niagara peninsula.

Their lurking and implacable hatred of the Hurons found vent early in the year 1648, when a large body of Iroquois descended without warning on the Huron village of St. Joseph (near the Town of Barrie), and with barbarous ferocity, massacred the inhabitants, men, women and children, to

the number of seven hundred, leaving nothing but a charred ruin in their trail.

When the Iroquois attacked the village, Father Daniel had just celebrated mass in the chapel before a crowded audience of old men, women and children, as the braves had all departed on the chase two days before. Paralyzed with terror at the sudden onslaught of their foes, many of the people fled headlong. All efforts to restrain their flight proved futile. Baptizing these by aspersion collectively, and pronouncing absolution upon those who had already received the sacrament, the priest's parting injunction was: "My children, fly, and retain your faith until death." Not all of them fled, however. A band of women and children remained with him, and as the Iroquois approached the chapel the priest turned to them exclaiming: "We will die here and shall meet again in Heaven."

With these words, he strode calmly to the door and faced the foe alone. For a moment the Mohawks were aghast with surprise at his temerity, but it was only for a moment. With deadly aim the Indian archers drew their bows, and like a cloud the arrows filled the air. The priest fell, pierced by a hundred wounds, his last thoughts and words being of exhortation and encouragement to his little flock. Thus was the first Jesuit martyr called away from the scene of his eighteen years' labor among the Huron Indians, in the forty-eighth year of his age. The remainder of the winter passed without further outbreaks, and the missionaries continued their zealous efforts, utterly ignorant of their impending fate.

The first intimation the missionaries had that the disturbances were by no means at an end, was on March 17th, 1649, when a Huron warrior entered the Village of St. Mary's and conveyed the terrible news that the Iroquois had just captured the Village of St. Louis and massacred the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex.

"And where are Fathers Brebeuf and Lalemant," asked Father Rague-neau, who was in charge of the mission at St. Mary's.

"They are dead," replied the Indian, who knew the bloodthirsty nature of the foe and feared the worst.

As a matter of fact, Fathers Lalemant and Brebeuf were not then dead, but were captured and were being reserved for an appalling fate.



The outbreak in this year began early in March, when the Iroquois to the number of one thousand—chiefly of the Mohawk and Seneca tribes—descended with their customary suddenness on the Huron Town of St. Ignatius and murdered all the inhabitants. From St. Ignatius they moved like a resistless avalanche, upon the neighboring Town of St. Louis. The inhabitants, though taken by surprise, fought with grim determination against their barbarous and relentless foes, but to no avail. On different occasions while the fighting raged, the priests were urged to make their escape by the only road still open, towards St. Mary's, but the propositions were not entertained. "We cannot flee," replied Brebeuf. "Where should the priest be found but with his people." And so they continued their Christian ministrations amid the hail of bullets and arrows, and braves falling like autumn leaves around them. Finally their fort was captured and set on fire, and the captives indiscriminately consigned to the seething caldron of flames.

Breboeuf and Lalemant did not share the fate of their Indian companions. Instead, they were taken, with a number of other prisoners, back to St. Ignatius, and here, a few hours later, Brebeuf was stripped and bound to a stake. For hours he was made to endure tortures almost indescribable, but not once were his brutal captors able to wring from him any evidence of weakness. "You do not scream, Echon," they said. "Why do you not moan? We will make you," and their efforts were redoubled. But the only reply of the priest was one of warning and condemnation of their course. Unwilling to hear these statements, they cut off his tongue and his lips, but still Brebeuf made no cry. Instead, he continued as well as he was able, to warn them of the punishment to come, to which they replied by ribald and derisive jests and songs, and cut his fingers off joint by joint. Finally they went through the mockery of baptism by pouring boiling water on his head, yet the priest did not flinch. Despairing of conquering such a nature and marvelling at a courage so indomitable, they completed their fiendish work by scalping him and tearing a great hole in his side from which many drank the blood hoping to imbibe with it some of his supreme fortitude. No doubt Brebeuf was now beyond the reach of his enemies, but one chief, not to be outdone in brutality, apparently, advanced with his knife, tore out the

priest's heart and began to devour it with evident zest. Thus ended the career of Jean de Brebeuf, one of the noblest and most heroic missionaries of any age or church, who labored zealously for twenty-four years among trials and hardships as great as ever fell to the lot of man.

Of frailer and more delicate physique, Father Lalemant was incapable of the same display of fortitude, yet his tortures were more prolonged if not more atrocious. As he was himself being led to the stake, he beheld the appalling fate of his companion, and, overcome with emotion, cried: "My God, we're made a spectacle to the world, to angels and to men." He was then bound from head to foot in birch bark, and by a slow process extending over seventeen hours, was literally roasted to death. All night long the orgies lasted. Live coals were placed in the sockets of his eyes, and in other ways the Iroquois amply maintained the reputation for brutality which they had so well earned.

All that could be collected of the remains of the martyred missionaries, was gathered together and taken to Quebec, where the bones were carefully preserved until their removal to France (with the exception of the skull of Father Brebeuf which has been retained and may be seen at the Hotel Dieu, Quebec).

From the Dominion Archives (1885) the following document is taken:—

(Translation.)

[Veritable account of the martyrdom and most happy death of Father Jean de Breboeuf and of Father Gabriel L'Allemant in New France, in the country of the Hurons, by the Iroquois, enemies of the Faith.]

Father Jean de Breboeuf and Father Gabriel L'Allemant had set out from our cabin to go to a small bourg, called St. Ignace, distant from our cabin about a short quarter of a league, to instruct the savages and the new Christians of that bourg. It was on the 16th day of March, in the morning, that we perceived a great fire at the place to which these two good fathers had gone. This fire made us very uneasy. We did not know whether it was enemies, or if the fire had taken in some of the huts of the village. The Rev. Father Paul Ragueneau, our Superior, immediately

resolved to send some one to learn what might be the cause. But no sooner had we formed the design of going there to see, than we perceived several savages on the road coming straight towards us. We all thought it was the Iroquois who were coming to attack us, but having considered them more closely, we perceived that it was Hurons who were flying from the fight and who had escaped from the combat. These poor savages caused great pity in us. They were all covered with wounds. One had his head fractured; another his arm broken; another had an arrow in his eye; another had his hand cut off by a blow from an axe. In fine, the day was passed receiving into our huts all these poor wounded people, and in looking with compassion towards the fire and the place where were these two good fathers. We saw the fire and the barbarians, but could not see anything of the two fathers.

Here is what these savages told us of the taking of the Bourg St. Ignace and of Fathers Jean de Breboeuf and Gabriel L'Allemant:—

The Iroquois came to the number of twelve hundred men; took our village; took Father Breboeuf and his companion; set fire to all the huts. They proceeded to discharge their rage on these two fathers, for they took them both and stripped them entirely naked, and fastened each to a post. They tied both of their hands together. They tore the nails from their fingers. They beat them with a shower of blows from cudgels, on the shoulders, the loins, the belly, the legs, and the face, there being no part of their body which did not endure this torment. They told us further: Although Father Breboeuf was overwhelmed under the weight of these blows, he did not cease continually to speak of God and to encourage all the new Christians who were captives like himself, to suffer well, that they might die well, in order to go in company with him to Paradise. Whilst the good father was thus encouraging these good people, a wretched Huron renegade, who had remained a captive with the Iroquois, and whom Father Breboeuf had formerly instructed and baptized, hearing him speak of Paradise and Holy Baptism, was irritated and said to him: "Echon," that is Father Breboeuf's name in Huron, "thou sayest that baptism and the sufferings of this life lead straight to Paradise, thou wilt go soon, for I am going to baptize thee and to make thee suffer well, in order to go the sooner to thy Paradise." The barbarian having said that, took a kettle full of boiling water, which he



poured over his body three different times, in derision of Holy Baptism. And each time that he baptized him in this manner the barbarian said to him with bitter sarcasm: "Go to Heaven, for thou art well baptized." After that they made him suffer several other torments. The first was to make axes red hot and apply them to the loins and under the arm pits. They made a collar of these red hot axes and put it on the neck of this good father. This is the fashion in which I have seen the collar made for other prisoners. They make six axes red hot, take a large withe of green wood, pass the six axes through the large end of the withe, take the two ends together, and then put it over the neck of the sufferer. I have seen no torment which more moved me to compassion than that. For you see a man bound naked to a post, who, having this collar on his neck, cannot tell what posture to take. For, if he lean forward, those above his shoulders weigh the more on him; if he lean back, those on his stomach make him suffer the same torment; if he keep erect, without leaning to one side or other, the burning axes, applied equally on both sides, give him a double torture.

After that they put on him a belt full of pitch and resin and set fire to it, which roasted his whole body. During all these torments, Father Breboeuf endured like a rock insensible to fire and flames, which astonished all the blood-thirsty wretches who tormented him. His zeal was so great that he preached continually to these infidels to try to convert them. His executioners were enraged against him for constantly speaking to them of God and of their conversion. To prevent his speaking more, they cut off both his upper and lower lips. After that they set themselves to strip the flesh from his legs, thighs and arms, to the very bone, and put it to roast before his eyes in order to eat it.

Whilst they tormented him in this manner, these wretches derided him, saying: "Thou seest well that we treat thee as a friend, since we shall be the cause of thy eternal happiness; thank us, then, for these good offices which we render thee, for the more thou shalt suffer, the more will thy God reward thee."

These villains seeing that the good father began to grow weak, made him sit down on the ground, and one of them taking a knife, cut off the skin covering his skull. Another one of these barbarians seeing that the good

father would soon die, made an opening in the upper part of his chest, tore out his heart, which he roasted and ate. Others came to drink his blood, still warm, which they drank with both hands, saying that Father Breboeuf had been very courageous to endure so much pain as they had given him, and that in drinking his blood they would become courageous like him.

This is what we learned of the martyrdom and most happy death of Father Jean de Breboeuf by several Christian savages worthy of belief, who had been constantly present from the time the good father was taken till his death. These good Christians were prisoners to the Iroquois, who were taken into their country to be put to death. But our good God was gracious enough to enable them to escape by the way, and they came to us to recount all that I have set down in writing.

Father Breboeuf was taken on the 16th day of March, in the morning, with Father L'Allemant in the year 1649. Father Breboeuf died the same day of his capture about four o'clock in the afternoon. These barbarians threw the remains of his body into the fire, but the fat which still remained on his body extinguished the fire and he was not consumed.

I do not doubt that all which I have just related is true, and I would seal it with my blood, for I have seen the same treatment given to Iroquois prisoners whom the Huron savages had taken in war, with the exception of the boiling water, which I have not seen poured on anyone.

I am about to describe truly what I saw of the martyrdom and of the most happy death of Father Jean de Breboeuf and of Father Gabriel L'Allemant. On the next morning, when we had assurance of the departure of the enemy, we went to the spot to seek for the remains of their bodies, to the place where their lives had been taken. We found them both, but a little apart from one another. They were brought to our hut, and laid uncovered upon the bark of a tree, where I examined them at leisure, for more than two hours' time, to see if what the savages had told us of their martyrdom and death were true. I examined first the body of Father de Breboeuf, which was pitiful to see, as well as that of Father L'Allemant. The body of Father de Breboeuf had his legs, thighs and arms stripped of flesh to the very bone; I saw and touched a large number (*quantité*) of great blisters, which he had on several places on his body, from the boiling water which

these barbarians had poured over him in mockery of Holy Baptism. I saw and touched the wound from a belt of bark, full of pitch and resin which roasted his whole body. I saw and touched the marks of burns from the collar of axes placed on his shoulders and stomach. I saw and touched his two lips which they had cut off because he constantly spoke of God whilst they made him suffer. I saw and touched all parts of his body, which had received more than 200 blows from a stick. I saw and touched the top of his scalped (*ecorchée*) head; I saw and touched the opening which these barbarians had made to tear out his heart. In fine, I saw and touched all the wounds of his body such as the savages had told and assured us of; we buried these precious relics on Sunday, the 21st day of March, 1649, with much consolation.

I had the happiness of carrying them to the grave and of inhuming them with those of Father Gabriel L'Allemand. When we left the country of the Hurons, we lifted both bodies from the ground and set them to boil in strong lye. All the bones were well scraped, and the care of having them dried was given to me. I put them every day into a little oven made of clay, which we had, after having heated it slightly, and when in a state to be packed, they were enveloped separately in silk stuff. Then they were put into two small chests and we brought them to Quebec, where they are held in great veneration.

It is not a doctor of the Sorbonne who has composed this, as you may easily see it is a remnant from the Iroquois, and a person who has lived more than thought, who is and shall be ever, Sir,

Your humble and very obedient servant,

CHRISTOPHE REGNAUT, *Coadjutor Brother.*

with the Jesuits of Caen, 1678, Companion of Fathers Breboeuf and L'Allemand above mentioned.

Having entered upon their murderous crusade, the Iroquois did not cease until they had practically exterminated the Tionontates as well as the Hurons. With the Tionontates perished Father Garnier, who was shot and butchered while in the act of ministering to a dying warrior. Father Chabanel who had been associated with him for some time, shared an



equally violent death, at the hands, however, of a Huron traitor who murdered him and threw his body into a river. He appears to have expected some such fate, for he wrote to his brother that he had a premonition that he would probably be burned to death by the Iroquois.

At last the warnings appear to have been sufficient, and what was left of the once powerful tribe of Hurons, decided to abandon their homes and seek safety with other nations. Prompt action was necessary, and in less than two weeks the country was practically deserted. In their flight they destroyed many of their towns, so as to afford their enemy as little cover and protection as possible. In bands of twenty or thirty families, they obtained temporary refuge among the Algonquins on the north shore of Lake Huron, and among the Tionontates and Neutrals to the south. Even in their new homes they were not always safe from the malignity of their foes, who pursued them, in some instances as far as St. Joseph's Island, in the neighborhood of the Sault, where a large party under the leadership of Father Ragueneau, had taken up their residence.

These persecutions together with the rigors of the winter, to which were added the horrors of famine and disease, caused the St. Joseph's Island party to undertake the long and arduous journey to Quebec. Along the north shore of Lake Huron and all the way from French River to the Ottawa River, where once dwelt the Huron nation, populous and prosperous, all was now desolation and decay. On their way down the Ottawa River in the spring, they encountered Father Bressani and a party of Hurons on their way to the Island with supplies. On learning of the situation, the latter turned back and proceeded with the refugees to the City of Quebec. The entire party soon afterwards settled at Lorette, about thirteen miles from Quebec, where are still located on a reserve, the representatives of that once powerful nation.

But, disastrous as had been their experiences, the ardor of the missionaries in their cause, had not grown cold. Indeed, writing of their trials at this time, Bancroft says: "It may be asked if these massacres quenched enthusiasm. I answer that the Jesuits never receded one foot, but as in a brave army new troops press forward to fill the places of the fallen, they were never wanting in heroism and enterprise on behalf of the Cross." The

fortunes of the fathers for the next few years (between 1650 and 1657) is the best proof of this. Everywhere they were to be found accompanying the fugitive Huron bands, encouraging and assisting them as much as possible in their new homes. Father Grelon, amid hardships innumerable, followed his wandering flock over the rocky and desolate north shore. Father Simon Lemoyne (who was the first European to ascend the St. Lawrence in 1654), undertook a mission to the Onondagas, one of the fierce Iroquois tribes. A year later he was relieved by Fathers Pere Chaumonot and Claude Dablon.

In 1656 Rene Menard boldly proclaimed the gospel to the Cayugas, and in the same year, Fathers Leonard Garreau and Gabriel Druillettes both with experience among the Indians, were captured by the Mohawks while on their way to the Sioux nation. (Father Garreau was murdered by the Iroquois in the same year while on his way to the Ottawas of the Lake Superior region.) In 1657 Father Chaumonot furnished further proof (if such were needed), that the true missionary spirit was not waning, by courageously taking up his abode in the midst of the savage Senecas. Thus within nine years after the Iroquois had started upon their bloodthirsty war of extermination—the most brutal that ever disgraced the pages of Indian warfare—the Jesuit missionaries had fairly established themselves in the midst of these monsters.

In 1660 Father Menard, though advanced in years, undertook the then formidable journey to the Indians on the south shore of Lake Superior. After weeks of prodigious hardship and danger, he reached his destination and successfully established a mission among the few Hurons found in the district. He then made an effort to visit an inland tribe, but is believed to have perished in the attempt, as he was never heard from again. His work, however, was taken up by Father Claude Allouez, one of the most remarkable of all the Jesuits in the extent of the work accomplished by him. For thirty years he roved the plains and forests with the redmen, taking part in all their dangerous pastimes and pursuits. He it was who gave the name "Ste. Marie" to the river connecting Lakes Huron and Superior, and established there the first permanent mission on the site visited twenty-five years before by Fathers Jogues and Raymbault. Missions were established by

him during the course of his industrious and singularly successful career, among no less than twenty different tribes, including the Chippewas, Winnebagoes, Potawatomes (of Lake Michigan), Illinois, Miamis, Menomonies, Sacs, Saupteurs, Kickapoos and Foxes, as well as among scattered bands of Ottawas and Hurons. In 1668 there were also engaged in the district south of Lake Superior between Green Bay and Duluth, Fathers Marquette, Dablon and Nicholas, who soon afterwards set out upon their perilous exploration of the Mississippi.

The downfall of the Huron nation, meant also, as an inevitable result, the destruction and dispersion of the Tionontates, who were in a way, part of the tribe, having become associated in 1630. At that time they numbered about fifteen thousand persons and were located to the south and west of Nottawasaga Bay. When the Iroquois entered upon their murderous campaign of death and desolation, the missionaries had been making fair progress in spreading the gospel among the Tionontates. Fathers Garnier and Chabanel were in charge of the mission at St. John, while Fathers Grelon and Garreau were performing similar duty at St. Matthias. The fate of the priests at the first named mission has already been recorded.

Then began a career of wanderings by the Tionontates, so pathetic and desolate as to be without parallel in modern times. Through trackless forest and desert plain for years they roved, a gradually diminishing band, among wild beasts and wilder men, amid privations and sufferings indescribable, meeting with repulses on every hand from tribes that should have befriended them, but who feared, in some instances, that they might thereby arouse the animosity of the Iroquois. In succession they made their pathetic appeal to the Puants of Green Bay, to the Illinois, to the Andastes and to the Sioux, only to be ruthlessly driven away in each instance. Finally, in 1665, they found a temporary home at Ashland Bay, Wisconsin, where they were welcomed and assisted by Father Allouez. Shortly afterwards, under the care of Father Marquette, they returned to the Mackinac district, after twenty years of wandering through the wilds of America. A few years of comparative peace were then enjoyed, after which they moved



to Detroit and Sandusky, and subsequently taking part in the Pontiac campaigns, their tribe became practically obliterated.

All through the disastrous experience of the Hurons, the faithful missionaries never ceased to minister to their spiritual welfare. In addition to those already named, Fathers Pierson, Nouvel, De Carheil, Enjalran and Marest were with them during the stormiest period of their career. Such was their fidelity in the execution of their duty, that Sir William Johnson, in writing to the Lords of Trade, declared that Protestant missionaries were failures and would continue to fail in their enterprises, until they were able to practice self-denial to the same degree as the priests were doing.

It is interesting to note that in 1748 a small remnant of the Tionontates were still located at Sandwich, Ont., and that the first church was built for them by Father Salleneuve in that year. Father Salleneuve was succeeded by Father Marchand, a Sulpician, who was in charge of the mission from 1796 to 1825.

There remains only to be sketched, the history of the Bay of Quinte mission. In the fall of 1668 a deputation of Cayugas (of the Iroquois confederacy) went to Montreal asking that missionaries be sent to Quinte district, where a large body of them had settled in the previous spring from western New York. In response to this appeal, Fathers Fenelon and Trouve of the Sulpician Order were sent to them, the voyage from La Chine to the Bay of Quinte taking nearly four weeks. Though hospitably received, the priests made little progress in their work, except among the children. These they were allowed to baptize, but the adults would only consent to this ceremony over their death-beds. During the winter they were joined by Fathers Barthelmy and Dollier de Casson. At this time, the Cayuga settlement included four villages about twenty-five miles from Lake Ontario, viz., Canagora, Canohenda, Keint-he and Tiot-hatton. Scattered as these villages were some miles apart, the labors of the missionaries were of the most arduous character, and in 1669, feeling the need of a rest Father Fenelon returned to Quebec. Here he was kindly received by Bishop Laval, who asked him how he could best preserve to posterity the record of his labors.

"My Lord," replied Father Fenelon, "the greatest kindness you can show us is to say nothing at all about our work."

When he went back to the mission he took with him Father Lascaris d'Urse. On their arrival at the Bay, they were waited upon by a deputation of Cayugas from Gandasateiadon asking that a mission be established in that village. Father Fenelon undertook this work himself, and spent the next winter among the Indians at that point.

De Casson did not remain long at Quinte, but left for Lake Nipissing where he spent a season or two with a nomadic band of Ottawas who were camped upon its shores. Hearing from them of the existence of almost countless tribes of Indians dwelling on the Mississippi, he returned to Montreal to prepare, if possible, to reach those tribes. Accompanied by the explorer La Salle and Father Galinee who was also an eminent mathematician, they started upon their expedition on Sept. 30th, 1669. On reaching as far west as the Grand River, Ontario, La Salle's health failed and he was obliged to return. De Casson and Galinee continued westward, however, and in the course of time arrived at the Detroit River, whose ascent to Lake Huron they were the first to make, as far as known. Sault Ste. Marie was reached on May 25th, 1670, and here they were cordially received by Fathers Dablon and Marquette who were carrying on the work there. At this point their journey came to a standstill, by reason of their inability to obtain a guide or interpreter to take them further west, and they were obliged to retrace their steps. The return journey was made by way of the straits of Mackinac, and Montreal was reached on June 18th, 1670.

Meantime the work at the Bay of Quinte missions was progressing steadily, although under very unfavorable circumstances. After years of stupendous labor, permanent buildings were erected somewhat after the style of those built at the mission of St. Mary's on the Wye, several years before. From this time on, however, it was found impossible to make any further headway at the missions, largely on account of the roving habits of the Cayugas, and a few years afterwards, the work was abandoned by the Sulpicians.

Rather than see the work come to naught, however, and feeling that possibly they might succeed where the Sulpicians had not, the Recollect Fathers decided to enter the field. For years, noble work was done by Fathers Louis Hennepin, Francis Wasson and Luke Buisset, but in 1687

the Recollects too, left the district, which closed the history of the missions to the Indians at that point.

Kalm, the celebrated early writer on Canada, gives the following estimate of the Jesuits in his day: The Jesuits are commonly very learned, studious, and are very civil and agreeable in company. In their whole deportment there is something pleasing; it is no wonder that they captivate the minds of the people. They seldom speak of religious matters, and if it happens, they generally avoid disputes. They are very ready to do anyone a service, and when they see that their assistance is wanted, they hardly give one time to speak of it, falling to work immediately to bring about what is required of them. Their conversation is very entertaining and learned, so that one can not be tired of their company. Among all the Jesuits I have conversed with in Canada, I have not found one who was not possessed of these qualities in a very eminent degree. They do not care to become preachers to a congregation in the town or country, but leave these places, together with the emoluments arising from them, to the priests. All their business here is to convert the heathen; and with that view their missionaries are scattered over every part of the country. In nearly every town and village peopled by converted Indians are one or two Jesuits, who take great care that they may not return to paganism, but live as Christians ought to do. Thus there are Jesuits with the converted Indians in Tadousac, Lorette, Bécancour, St. François, Sault St. Louis, and all over Canada. There are likewise Jesuit missionaries with those who are not converted, so that there is commonly a Jesuit in every village belonging to the Indians, whom he endeavors on all occasions to convert. In winter he goes on their great hunts, where he is frequently obliged to suffer all imaginable inconveniences, such as walking in the snow all the day, lying in the open air all winter, lying out both in good and bad weather, lying in the Indian huts, which swarm with fleas and other vermin, etc. The Jesuits undergo all these hardships for the sake of converting the Indians, and likewise for political reasons. The Jesuits are of great use to their king; for they are frequently able to persuade the Indians to break their treaty with the English, to make war upon them, to bring their furs to the



French, and not to permit the English to come among them. There is much danger attending these excursions; for, when the Indians are in liquor, they sometimes kill the missionaries who live with them, calling them spies, or excusing themselves by saying that the brandy had killed them. These are the chief occupations of the Jesuit in Canada.

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## CHAPTER V.

### UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME: CHAMPLAIN, LA SALLE, FRONTENAC.

Of the French explorers who held the responsibility of command from the days of Cartier, Samuel de Champlain's name is the first to be associated with Ontario. He was born of a noble family of Brouage, in the Province of Saintonge, in France. He commanded a vessel, in which he made a voyage to the East Indies about the year 1600, and gained experience as a traveller. He accompanied Pontgravé, under De Chatte, in 1603, to Canada, and ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Hochelaga, where they saw no trace of the Indian village visited there by Cartier in 1535. Champlain returned to France in the autumn of 1603. He was engaged by Sieur De Monts (De Chatte's successor) for another voyage to Canada, on which he embarked in the spring of 1604, visiting Acadia, where he wintered.

Champlain had many voyages between Canada and France, and on returning from a visit to the latter country in 1613, took up the project of pushing his explorations with a view of discovering a northwest passage to the Orient. This project was mainly entered upon with the object of proving or disproving the remarkable story of one Nicholas de Vignau, who had on previous occasions accompanied Champlain on expeditions to the Indians on the Ottawa River. Vignau asserted in France in 1612, on returning from one of his Canadian expeditions, and stuck to his story with great tenacity, that he had reached Hudson's Bay via the Ottawa River and portages through unknown territory, and that he had there witnessed the wreck of an English bark on the shores. The crew, eighty in number, had all been murdered by the natives of that region, except one boy who was still held a captive. The location of the wreck was described as fifteen days' journey from the Sault St. Louis.

It was within the knowledge of Champlain that certain English vessels had been wrecked on the Labrador coast, and in a general way the story

tallied with certain information which Champlain had himself received from the Indians, as to the far northern country. As a final test of the truth of the narrative, and before committing himself to the enterprise, Champlain had Vignau sign a declaration before two notaries, warning him that capital punishment would be his fate should the declaration prove to be false. Armed with this document, and also with the unanimous approval of President Jeannin, Chancellor de Sillery and Marshal de Brisac, whom he consulted, Champlain set out upon this expedition, taking Vignau with him. Even at Montreal, the latter adhered steadfastly to his story.

The Lachine Rapids were reached on May 21st, after which the journey up the Ottawa was commenced with but one Indian guide and four of his countrymen. The journey was attended by unusual dangers and hardships, the woods being so dense in places that portages could not be made and the canoes and supplies had to be dragged at great risk through swiftly rushing torrents which threatened to swamp everything. As they proceeded, the difficulties increased, until they were finally obliged to cache their supplies and proceed with only guns and nets. To add to their difficulties, the woods were more or less infested with prowling bands of Iroquois who hampered their operations.

Eventually Allumette Island in Lake Allumette was reached, where Champlain met Tessouat an Angonquin chief with whom he was acquainted. Tessouat was surprised and delighted at the visit, but was even more surprised when he learned the objects of Champlain's mission. A council was called and Champlain made known his wishes, viz., for four canoes to accompany him to the land of the Nipissings, eight days' journey to the north, on the shores of Hudson's Bay. The Indians would not undertake the expedition, whereupon Champlain, in order to dispose of their doubts and fears, informed them that one of his own people, namely, Vignau, had visited these people and returned unharmed. Vignau, on being called upon, hesitatingly admitted that this was the case, whereupon the Indians emphatically and unanimously declared the story to be false, and that Vignau had never penetrated beyond the boundaries of their own country, where he then stood.



Convicted of his deception, the man confessed the entire story to be untrue, that it had been hatched by him in the hope of being sent back to Canada, and that he had trusted to make his escape before the story was investigated. The Indians blamed Champlain somewhat for having doubted their word, but wished to torture and burn Vignau for his deception and untruthfulness. This, however, Champlain would not hear of, and Vignau was brought back to the Sault. Before leaving the Island, Champlain planted upon it a white cedar cross bearing the arms of France, and informed the Indians that if they protected it they would be preserved from their enemies. He also promised to return the following year and assist them in making war upon the Iroquois.

On his way back to Montreal, he met at the Sault, M. de Maisonneuve with a license from the Prince of Conde for three vessels to ply between France and Canada. On June 27th, accompanied by M. de Maisonneuve, he sailed from Montreal and arrived at St. Malo on August 26th, 1613. In France he found the influence of the Prince to be still supreme, and little difficulty was experienced in organizing companies and equipping vessels at Rouen, St. Malo and La Rochelle to carry settlers and supplies to the new land.

At this time the prevailing opinions in the French Court were to the effect that religious teaching in the colony was necessary. Protestantism was believed to be subversive of personal government, and the only effective method of reaching the Indians was thought to be through the ecclesiastical orders. Champlain was himself of this opinion, and moreover the patent of the Prince of Conde called for some such instruction. In his efforts to have this teaching established, Champlain was advised by the Sieur Louis Houel of Brouage to enlist the services of the Recollects. Negotiations to this end were carried on during 1614, but little progress was made until the conference of the States General opened at Sens on Oct. 10th, of that year. Several prominent ecclesiastics were present, and to them Champlain appealed personally. The project was thoroughly discussed and favorably received by the Cardinals and Bishops in attendance, and also by the Provincial, du Verger. As a result, the undertaking was sanctioned, and the sum of fifteen hundred livres was subscribed to defray the expenses of

those who should embark upon the mission. The following February, Champlain went to Rouen and reported to his associates, many of whom were Calvinists, what had been accomplished. The project was cordially endorsed, and it was decided to make provision for the maintenance of the Recollects in Canada.

In March, 1615, the Recollects selected for the voyage, proceeded to Honfleur where the necessary preparations were completed and purchases made. The missionaries were four in number, viz., Fathers Jamay, Le Caron and D'Olban and Brother Du Plessis. On April 24th, the vessel sailed from Honfleur, and Tadousac was reached on May 25th. One of the priests at once accompanied Champlain to Quebec, while the others followed in a few days. Among the first acts accomplished by them was the erection of a church at what is now known as Cul de Sac, which was constructed so rapidly that mass was said there exactly one month after the landing at Tadousac.

In his anxiety to be engaged at his labors, Father Le Caron set out for the Sault ahead of Champlain. The latter, starting out soon afterwards, met a number of his Algonquin Indian allies at the customary rendezvous, the Lachine Rapids. He found them full of plans for raising a force of two thousand men to make war against their enemy in the south and west. Always anxious to learn all he could of the country, and being interested particularly in strengthening and perpetuating the alliance with the Indians who were at that time a valuable ally, Champlain at once resolved to accompany the expedition and assist the Indians as much as possible. Before doing so he found it necessary to return to Quebec, and on his way there (at the junction of the Rivers des Prairies with the St. Lawrence), fell in with Fathers Le Caron and Jamay. The day being the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24th), the entire party went ashore, erected a temporary altar and mass was performed for the first time in Canada. Champlain continued his journey to Quebec, and after the lapse of some days, started on July 4th to return to the Sault. A short distance above Sorel he met Pontgravé, who informed him that the Indians had concluded that he was dead or captured by the Iroquois, and had started on their expedition without him. Champlain had himself told them, before going to Quebec, that he

would only be absent four or five days, so after waiting ten days they concluded that disaster had overtaken him, and had started west accompanied by Father Le Caron and twelve Frenchmen. On reaching the Sault on July 8th, Champlain was able to confirm these facts.

The long and arduous journey with the Indians was then entered upon. Up the Ottawa River they went, Champlain referring in his narratives to the soil, the timber and the abundance of blueberries and raspberries which he found. On July 16th they camped at a point near Musk Rat Lake, and between this camp and the lake (on Lot 12 of the Township of Ross), an astrolabe was found in August, 1867, which there is every reason to believe belonged to Champlain. Then by canoe and portages they made the ascent of the Mattawan River to Lake Nipissing, where they were received in a friendly manner by a tribe of Indians numbering about eight hundred persons. Here they remained two days before resuming their voyage down the French River to Lake Attigouantan or Lake Huron. Down the eastern shore of Georgian Bay they coasted till Matchedash Bay was reached, or as some think, Nottawasaga Bay. Champlain himself says: "We crossed a bay and made some seven leagues, until we arrived at the country of the Attigouantan, at a village named Otouacha." Judging from the distance travelled and other reliable data, the village must have been in the locality of Waubushene. Here they were warmly welcomed by a large party of their Huron allies, who said that they were expecting reinforcements of western Algonquins and other friendly tribes to the number of five hundred warriors. While waiting for these reinforcements, several days were spent in the neighborhood, the Indians for the most part passing the time in feasting and dancing, the usual preparation for their war expeditions.

Champlain seized the opportunity to explore the district and went from village to village. At a place called Carhagouha he met Father Le Caron, who was astonished to see him, thinking he had been lost. Ten days were spent at Carhagouha, after which, there being no news of the reinforcements, the party resumed their journey. By land and water they made their way in a southeasterly direction through the midland counties, by the chain of lakes and Trent River to Trenton on the Bay of Quinte. Down the Bay they went till Lake Ontario was reached, and Champlain stood upon



its shores, the first white man to gaze upon its vast expanse. Instinctively he knew it to be a great inland sea, but ascribed to it an extent greater than it really possesses. He appears to have encountered no human beings in the country along the north shore, his explanation being that the country had been abandoned by previous inhabitants by reason of the persecution of powerful and cruel foes. In their route to the Bay of Quinte, however, they obtained bear, deer of all sorts, and birds in abundance.

Having reached Kingston, and what are now the Thousand Islands, Champlain was convinced by retracing his course, that he was then in the waters of the St. Lawrence above Montreal, and this opinion he had recorded in his narrative of the journey.

The expedition then crossed to the south shore of the lake, but just at what point is a matter of conjecture. Champlain himself speaks of the voyage as being fourteen leagues, and mentions certain islands which were met. It is probable that he crossed in the neighborhood of Amherst Island, but whether above or below is unknown. At any rate the expedition reached the site of what is now the Town of Oswego, and travelled for four days into the interior till they reached a small lake in the Iroquois country. Here they found a band of the Senecas (one of the Iroquois tribes), strongly entrenched at a place which has since been considered to have been Onondaga or in the vicinity of Lake Canandaigua. The Senecas appear to have been expecting the attack, for their fort was strengthened to an unusual degree with four rows of wooden palisades, and contained besides, a pond from which water could be readily conveyed to any part of the fort in case of fire. Notwithstanding their elaborate defences, the Senecas appear to have been the aggressors and sallied forth boldly to meet the enemy. They were fairly successful until the besiegers brought their firearms to bear upon them, when they fled precipitately into the fort. From here it was found impossible to dislodge them by ordinary means, as they conducted a skilful and effective defence by means of arrows and stones.

Champlain now brought his ingenuity to bear and instructed the Algonquins how to build a cavalier out of planks, from the top of which they could pour in such a fire as to drive the enemy from the outer defences and thus enable them to set fire to the fort. The suggestion was quickly acted

upon, and within a few hours the cavalier was constructed. Speedily it was moved up close to the palisade, and the Senecas were soon all driven under cover. It would now have been easy to fire the fort, but Champlain found to his chagrin that it was one thing to instruct the Indians and another thing to get them to follow instructions. Instead of pursuing the only effective course open to them, they preferred to shout defiance at the foe, and to discharge clouds of arrows at the substantial enclosure. A few burning brands were thrown in, but not enough to do any harm, while the Senecas, perceiving the failure of their enemies to follow up their advantage, were emboldened to attack again and succeeded in killing several of their adversaries. Champlain himself was twice wounded in the leg, whereupon his allies lost heart, and withdrew their forces, alleging as excuse for their course, the absence of the five hundred warriors who had failed to come to their aid.

For two days a strong wind blew from a most favorable quarter for the reduction of the fort, but nothing could induce the Algonquins to seriously renew the attack. A few half-hearted attempts were made to dislodge the enemy, but so ineffectual were these that they only excited the derision and contempt of the Senecas who sneered at the Algonquins for having to seek the aid of a foreign race in making war upon them.

Having now (about the end of October) decided to withdraw from the scene and return home, the Algonquins conducted their retreat in a much more masterly manner than they had their offensive operations. The wounded were placed in the centre, and a strong guard of armed warriors brought up the rear. In this way they were easily able to hold off the Senecas, who pursued them for a short distance. The retreat, however, was a very painful one for the wounded, including Champlain. He, with all others who were disabled, was tied up in a circular form like a ball, and deposited in a basket where he could stir neither hand or foot. For twenty-five or thirty leagues he was carried in this fashion, suffering intense agony. An effort was made at this time by Champlain, but unsuccessfully, to return to Quebec, the excuse given being that canoes could not be obtained. It was seen, however, that the Indians desired to retain him among them for purposes of their own.

The return was made to the Huron country, but how they got there is not quite clear. After crossing the end of the lake, Champlain states that they followed a river for some twelve leagues, after which they made a portage to a lake ten or twelve miles in circumference. The country north of Amherst Island does not answer this description very closely, but wherever the locality was, the party remained there hunting and fishing until navigation closed on December 4th, when they resumed their journey overland. It is evident that the return was made by a different route from the original journey.

Renewed efforts to obtain canoes to return to Quebec proving unavailing, Champlain saw that there was no alternative but to spend the winter among the Hurons. First of all, he sought out Father Le Caron, who was industriously engaged in studying the language and in ministering to the spiritual needs of the Indians wherever such ministrations were welcomed. He then paid a visit to the Petuns and the "Cheveux-relevés," as he called them, spending some time in trying to establish friendly relations with them, and in studying their habits and customs. At some length he has recorded his impressions of this tribe, which he found to be more cleanly than their neighbors. In summer the men went about entirely naked, and in the winter their sole garment was a long fur robe. Champlain remained with the Hurons, hunting and fishing when he was not otherwise engaged, until the end of April, when, accompanied by some friendly Indians, he quietly took his departure for the east.

At the Sault he was warmly received by Pontgrave and the Recollects, who had given him up for dead after a year's absence and no word from him. Quebec was reached early in July, and here the demonstrations of joy at his return were renewed. A religious service was held and thanks were returned to the Almighty for enabling them to meet together once more. On this trip, he had taken with him to Quebec an Indian chief named Arontal, to furnish him an object lesson in the ways of the strange white race. Arontal appears to have been a man of unusual discernment and observation, for he readily perceived the advantages of European civilization and expressed a desire to conform to it. If this could not be accomplished in his own time, he thought it could in the succeeding generation, and he



advised that the experiment be made in a settlement at Sault St. Louis. Even at this early period the geographical advantages of Montreal were known, and the measures taken by Champlain, limited though they were, to establish it as a commercial centre, may be considered to be the foundation of that city.

Champlain had now decided to return to France, but before going, he ordered the buildings at Quebec to be enlarged one-third in anticipation of the growth of the colony. Father Le Caron accompanied him on this voyage, and the explorer also took with him some grain grown in the country as an evidence of the fertility of the soil, to which he refers in enthusiastic terms in his report of 1619. This display of Canadian grain was the first proof to European eyes of the agricultural possibilities of the country.

Returning in 1620 Champlain ruled at Quebec with varying fortunes until the city was captured by Kirke in 1629, when he was taken prisoner to England. After the peace between France and Britain he was re-appointed Governor and took up his post in 1632. He died at Quebec two years afterwards in 1635. He had been married to a daughter of Nicholas Boulé, Secretary of the Royal Household at Paris. She accompanied Champlain to Canada in 1620, but returned to France in 1624. Champlain was the founder of Quebec and merited the title which history has bestowed on him of the "Father of New France," by thirty years of untiring efforts to establish and extend French supremacy in Canada.

During the administration of M. De Montmagny, a peace was arranged with the Iroquois, and the Indian name Ononchio (great mountain) was conferred on the Governor. He was an able Governor, and was succeeded in 1647 by M. De Ailleboust, who, having been commandant at Three Rivers, knew the conditions of the country. The massacre of the Hurons took place during his government. M. de Lauson succeeded him as Governor in 1651. The Iroquois continued their war of extinction against the Eries or Cat tribe, whose hunting ground extended from Lake Ontario westward. The Jesuit Father Simon Le Moyne figures in this regime as an emissary to the Onondaga Iroquois. M. De Argenson, a brave young soldier, succeeded de Lauson, taking up his post in 1657. His tenure was marked by the heroic sacrifice of Daulac and his brave companions to the Indians in order to

save the settlement at Montreal, and by quarrels with the clergy. M. de Avagour succeeded in 1662. A blunt, energetic gentleman, he fell foul of the Jesuits, and offended Lersal, but kept peace for a time with the Indians. In 1663 the memorable earthquake was felt, causing much damage and excitement. De Mezy was appointed Governor for three years. At first subservient to the clergy, he soon gave evidence of independence, bringing on the inevitable conflict, and his own speedy recall. Then the Marquis de Tracy appears on the scene in 1665 as plenipotentiary and viceroy over all the French possessions in the New World, and the Sieur de Courcelles, as Lieutenant-General and Governor-General of New France. On the same day Jean Baptiste Talon, an able and honorable man, was appointed Intendant. The Intendants controlled all expenditures of the public money, presided over the Council and exercised great influence in the public affairs.

On Sept. 12th, 1665, M. de Courcelles arrived at Quebec, accompanied by M. Talon, but although nominally Governor, Courcelles was really subordinate to the Marquis de Tracy, who had arrived in Canada a few months before, clothed with power over all Governors and Generals to investigate difficulties which had arisen in the Colony. It was not till the fall of 1667 that de Courcelles assumed supreme authority, but the intervening two years had been busily spent. The almost continuous warfare that was being waged with the Iroquois, afforded excellent opportunity to test his qualities as a gallant soldier and wise and able administrator. His policy was to establish outposts in such close proximity to the enemy as would hold them in check as well as serve for trading operations along the St. Lawrence, and to the accomplishment of this policy he applied himself with promptness and vigor.

Forts were at once constructed at Sorel and Chambly, which had the effect of calling forth peaceable protestations from the Onondagas, the Senecas and the Cayugas. The Mohawks and the Oneidas, however, were still actively hostile, and forcible measures against them became necessary. De Courcelles conducted two punitive expeditions against them into what is now New York State. The first of these in January and February, 1666, was unsuccessful, but the second, in the fall of the same year, accomplished

its purpose. The Mohawks fled before the invading force, but their villages and possessions were given to the flames and their entire country devastated.

Meantime the Jesuit missionaries had been making progress among the Onondaga and Cayuga Indians, and the converts from these tribes were established on a settlement of their own at Caughnawaga, an island at the Lachine Rapids. Nicholas Perrot, an explorer and missionary, had also been doing good work among the Indians of the upper lakes, whom he had induced to give their allegiance to French authority in the Colony.

But while the Iroquois had been temporarily awed into peaceful relations with the French, they were by no means idle. A prolonged struggle with two neighboring tribes had been terminated in 1671 by the Iroquois incorporating into their confederacy what was left of their unfortunate foe, and Courcelles at once recognized the necessity of taking effective measures to prevent incursions of this kind into Canada. Accordingly, he selected Cataraqui as a desirable site for a fort from which offensive operations could be conducted when necessary, and which would also serve as a trading post. The latter part of the project was explained to the Iroquois chiefs in council, who approved of the plan.

On returning to Quebec he found that his successor, the Count de Frontenac, had arrived. To him he explained his purpose, which was favorably entertained by the latter. Courcelles' regime was now at an end. For some time previous his health had not been good, and he had petitioned the French King for his recall. In November, 1671, he departed with Talon, after spending six years as Governor of the Colony. Courcelles carried with him the affectionate regard of most of the people, to whom he had endeared himself by his able, progressive and courageous administration of affairs. By the Iroquois also he was respected for his moderation and fairness, while feared for his courage and firmness which invariably meted out to them stern justice.

Talon, the Intendant, likewise left a record of duties well performed, and departed conscious of possessing the esteem of the populace. As Intendant he proved himself an able and an honest man, administering the legal and financial affairs of the Colony with good judgment.



## DE LA SALLE.

Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, who was placed in command of the first garrison at Fort Cataraqui, and who became proprietor of the fort and surrounding land the following year (1674), was born of good family at Rouen, in 1643. He came to Canada in 1666 and spent a few years in clearing his property on Lake St. Louis and engaging in the fur trade with the Indians. Possessing a good education and a keen intellect, as well as courage, ambition and singular resolution of purpose, it is but natural that he should have sought early to improve his condition and prospects. Finding in him a kindred spirit, Frontenac became his fast friend, and so when La Salle went to France in 1674 to apply for a grant of the fort. The application was sustained by the Governor with strong recommendations to Royal favor.

La Salle was entirely successful. He was granted letters of nobility, was made Governor of Fort Frontenac (as the fort was then known for the first time), and was given four leagues of land surrounding the fort, together with adjacent islands. He was to reconstruct the fort of stone and maintain a garrison there equal to that at Montreal; to employ twenty men for two years in clearing the land; to build a church in six years and maintain ecclesiastics, and to import into Canada property equal to the cost of the land, viz., ten thousand livres. With the assistance of friends, La Salle was able to meet the obligations assumed, and took possession of the fort. In 1675 the original building was demolished, and a stone fort took its place, with curtains and bastions. From that date forward, La Salle was so busy in pursuing his explorations that the fort seems to have been neglected, and was practically deserted except when it became the rendezvous from time to time for expeditions. In 1677 when visited by de Frontenac, the garrison consisted of the Governor, a major, surgeon, two Recollets and four other persons.

Frontenac's attention was now engrossed almost continually for several years with difficulties with subordinate officials, which in turn provoked a conflict of authority between himself and the ecclesiastical Orders. The troubles began upon his return from Cataraqui in August of 1673, when Frontenac charged M. Perrot, Governor of Montreal, with participating

illegally in the fur trade through the agency of the coureurs de bois, and ordered the judge (d'Ailleboust) at Montreal to arrest all the coureurs de bois he could lay hands upon. Perrot retaliated and the result was a prolonged and bitter controversy, in the course of which the Sulpicians, and particularly Father Fenelon, took a conspicuous part against Frontenac. The result was that in November, 1674, Perrot and Fenelon were sent to France to have the matter adjusted (Perrot having spent ten months in prison at Quebec, from January to November).

Fenelon was not allowed to return to Canada, Perrot was imprisoned for three weeks in the Bastille and then restored to his position through the influence of Talon to whom he was related by marriage, and Frontenac was instructed to exercise more leniency and not to take criminal proceedings against the Sulpicians. His authority was also curtailed by making the council directly responsible to the King, and the office of Intendant which had been vacant for some time, was again filled by the appointment of M. Duchesneau. The latter was to be responsible not only for the details of the civil administration, but was instructed to note and report upon the actions of the Governor.

As might naturally be expected with a man of Frontenac's temperament, the situation instead of being improved, became more acute, and continuous and bitter were the recriminations which were exchanged between the Governor on the one hand, and Duchesneau and Laval on the other. Each had their allies at the French court, and between them Colbert had his patience sorely tried many times. Repeatedly both parties were admonished and warned with all the diplomacy that Colbert could bring to bear. Still the conflict raged, until in the summer of 1682 the King could stand it no longer, and Frontenac and Duchesneau were recalled.

To return to La Salle. Prior to his appointment to the command of the first garrison at Fort Frontenac in 1673, the young man had given indication of his interest in exploration and discovery by co-operating in 1669 with Fathers Dollier de Casson and de Galinée in an expedition which was intended to reach the Mississippi, but which terminated, as far as La Salle was concerned, at the Grand River in Western Ontario. This expedition which consisted of twenty-two Frenchmen and a few Senecas as guides,

left Montreal early in July. Thirty-five days were required to ascend the St. Lawrence, when the party arrived at a Seneca village believed to be in the neighborhood of Irondequoit Bay. Here a halt was made, and at first the party was received in a friendly manner. Efforts were made to obtain a guide for the remainder of their journey, but unsuccessfully, the reason given being that some of the tribe were away at Albany engaged in trading. While waiting for the return of these men, La Salle and de Galinée paid a visit to one of the neighboring villages. Now it had so happened that in the spring of this year, a Seneca chief had been murdered on Lake St. Louis by some soldiers, while on his way to Montreal with furs. The crime was brought home to the soldiers, who were publicly shot, and presents were sent to the Senecas and Oneidas by way of conciliation. Notwithstanding these measures the Senecas were not entirely placated, and as ill-fortune would have it, the village which La Salle and de Galinée visited was inhabited by the tribe to which the murdered Chief belonged. Their reception here was quite hostile. The Indians were much intoxicated with brandy brought from Albany, and La Salle and de Galinée were forced to witness the barbarous tortures of some prisoners which they were powerless to avert. As matters looked so threatening, they made a hasty retreat, but before doing so, learned that the distance to the Ohio River was a six days' journey of twelve leagues by land, and thereupon abandoned the idea of making the trip by land.

Embarking again in their canoes, they paddled up the lake for five days past the mouth of the Niagara River within sound of the mighty cataract, and beached their canoes in Burlington Bay. Five leagues inland they journeyed to the village of Tinaouatoua where a halt of three days was made to enable the baggage to be brought up. Here they learned that two Frenchmen had lately passed that way, and here also, La Salle was prostrated with fever while out hunting game. Believing that this part of the country had never been visited by whites, they were much surprised to learn of the presence of the Frenchmen. Though pressed to remain at this place by the Indians, they could not entertain the proposal, and resumed their journey on the following day. After an arduous march they reached the Grand River, and here they met Louis Jolliet on his way to Montreal



from Lake Superior whither he had been sent to locate a copper mine, but had failed. A halt of two or three days was made at this point, at the end of which time La Salle stated that he would be unable to proceed farther on account of his health, but would have to return to Montreal. Mass was celebrated on Sept. 30th, and La Salle returned to Lake Ontario, the others proceeding westward. Before separating from his companions, La Salle expressed the opinion that the expedition was doomed to failure, with starvation as the fate of those engaged in it.

From this date, October, 1669, till December, 1672, La Salle disappeared from civilization, and little is known of his movements. It has been said that during this period he was, to all intents and purposes, a *coursur de bois*. At any rate in 1670 he was seen by Nicholas Perrot, the interpreter, on the Ottawa River, accompanied by six Frenchmen and ten or twelve Iroquois. They were engaged in hunting about thirty-five miles above the City of Ottawa, near the present site of the Village of Fitzroy. It is also recorded of him, that on August 6th, 1671, "in great want and need" he received merchandise from M. de Branssat valued at four hundred and fifty four livres.

It has been said that during these three years when his whereabouts were unknown, he discovered the Mississippi, but, writing in 1677, La Salle makes no such claim himself. He did claim, however, to have explored a large extent of territory south of the lakes, and to have discovered the Ohio River. His description of the river is by no means accurate, and, except his own statement, there is nothing to show that he descended the Ohio.

Coming to 1673, the part taken by La Salle in the founding of Fort Frontenac and his subsequent possession of it, are already known. The spirit of exploration was now fairly aroused within him, and he sought means to gratify his ambition. With this object in view he went to Paris in 1677 and obtained large sums of money, also permission to explore the western portion of New France. The expedition was to be undertaken entirely at his own expense, but in return, he was granted the monopoly of the trade in buffalo skins, then considered to be very valuable, especially in the Mississippi valley. He was forbidden, however, to trade with the Indians who came to Montreal.

On Sept. 15th, 1678, he arrived at Quebec, bringing with him about thirty mechanics and much of the equipment necessary for rigging a vessel, including anchors, together with the usual assortment of articles for the Indians. He was accompanied also by Henri de Tonti, an Italian officer of great bravery and resolution, who remained faithful to La Salle through all his varying fortunes, and by the *Sieur de la Motte*, a man of intelligence and fidelity. They were joined at Quebec by Father Hennepin, a Recollect friar with a passion for travel and adventure. Preparations for the expedition were made at Fort Frontenac, and La Motte and Hennepin started first on Nov. 18th, in a small decked vessel with a crew of sixteen men.

La Salle followed with de Tonti towards the end of December in a twenty-ton vessel. They proceeded up the lake to Burlington Bay, landing about Jan. 7th, at the same place he had visited nine years before with Fathers de Casson and de Galinée. La Salle then made his way over the former route to the Village of Tagarondies, the headquarters of the Senecas. For some reason which is not known the Senecas did not desire that the French should establish a fort at the mouth of the Niagara River, which La Motte and Hennepin had sought to do. These objections La Salle succeeded in removing in the plausible and convincing way which he frequently employed with excellent effect. At once La Salle re-embarked for the Niagara River, but meeting with unfavorable winds when twenty-five miles from their destination, he completed the trip with de Tonti on snowshoes. The vessel was wrecked the same night in a sudden gale and everything was lost. Thus began the series of almost unprecedented misfortunes which attended La Salle's expeditions, ceasing only with the death of the intrepid and resolute explorer eight years later.

From Niagara, La Salle and de Tonti paddled up the river to Lewiston and from there made their way to the mouth of Cayuga Creek, the spot selected by La Salle to build the vessel with which to proceed on his journey up the lakes. Cayuga Creek is five miles above the Falls and ten miles from Buffalo. While waiting here for La Motte and Hennepin, La Salle learned of the wreck of his vessel, and made a hasty trip to the scene to see if any-

thing could be recovered. He returned immediately, and on Jan. 22nd was again at Cayuga Creek. Four days later the keel of the new vessel was laid.

The loss of the stores on the wrecked vessel now began to be felt to such an extent that La Salle decided to return to Fort Frontenac to replace them. When it is known that it was now the 1st of February, and that there was no way of covering the two hundred and forty miles except on snowshoes, the unconquerable spirit of La Salle, which invariably rose superior to all obstacles, will be seen. De Tonti and Hennepin accompanied him to the mouth of the Niagara River, where he outlined the fort on the site of the present structure.

Leaving his companions engaged on the fort and in keeping the Senecas in check, La Salle continued his journey to Cataraqui accompanied by two men and a dog to draw the toboggan, following the coast around the head of the lake, a distance of about two hundred and forty miles.

In the meantime the construction of the vessel proceeded, though not smoothly. In La Salle's absence the carpenters became dissatisfied, their discontent being aggravated by the doubtful attitude of the Senecas and their refusal to furnish supplies. Hennepin's presence contributed to order being observed, and by the month of May, "Le Griffon," as the new vessel was named, was completed. The name was a compliment to the Governor, whose armorial bearings were supported by armed griffins. The launching of the "first" vessel was attended with due ceremony in which the Indians participated, and after touching at Squaw Island the waters of Lake Erie were gained without accident.

At Cataraqui, La Salle was rejoined by Hennepin, and after adjusting his business affairs, having been pressed with financial matters, he proceeded to fulfil his desire to navigate the upper lakes. His expedition was accompanied by two Recollects, Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zenobie Membre, and the party left for Niagara, followed a few days later by de La Salle himself, who on reaching Niagara, set out with them to the place where Le Griffon had been built. Their vessel was unloaded at what is now Lewiston, from where the stores were carried to Lake Erie and placed on board Le Griffon. La Salle, Hennepin and Father Gabriel visited the Falls and a proposal was



made by Hennepin that a settlement be made there for the advancement of trade and the conversion of the Indians.

De Tonti with five men, not remaining for the departure of the vessel, had in the meantime proceeded to Detroit, there to await La Salle and his party. With a favorable wind they sailed westward, advancing cautiously and sounding as they went, because the lake had been reported as shallow and dangerous. They proceeded close to the north shore, touching at Long Point as they passed, which they called Point St. Francis. De Tonti and his men were found at the mouth of the Detroit River, and the entire party then proceeded northward and reached Lake St. Clair on the 10th of August.

With considerable difficulty from unfavorable winds and the nature of the channel, they succeeded in making Lake Huron, which they crossed to the Michigan coast, and were becalmed at the Thunder Islands. Stormy weather followed, and for twenty-four hours they made their way through a gale to the straits of Mackinaw, and rounding Point St. Francis, stopped at the mission founded by Pere Marquette, where they found a few Frenchmen with the Ottawa and Huron Indians. They received a warm welcome and the vessel was greeted by a salvo of guns from the shore. Mass was said and holiday prevailed. Here La Salle found four of the men who had previously deserted from his Indian traders, and had them arrested, after which he proceeded with Le Griffon up Lake Michigan as far as Le Grande Baie, subsequently Green Bay.

At this point he found some of his traders who had remained steadfast in his service, and who had collected about twelve thousand pounds of skins from the Indians. These were loaded on Le Griffon, which was to return with them to Fort Frontenac, and from the sale of the furs he expected to discharge some of the debts owing by him there. His own purpose was to continue his journey to the head of the lake and proceed down the Mississippi.

Le Griffon left Green Bay on the 18th of September with her valuable cargo of furs valued at ten thousand livres. Pilot Luc was in charge, assisted by a supercargo and five sailors. On her second day out she encountered a severe storm which lasted five days, and is generally supposed to

have been lost in the storm. It has been stated, however, that she took refuge at one of the islands at the northern end of the lake and was captured and destroyed by the Indians. But, however it came about, the destruction of the vessel, either by storm or by Indians, was undoubted, and La Salle suffered a heavy loss by her untimely fate.

The explorer then proceeded to the River St. Joseph to wait for de Tonti, and here considerable delay occurred. In the month of December the Illinois was reached and descended. On New Year's day, 1680, they landed and celebrated mass. In the vicinity of the present City of Peoria they met with Illinois Indians, and at first obtained a promise of their friendship. This attitude was changed, however, a day or two later, when the Indians strongly objected to the journey being pursued to the Mississippi.

Desertions from his own men followed and La Salle determined to return east to obtain additional supplies. At this time he was not aware of the loss of Le Griffon. It was in the month of March in severe weather, and the undertaking was no light one, but he had been inured to the hardships of travel and did not flinch from the difficulties before him. Accompanied by four Frenchmen and his Mohegan attendant, he started east, leaving the remainder of the party in charge of de Tonti. The fort at the St. Joseph River was passed on the 24th of March, and on arriving at Michilimackinac, La Salle was confirmed in his suspicion that Le Griffon had been lost. Sending back two of his men to join de Tonti, he proceeded with the remaining three across southern Michigan. Through an unknown and unbroken wilderness he travelled safely to Detroit, guided only by his compass. From Detroit the other two of his men returned to Michilimackinac, while La Salle proceeded by Lake Erie to Niagara, which he reached on Easter Monday, 1680, continuing his remarkable journey, after a short rest, to Cataraqui, and from there without delay to Montreal, where he obtained supplies.

On his return to Fort Frontenac, intelligence from de Tonti awaited him to the effect that the men under him had mutinied and deserted in force. These deserters and robbers La Salle was able to arrest and imprison for their offence at Cataraqui, after which he set out for Lake Michigan with

the object of relieving de Tonti, who was in distress on the Illinois. With him were twenty-five men including a surgeon. This journey was varied by ascending the Humber at Toronto, and proceeding by Lake Simcoe (then Lake Toronto) and northern Lake Huron to Mackinaw, instead of by Niagara and Detroit.

Upon reaching Fort Miami, La Salle divided his force, and with six Frenchmen and an Indian went to the rescue of de Tonti. The search for the missing lieutenant proved fruitless, and La Salle returned to the fort.

Meanwhile de Tonti, after having had serious trouble with his own men and participating in a conflict between the Iroquois and the Illinois, in which he was slightly wounded, had reached Green Bay and was hospitably received by the Potawotomies.

During the winter of 1680-1 de La Salle remained at Fort Miami, and in May of the latter year he returned again to Fort Frontenac. In passing Michilimackinac he met de Tonti and Father Membre, and from them heard the story of their troubles. At Montreal he obtained the assistance necessary for the continued pursuit of his ambitious projects, and in the autumn returned to Fort Miami with twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen Indians, with the latter being ten women and three children. The further journey was made in canoes, the whole party including fifty-four souls. The Mississippi was reached on the 6th February, and with varying fortunes was descended as far as the River Arkansas, where La Salle took possession of the country for France. Continuing his descent of the Mississippi, the Gulf of Mexico was reached in due course, and here also La Salle took possession of the territory in the name of France. On April 9th, 1682, the foundation of Louisiana was laid.

On returning to Canada La Salle found that his friend Frontenac had been recalled, that his seigniory had been seized by rivals in the fur trade, and that charges were awaiting him to be answered at Quebec. He hastened to France to defend himself, and easily convinced the King of his innocence.

His devotion to travel and exploration was now gratefully recognized, and his project of fortifying the mouth of the Mississippi and capturing the rich mines of Mexico from the Spaniards, was endorsed by the French monarch, who placed four ships at his disposal. On the 1st of August, 1685,

the expedition, numbering two hundred and eighty souls inclusive of soldiers, crew and colonists, sailed from Rochelle. A month was spent at St. Domingo, owing to La Salle being the victim of a serious attack of fever. Resuming their voyage the expedition missed the mouth of the Mississippi and sailed some three hundred miles out of its course to Matagorda Bay, where the principal storeship, the *Aimable*, was lost on a sandbar. Every endeavor to reach the Mississippi failed, and La Salle, with his unfailing enterprise, determined on an overland journey to Canada. His followers, however, could not be persuaded to accompany him. Mutiny broke out, and La Salle and his nephew were murdered by his own people. The mutineers became the prey to hostile Indians and Spaniards, and those not killed were sent to the mines to labor for the Spaniards. Seven men of the entire expedition succeeded in making their way to Canada by way of the Mississippi, the Illinois and the lakes, to unfold the story of their own hardships and their leader's tragic end.

La Salle's career was one of resolute enterprise which refused to bend under extraordinary misfortunes, and he remains a picturesque figure among that wonderful band of courageous explorers who carried the name of France to the remotest frontiers of the far west.

#### FRONTENAC.

Louis de Buade Frontenac, Count of Pallau, came to Canada in September, 1672, with all the prestige of a noble and honored lineage, and a distinguished military record. He was born a soldier and was a natural leader. His military operations began at the age of fifteen years, and at twenty-six he was a brigadier-general. Two years later he married a Parisian leader of society who possessed considerable influence at court, which she used continually in his behalf. Never a rich man de Frontenac soon dissipated his patrimony, and came to Canada a poor man at the age of fifty-two. But no time was wasted in vain regrets. With the adaptability of his race, he accepted the altered situation and proceeded to make the most of it. Bold, firm and resourceful, accustomed to grappling with difficulties and dangers, to rule and not be ruled, he was well fitted for the performance of his new duties.



Early in his career as Governor he encountered opposition from the Sulpicians and Jesuits, and this conflict of authority never ceased during his two terms. Writing to Colbert in 1673 he complained that "they had spies in town and country; that they abused the confessional, intermeddled in families, set husbands against wives and parents against children; and all, as they say, for the greater glory of God. And they will not even civilize the Indians—so as to keep them in perpetual wardship—think more of beaver skins than of souls, and their missions are pure mockeries." The Jesuits became aware of these despatches, but feared Frontenac's great influence, hence the warfare.

Early in the year 1673 Frontenac prepared to construct the fort at Cataragui. The proposition was opposed by the merchants at Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, who feared that it would divert the fur trade from those points, but Frontenac was not to be dissuaded from his purpose. Orders were given to the inhabitants to assemble at Montreal in their canoes and to proceed in a body to Cataragui. As the enterprise was to be of a public nature, they were aware that they would receive no recompense for their time and labor, and this was felt by many to be a hardship, as they would probably be absent from their homes for a couple of months and forced to encounter all the rigors and privations of a toilsome voyage. For the sake of greater display, Frontenac had two flat-bottomed boats constructed, each capable of carrying sixteen men and cannon. These were painted in bright colors and also sent to Montreal. Meanwhile de La Salle had been sent to Onondaga to request the attendance of the Iroquois chiefs at Cataragui, the ostensible object being to establish more friendly relations between themselves and the French. The few troops at Quebec under Major Prevost, together with a number of the leading citizens, were instructed to be present at Montreal on June 24th.

On June 3rd Frontenac left Quebec, arriving at Montreal on the 15th. Here he personally organized the expedition. The road to Lachine was improved to facilitate the embarkation of guns and supplies. Altogether there were one hundred and twenty canoes containing a force of four hundred men, including Indians. The expedition was accompanied by Fathers d'Urfe and de Fenelon of the Sulpician Order. On June 28th the

force moved up the river in military form, four abreast, and about July 12th they reached the River Cataraqui in imposing array.

Always dignified and courteous, Frontenac on this occasion presented his most polished manner, and quite captivated the Indians. He told them of the power of France, pointing at the same time to his cannon and gaily painted batteaux, and emphasized the value to be derived by them from the establishment of a trading post at that point. Their pride was touched, and awed somewhat by Frontenac's imperious demeanor the Indians readily gave their consent and assurance of their fidelity.

While the meeting was being held, the fort was being outlined. Trenches were dug, timber was cut and squared, while the Indians looked on wonderingly. On July 16th another meeting took place between Frontenac and the chiefs, at which the former discoursed in a lofty tone on the superior merits of Christianity as a religion, with reasons why they should accept it. In conclusion he reminded them that they were under the protection of France, and the first one who broke the peace would be hanged. On the 20th the Indians departed. Others came, but all were delighted and profoundly impressed by their reception. Thus did Frontenac inspire at once fear and respect in the hearts of his savage and formidable neighbors, and for the remainder of his term as Governor dwelt at peace with them. In the eyes of the Iroquois, Frontenac was by far the greatest of all the Ononthis or Governors who had preceded him. The fort was finished in little more than a fortnight, and leaving La Salle in charge with a force of men Frontenac proceeded to Montreal, where he arrived on August 1st, 1673. Here he continued administering the affairs of the colony until 1682 when he was recalled and succeeded by M. de la Barre. He was in continual strife with the Sulpicians and with the Intendant, but conducted his government ably, and, generally, his course received the endorsation of France. M. Laval had become Bishop of Quebec, and a formidable opponent of the Governor on matters of policy, especially on the question of the sale of brandy to the Indians, the Bishop, who was supported by M. Duchesneau, the Intendant, being strongly opposed to the nefarious and debauching traffic, and Frontenac, opposed to any legal restriction thereon, in the interest of the fur traders. A deplorable picture of the havoc produced by the sale of liquor

to the Indians in their village homes is given by M. de Dudouyt, one of Bishop Laval's Grand Vicars, who was entrusted with a mission on the subject to France in 1677. The Indian, says Dudouyt, drank to get drunk. When liquor was brought by the *coureurs de bois* into an Indian *bourgade*, men, women and children remained drunk until it was finished, even if the drunkenness continued for a month.\* The result of the representations made on behalf of the Bishop and the Intendant was a modified restriction of the traffic in brandy, which was prohibited to the extent that it was not to be carried on among the Indians, in their haunts in the woods, openly, but liquor still remained an article of commerce in the fur trade, and with this compromise the agitation closed.

Friction occurred in the relations between Frontenac and the Governor of Montreal, M. Perrot, in which the famous M. de Fénelon played a regrettable part, for which he eventually suffered disgrace in France. The troubles with Laval and the priests, and with Duchesneau, the Intendant, resulted in the recall of both in 1682. M. de la Barre, who succeeded as Governor, found a disturbed situation on his arrival. The Iroquois were troublesome and the British encroachments on the fur trade of the west and north were threatening strained relations. The Governor was accused of shaping his public policy to suit his private interests in the fur trade, and Meules, the Intendant, penetrating his motives withdrew his support. Other complications arising, in addition to his surrender of Fort Frontenac to the Indians, he was superseded by the Marquis de Denonville in 1685. The new Governor at once became active in repelling the Iroquois and restraining the ever-growing influence of the British colonies. His lieutenants were successful in James and Hudson's Bay, but no permanent advantages resulted. Indeed, misfortune seemed to dog his footsteps, and, while in many respects an able and enterprising officer, disaster crowned his brief regime, which ended in his recall in 1688. The conduct and experience of the last two Governors convinced the King that a man of exceptional ability was required to restore the prestige of France among the Indians and guard her interests against the British traders. He turned to Count Frontenac, then seventy years of age, and pecuniarily ruined. "I know that you

\* Kingsford, Vol. 1,442.

will serve me as well as you did before," said the King to him, "and I ask nothing more of you." Frontenac took up the difficult task. Before this had happened, a proposal was laid before the King by the Chevalier de Callières, commandant at Montreal, that an army be sent to seize Albany and thereafter proceed to New York, and with the assistance of a French fleet operating against the town to capture it also, driving the British from power on the Hudson River fur route. The King endorsed the proposal, the carrying out to be under Frontenac, with Callières as lieutenant in the land campaign. With this end in view Frontenac sailed, with characteristic optimism, in the month of July, 1689, to take up the Government of Canada a second time. He was but poorly supported with troops and supplies for so great an undertaking.

Notwithstanding Frontenac's sense of his own powers and his confidence in the successful issue of his undertaking, he had learned by his former experience that his path was lined by many difficulties. He was alive to the importance of being on good terms with the Indians, and in order to placate them as much as possible, had arranged for the return of the survivors of the Indian chiefs who had been impressed by Denonville for the French galleys. Fifteen of these accordingly accompanied him on his return, one of them, Oureouhare, being so charmed by Frontenac's gracious and dignified manners and the attention he bestowed upon him during the voyage out, that he became a fast friend of the Governor and remained his firm ally during the troubles which Frontenac encountered in his after dealings with the Indians.

He arrived at Quebec in the month of October after a long and tempestuous voyage, and was greeted with the unpleasant news of the Indian depredations at Montreal and the loss of Cataraqui and Niagara. This was a discouraging commencement, but he courageously faced the situation. Winter arrived and all that could be done during that season was to act on the defensive. Frontenac, however, visited Montreal, reassured the inhabitants, and came in touch with the allied Indians, at that time inclined to negotiate terms with the Iroquois and the British traders. Of these, the Ottawas were in negotiation with the Senecas with a view of establishing peaceable relations, and effecting the restoration of prisoners captured dur-



ing the war. Notwithstanding the efforts of the French agents and missionaries, these negotiations had made considerable progress, and the French were taunted with their inability to hold their own against the British.

This condition of affairs having been fully disclosed to Frontenac, he resolved on vigorous action, and proceeded forthwith to assert the power and authority of France by striking such a blow as should restore the military reputation of the French with the native tribes, and overawe the Iroquois. In the month of January he organized expeditions at Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec with the object of conducting offensive operations, or, at least, of checking British aggression at various points. He also communicated with the commander at Mackinaw assuring him and the Indians of the west of his determination to uphold the French supremacy and regain lost ascendancy.

The force organized at Montreal had been designed for an attack on Albany, but on the way, considering the number insufficient for that purpose, the direction was changed and an assault made on the village of Schenectady, which was surprised and given over to all the horrors of Indian warfare. The French, laden with plunder, retired next day, followed by a horde of Mohawks, now assisted by a contingent from Albany, almost to the gates of Montreal.

The force organized at Three Rivers pillaged the Village of Salmon Falls on the Piscataqua, and, returning with prisoners, chiefly women and children, successfully attacked a fortified British post at Casco Bay, being assisted by a party from Quebec which had joined them. The attacks at Schenectady and Salmon Falls were regarded as little less than blood-thirsty massacres, and de Frontenac was bitterly denounced for countenancing the cruelties then wreaked on the inhabitants, but the stern old Governor was not greatly moved by such considerations, having been thoroughly inured to such acts of cruelty.

While he was engaged in subduing the Indians and carrying the terror of French arms through their villages, he was well aware that, in order to obtain satisfactory results, the relations between the tribes and the fur traders must be placed on a more secure footing. The Indians found it more profitable and easy to deal with the British than with the French

trader. The prices, in whatever currency paid, whether in brandy, merchandize or ornaments, were higher, and transactions seemed to have been, as a rule, speedily and satisfactorily effected between the born British trader and the Indian, and the latter grew to appreciate what he considered the advantage to him of this ready attitude. Frontenac saw the necessity of counteracting this growing favor and directed his thoughts to this end.

The expedition to Mackinaw had good results. It ran the gauntlet of an ambush by the Iroquois shortly after leaving Montreal, but the attack was successfully resisted and Mackinaw was reached in safety just as a delegation from the Ottawas was about to leave in order to negotiate a treaty with the Iroquois. The arrival of the detachment which greatly strengthened the post, the valuable presents brought for distribution among the Indians and the reports of the success of the French arms, had the effect of satisfying the tribes who abandoned their proposed embassy to the Iroquois. They renewed their allegiance to Frontenac, and, soon afterwards, one hundred and ten canoes with a cargo of furs valued at one hundred thousand crowns was despatched to Montreal as an evidence of restored good-will. Frontenac happened to be at Montreal on the arrival of this large fleet and extended a very cordial welcome to the escort, loading them with presents and asking their continued assistance against the dreaded Iroquois. The whole incident had a good effect on the relations between the French and their dusky allies. The Iroquois were not yet subdued, however, and the outlying posts and villages frequently suffered from the brand and the scalping knife.

At this time Quebec was menaced by a powerful fleet of thirty-four sail from Boston under the command of Sir William Phipps. The complete subjugation of Canada had been decided upon, and the plan adopted was to operate by land and sea. While a powerful fleet was to attack Quebec a strong land force was to proceed from the west against Montreal. Both attempts signally failed. Frontenac, being at Montreal, was informed that a British expedition was being organized at Lake George with the object of invading Canada. He immediately assembled the neighboring Indian tribes to his assistance, and is said to have chanted the war song and danced the war dance in their company to animate their courage, taking the other

necessary steps for defence or attack. The British army, which was under Winthrop, was, however, ill supplied with provisions, and had to retire to Albany. An advance force under Schuyler reached La Prairie and captured the small fort there, compelling its garrison to retreat on Chambly. Help arriving, the Canadians took the offensive and forced Schuyler to retreat with considerable loss. Thus ended the attempt by land, and Frontenac proceeded to Quebec entirely unaware of the approach to it of the fleet from Boston under Phipps.

The Governor arrived at Quebec only two days in advance of the appearance of the fleet, and resolutely prepared for the defence of the town. Phipps summoned Frontenac to surrender. His messenger was blindfolded and taken into the presence of Frontenac, who received him with pomp and pageantry, evidently with the desire of making an impression on him favorable to the strength of the garrison. The messenger delivered the summons to surrender and asked an answer within an hour. Frontenac replied that he did not acknowledge King William, that the Prince of Orange was a usurper, and that he would answer Phipps by the mouth of his cannon. Accordingly troops were landed from the vessels and proceeded with the attack. Meeting with an unexpected fire they were repulsed. The fire from the ships was ineffectual, while the guns of the garrison caused much damage to the fleet. The bombardment became desultory, and by noon of the second day the admiral was convinced that it was useless to continue his attempt any longer, weighed anchor, and with the receding tide, got beyond reach of the garrison's artillery. The troops which had been landed were commanded by Major Walley, and some severe skirmishing, generally-disastrous to the British, was engaged in. A council held on board the admiral's ship, concluded to abandon the enterprise, and Quebec was once more free from danger. General rejoicings prevailed, and the effect was felt from the capital to the farthest posts, and was particularly noticeable in the conduct of the Iroquois, who, by this time, adopted a balancing policy between the British and the French. While they were hostile to the French they learned that their interests would be better served by the presence of both powers as a check and countercheck upon each other, with an

opportunity to make the most advantageous terms to themselves as a result of the differences between the whites.

Yet the Iroquois were irrepressible, for the following year (1691), a large body of their warriors devastated the settlements in the vicinity of Montreal, while smaller parties wrought havoc along the banks of the Richelieu. Frontenac was not the man to remain inactive under such provocation, and the militia was hastily summoned. Where the Iroquois were found they were slain without mercy and driven back. Still the guerilla warfare went on, attacks followed by retribution and retribution by reprisals.

Meanwhile the Abenaki and French harried the frontiers of Massachusetts, while other troops cleared the district around the Bay of Quinte and penetrated the Mohawk country, killing and burning as they went. The Iroquois' boast at this time was, that "their enemies should have no rest but in their graves," but Frontenac's vigilance and activity at last began to wear them out and formal proposals of peace were again received from them. These, however, had not the desired effect and hostilities were renewed.

The Governor then repaired and garrisoned Fort Frontenac, although such was contrary to instructions from the King, and with this as a basis of operations, he menaced the Iroquois of the lake. They retaliated by a descent upon Montreal in which they were defeated. Cadillac, the commandant at Mackinaw, was successful in an inroad into the Seneca country, and from the west, the Five Nations were attacked and defeated by Miamis and French.

The dissatisfaction among the allied Indians with the high prices of French merchandise and the corresponding low prices for their furs deepened, and as a result the Ottawas and Hurons made peace with the Iroquois so as to participate with them in the British trade. Frontenac was considerably disturbed by this movement, and, not succeeding in detaching his allies from the Iroquois in this matter, he resolved to invade the territory of the Five Nations and surprise the Iroquois.

With this object in view he moved with a force of fifteen hundred regular troops, militia and Indians, and arrived at Cataraqui in the month



of July, 1696. By way of the Oswego River and Onondaga Lake, he proceeded towards the fortified villages of the Onondagas and Oneidas. Though now seventy-six years of age, he sturdily led the centre of his force, Callières commanding the left wing and Vaudreuil the right. The Indians were not deficient in the best tactics of such warfare. They burned and abandoned their villages on the approach of the enemy and, retreating into the forest where they could not be readily followed, they escaped the invaders, who had to be contented with the lame, the halt and the blind left behind in the villages. Beyond the destruction of crops and dwellings, the Indian loss was trifling, while the army on its return march was greatly harrassed by the Indians, who constantly attacked the rear guard and cut off stragglers, as opportunity offered. The Five Nations were still unsubdued, nor was their spirit broken by the formidable demonstrations made against them. They continued to infest the French settlements, and were a source of unceasing harrassment to the habitant.

This year the Treaty of Ryswick terminated the war between Great Britain and France, and permitted peace between the British and the French colonies and their allies. The former at once proposed an exchange of prisoners, both as regarded themselves and the Iroquois over whom they wished to assume sovereignty. To evade this point, Frontenac dealt with the British on the one hand and the Iroquois on the other independently of each other, and in the negotiations he found no little jealousy among the Iroquois at the British claim on their allegiance, a feeling which Frontenac, of course, sought to encourage.

Throughout Frontenac's two terms as Governor, the conspicuous feature of his administration was his devotion to the supremacy of France in Canada. An instance of this loyalty was exhibited when the question was raised of the proposed abandonment of the French posts in the west. Depleted by the demands of the war in Europe, a policy of radical economy was determined upon by the French government with respect to Canada. It was considered that these outlying posts were the cause of the troubles with the Indians, necessitating great expense in maintaining garrisons and in organizing expeditions to suppress tribal disturbances, and the conclu-

sion was arrived at that the forts should be abandoned and the Indians left to find their way as best they could to Montreal, unprotected by the French.

Frontenac at once apprehended the danger that would result from this policy, which would mean the abandonment of all territory occupied by the French west of Montreal, including Cataraqui, Niagara, Mackinaw, Miami, and the Ohio and Mississippi regions, to the British, for as soon as the French soldiers stepped out the British would step in to the fort and obtain complete command of the west. It would then be a comparatively easy matter, with the fur trade destroyed, to reduce Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, and drive the French from Canada.

Frontenac, stubborn in his opinions, as he was clear sighted, chose to disregard this policy adopted by the French government, and determined to hold all the more tenaciously to what his country had won and he had preserved. Events justified his course, as they established the wisdom of much of his own plans and projects for the good of his colony. His services were not overlooked. While his natural greatness could not save him from the jealousies of smaller men, and the antagonisms of those whose interests conflicted with his own, he was nevertheless regarded as an invaluable officer by the King and his Ministers, who showed their recognition of his signal services to his country by bestowing upon him the coveted decoration of the Order of St. Louis.

Ever vigilant and energetic in the performance of his duties, Frontenac's death at his post in 1698 was almost universally felt to be a calamity to the colony. Even those who differed widely from him in matters of policy, and who did not hold him in personal regard on account of his proud and austere manners, admitted his courage and ability, and the incalculable services he had performed for the country whose interests were entrusted to his care.



*Champlain-*



SIEUR DE LA SALLE.



FRONTENAC.



LORD DORCHESTER.





## CHAPTER VI.

### UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME: 1699-1763.

Frontenac's successor, the Chevalier de Callières, received his commission as Governor-General in 1699. He had been commandant at Montreal and won the respect and confidence of the people, who rejoiced at his promotion. Two outstanding events of his term were the peace effected with the Iroquois and the founding of Detroit. The question at issue between the French and British with respect to the peace was that of sovereignty over the Iroquois. The British claim was disputed by Callières. The Earl of Bellamont insisted that the exchange of Iroquois prisoners consequent on the peace should be made at Albany, through the British thus securing an acknowledgment of British sovereignty over the Five Nations. This assumption Callières repelled, and succeeded in his diplomacy. The Onondagas and the Senecas sent deputies to Montreal, and there the formalities of peace were gone through. The hatchet was buried. A treaty was written to which the Indian envoys attached the symbols of their tribes. The Senecas and Onondagas signed by the drawing of a spider; the Cayugas a calumet; the Onedias, a forked stick; the Mohawks, a bear; the Hurons, a beaver; the Abenaki, a deer; and the Ottawas, a hare. This success aroused the indignation of the British, and Callières knowing they would try to undo his work sought to strengthen his hold on the western trade by establishing a post at Detroit. The Iroquois remonstrated against this step, regarding it as an encroachment, but the Governor persevered, holding that Detroit was in French territory. Thus, in the month of June, 1701, Cadillac, accompanied by a Jesuit missionary and one hundred Frenchmen, proceeded to Detroit and there founded a settlement. The colonization of Illinois had already been begun by La Salle. Detroit, thus founded, was destined to play an important part as the scene of international conflict and convention, as it was to become the beautiful and prosperous city it is

to-day. Though not now a part of Ontario its early connection with the province renders a few references to its history appropriate. It was first called Fort Pontchatrain in honor of Count Pontchatrain, the Colonial Minister. It was first visited by the French explorers in 1610. In 1664 the famous Carignan regiment came to Canada. It was officered by fifty or sixty gentlemen of noble family, some of whom obtained concessions of land in the Detroit country. The Detroit River offered many advantages to the settler. It was a most important channel of communication and trade, an important frontier post was on its banks, and both climate and soil were favorable. Writing of it as early as 1701 M. De La Mothe, the French Commandant there gives this graphic description of the place:—

Detroit is, probably, only a canal or a river of moderate breadth, and twenty-five leagues in length according to my reckoning lying north-northeast, and south-southwest, about the 41st degree (of latitude) through which the sparkling and pellucid water of Lakes Superior, Michigan and Huron (which are so many seas of sweet water) flow and glide away gently and with a moderate current into Lake Erie, into the Ontario or Frontenac, and go at last to mingle in the River St. Lawrence with those of the ocean. The banks are so many vast meadows where the freshness of these beautiful streams keeps the grass always green. These same meadows are fringed with long and broad avenues of fruit trees which have never felt the careful hand of the watchful gardener; and fruit trees, young and old, droop under the weight and multitude of their fruit, and bend their branches towards the fertile soil which has produced them. In this soil so fertile, the ambitious vine which has not yet wept under the knife of the industrious vine-dresser, forms a thick roof with its broad leaves and its heavy clusters over the head of whatever it twines around, which it often stifles by embracing it too closely. Under these vast avenues you may see assembling in hundreds the shy stag and the timid hind with the bounding roebuck, to pick up eagerly the apples and plums with which the ground is paved. It is there that the careful turkey hen calls back her numerous brood, and leads them to gather the grapes; it is there that the big cocks come to fill their broad and gluttonous crops. The golden pheasant, the quail, the partridge, the woodcock, the teeming turtle-dove, swarm in the woods and cover

the open country intersected and broken by groves of full-grown forest-trees which form a charming prospect which of itself might sweeten the melancholy tedium of solitude. There the hand of the pitiless mower has never shorn the juicy grass on which bisons of enormous height and size fatten. The woods are of six kinds,—walnut trees, white oak, red bastard ash, ivy, white wood trees and cotton wood trees. But these same trees are as straight as arrows, without knots, and almost without branches except near the top and of enormous size and height. It is from thence that the fearless eagle looks steadily at the sun, seeing beneath him enough to glut his formidable claws. The fish there are fed and laved in sparkling and pellucid waters and are none the less delicious for the bountiful supply (of them). There are such large numbers of swans that the rushes among which they are massed might be taken for lilies. The gabbling goose, the duck, the teal and the bustard are so common there that, in order to satisfy you of it, I will only make use of the expression of one of the savages, of whom I asked before I got here whether there was much game there: “There is so much,” he told me, “that it only moves aside (long enough) to allow the boat to pass.”

Can it be thought that a land in which nature has distributed everything in so complete a manner could refuse to the hand of a careful husbandman who breaks into its fertile depths, the return which is expected of it?

In a word, the climate is temperate, the air is pure, during the day there is a gentle wind, and at night the sky, which is always placid, diffuses sweet and cool influences which cause us to enjoy the benignity of tranquil sleep. If its position is pleasing, it is no less important, for it opens or closes the approach of the most distant tribes which surround these vast sweet water oceans. It is only the opponents of the truth who are the enemies of this settlement, so essential to the increase of the glory of the King, to the spread of religion, and to the destruction of the throne of Baal.

In 1701 when Fort Ponchatrain was established Cadillac built a church which was named Ste. Anne, from the fact that the first mass celebrated therein was on July 26, the day of the feast of that Saint. The church

built by Cadillac was destroyed by the Indians, but was rebuilt shortly afterwards in 1723. In 1805 fire destroyed the church and the famous Father Richard obtained a deed to the ground on which to build a new one. The records of Ste. Anne's Church have been carefully kept from 1701, when the first baptism was entered, that of Thérèse, daughter of La Mothe Cadillac. The signatures following the entries are interesting, giving a clue to the social standing of the contracting parties, many of them belonging to the old regime, bearing names high among the noblesse of France. Outside the grants to Cadillac there were no seigneuries granted on the Detroit or along the lakes, save one to the Chevalier Le Gardeur de Repentigny, at Sault Ste. Marie, but instead were grants of land, at present called farms and which were originally only given to prominent colonists. Detroit went over to Britain in 1763, and to the United States in 1783, but the latter did not obtain possession until 1796. It was surrendered by Hull to the British in 1812 and recovered by the United States in 1813. It was the capital of the State of Michigan from 1837 to 1847, when that honor was conferred on Lansing.

Callières died in 1703, to the regret of the people he had served so well. He was succeeded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had been commandant of Montreal and had approved himself to the people and to Paris by his conduct in that office. He was faced with difficulties arising from the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and France, taking advantage of which the New York colonists sought to incite the Iroquois to revolt. The result was, however, other than they had hoped for. The Indians not only refused to break the peace, but went further and at last conceded the sovereignty of their country to the French. Hostilities broke out between the Ottawas and the Illinois at Detroit, but Cadillac overawed the latter. Vaudreuil harassed the New England settlements, the chief result of which was a determination on the part of Britain to assist her colonists in retaliating, hence Sir Hoven-den Walker's futile expedition by sea, and Nicholson's failure by land, until the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, brought peace, territorially advantageous to Britain to which was given Newfoundland, an influence in Nova Scotia, the Hudson Bay region, and the nominal sovereignty of the Iroquois. These concessions from France were owing, not to Vaudreuil's weakness in Can-



ada, but to Marlborough's sweeping victories in Europe. There were then in Canada 4,480 inhabitants, between fourteen and sixty years of age capable of bearing arms and 628 regular soldiers, while the Governor computed the strength of the British colonists, prepared for the field, at 60,000 men.

In 1721 the first mail was established between Montreal and Quebec, the contractor, La Mouiller, obtaining a twenty years' franchise of the same. A fixed table of rates, according to distance carried was in force. In 1720 Charlevoix visited Canada and saw the principal settlements. Above Montreal he found only trading posts, until he reached Frontenac, which he describes as a small military post. At Niagara he met Joncaire with a few officers and troops, but no permanent settlement. He furnishes an interesting account of Detroit and the posts on the Upper Lakes, all of which were small in size. After governing well for the long period of twenty-one years Vaudreuil's career was closed by death in 1725. There was general and deep sorrow, and the highest tribute to his memory was found in the gratitude of the people whom he had served ably and faithfully to the end.

The Marquis de Beauharnois succeeded. He assumed office in 1726. His attention was at once occupied by affairs at Oswego and Niagara, at the latter of which a stone fort, long famous, was erected under the direction of M. de Longueuil. A stone fort was also built at Frontenac and the place strengthened. At this time aliens were prohibited from settling in Canada, and some British citizens resident in Montreal were obliged to leave the country. Beauharnois also strengthened the French position by the erection of a fort at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. Thus several years passed in comparative tranquillity, and the interests of the country made a substantial advance. From 1725 to 1745 the population had grown from twenty-two to fifty thousand souls, and the value of the exports to nearly two and three-quarter million francs, but with prosperity came an era of corruption, which sapped the life blood of the colony.

The fall of Louisbourg to the New England forces under Pepperell and Warren was followed by the recall of the Governor, to whose place Admiral La Jonquiere was appointed, but having been captured by the British off Cape Finisterre, Count de la Galissoniere was appointed Governor, and in 1748 the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Louisbourg to Canada. Galis-

soniere held statesmanlike views on the question of French expansion in the west. He proposed that an engineer be sent out from France to construct adequate forts from Detroit to the Mississippi and then that the territories so protected be settled by ten thousand Frenchmen. This course would have checked British advances west of the Alleghany Mountains, but it was not taken up fully by the French Government, and the partial attempt to carry it out only aroused the suspicion and alarm of the British colonists, finally leading to the conflicts which ended with the Conquest of Canada. As a matter of fact the Governor drew a boundary line immediately west of the Alleghanies and marked its course by leaden plates bearing the arms of France, being buried at different points on the line. The Governor of Pennsylvania was notified and requested to govern himself accordingly. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restored La Jonquiere to liberty, and he proceeded in 1749 to take up his commission as Governor of Canada, which had not been cancelled. Bigot was the Intendant. The Governor enforced the French claim to all land within the Galissoniere boundary and seized three merchants who had trespassed beyond the line, bringing them for trial at Montreal, where they were discharged, but the proceeding caused much bitter feeling. Meanwhile commissioners to delimit the boundaries sat at Paris, but at once saw that the opposing claims to territory must come to the arbitrament of the sword. The Governor foresaw war and did something to keep the forts at Frontenac, Toronto and Niagara in repair. A French schooner rode on Lake Ontario and the Jesuit missionaries were pitted against the influence of Sir William Johnson over the still war-like Mohawks, while the Abbe Picquet, a Sulpician father who had organized his military mission station at the Lake of the Two Mountains, was authorized to build a fort at Oswegatchie, which by 1751 had three hundred and ninety-six inhabitants, and in 1753 was one of the most important Indian settlements in Canada. In his travels on account of the impending war, he passed over the country on the northern shore of Lake Ontario and notes the growing traffic which had sprung up at Toronto. La Jonquiere invoked the resentment of the Jesuits by interfering with their trading propensities, and accusations of avarice, nepotism and corruption were formulated against him. He desired to be recalled, but before effect had been given to

his wish he died at Quebec in 1752. Marquis Duquesne was his successor. He prepared for war by forming the militia into companies, and bringing them under drill and discipline. Virginia encroached on Ohio and a skirmish between a force from Detroit and the Miamis, who had sheltered the intruders, forced the question on the attention of the British Government, who upheld the Virginians. But that Government was cautious in placing troops in the field for the extension of the territory of colonies which were beginning to disregard the royal prerogative while insisting on throwing the expenses of defence and expansion on the Crown. Virginia, nevertheless, was aided in the emergency which had occurred. The British colonies were drawing together on matters of common interest. Franklin advocated a Federal union, voluntarily entered into by the colonists themselves. "It would be a strange thing," said he, "if six nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such a union, and be able to execute it in such a manner that it has subsisted for ages, and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies, to whom it is more necessary, and must be more advantageous." Thus early was the seed sown which blossomed in the revolution. Duquesne sent a strong force in 1753 to man the western posts and to establish forts in the Ohio valley. The Iroquois opposed the latter project and their western allies were stirred up, but in face of their opposition the new forts were erected,—at Erie, Waterford and Venango, while preparations were made to occupy the banks of the Monongahela and the Ohio. On these proceedings Washington reported to Virginia and Governor Dinwiddie resolved on active resistance. Washington led the troops: and then came the short action with the French on the way to Fort Duquesne, and the affair at Fort Necessity, practically the first bloodshed in the Canadian war. Governor Duquesne resigned and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, son of the former Governor of that name, was appointed Governor-General. Events were crowding on the southern borders, Britain being determined upon the restoration of the Ohio and other territory assumed by France. On the Atlantic coast and the frontier at Lake Champlain the British successes were substantial though hardly a sufficient satisfaction for Braddock's disaster and Shirley's failure in the north and west. War

between France and Britain was formally declared in 1756. Canada occupied the valley of the Ohio and the western lands, Niagara, Toronto, Frontenac, Crown Point and Ticonderoga, three thousand trained troops, a sturdy militia and the friendly Indian tribes. She was weak in war material, and the British colonies were overpoweringly strong in men and the sinews of war. Three men arrived from France at this juncture whose names are destined to live in Canadian annals, Montcalm, De Levis and Bourlemaque, the former in command of a large body of troops, and prompt and vigorous action was begun. The British generals were Loudon and Abercromby. One of the first successes of the British was Bradstreet's relief of Oswego and his brush with Villier's detachment, but that place with booty and war stores shortly afterwards fell to Montcalm, who thus, by the end of 1756 had the complete control of Lake Ontario. From Fort Frontenac a body of three hundred Frenchmen and Indians penetrated by the Black River to the Mohawk valley, to the settlement at the German Flats which they destroyed, killing forty men and capturing one hundred and fifty prisoners and immense plunder. In the spring of 1757 Rigaud de Vaudreuil tried, but failed, to capture Fort William Henry; Bourlemaque strengthened Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and Pouchot assumed command of Niagara, which he fortified. When the campaign of 1757 opened Loudon began operations looking to the reduction of Louisbourg and Cape Breton, leaving Colonel Stanwyx with two thousand militia and some regulars to protect the western frontier; Colonel Bouquet with about the same number was stationed on the borders of Carolina; General Webb was entrusted with the defence of New England and New York States; and Colonel Munro, with about two thousand men, was at Fort Henry. These troops were supported by the local militia, inured in forest hardship and rough and ready attack and defence. Fort Henry fell before the troops of Montcalm, and it was then the horrible massacre of the surrendered British garrison took place, by the Indians, described by Cooper in his novel, *The Last of the Mohicans*. Loudon's expedition against Louisburg was unavailing and Montcalm's success at Fort Henry struck terror into the hearts of the colonists. Montcalm was supreme in Canada, but with the need came hope to Britain by the accession to power of the great Pitt. He selected his generals with



prescience. Amherst, Whitmore, Wolfe and Lawrence were chosen; Forbes, Abercromby and Howe were also employed, and a comprehensive plan of campaign arranged. In February of 1758 Amherst sailed from Portsmouth with ten thousand men. At Halifax he met Admiral Boscawen, weary of inaction and ready to begin operations against Louisbourg, and after a stubborn contest in which Wolfe distinguished himself, the great fortress was wrenched from the French, and with it Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island. Following this success, however, came the regrettable disaster to the British arms at Ticonderoga under the fated Abercromby. Here in a preliminary skirmish the brave Lord Howe fell. While Abercromby lay inactive after his defeat, Bradstreet made an attack on Fort Frontenac which he easily captured. The fort he found to be a quadrangle defended by thirty guns and sixteen small mortars, with a garrison of one hundred and twenty soldiers and forty Indians, under De Noyan. The spoils included sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, an immense supply of provisions and ammunition, and all the shipping on the lake among which were several vessels laden with rich furs.\* The fort was blown up and abandoned. During the summer it was, however, repaired by the French, who felt the loss of the stores and provisions keenly. In the operations of this time Major Rogers won the reputation of a redoubtable and resourceful commander of Rangers. Forbes captured Ft. Duquesne, the modern Pittsburg. British success was gradually turning the balance in their favor. The Indians began to turn with the tide. They captured three French canoes on Lake Ontario and killed the crews.

Amherst was appointed Commander in Chief, Stanwix was charged with the duty of reducing the forts on the western frontier from Pittsburg to Lake Erie; Prideaux was to reduce Niagara; Amherst had command of the force designed to operate by Lake Champlain and the Richelieu with Montreal as the objective point. To Wolfe was given the command of the expedition against Quebec. This great scheme contemplated the complete reduction of Canada and the result justified the scheme.

Governor Vaudreuil and Montcalm were fully alive to the gravity of the situation, and what could be done they did. The Governor addressed

\* McMullen, Vol. 1, p. 168.

himself to the people, appealing strongly to their patriotism for support. The Bishop, Henry de Pont Briant, issued a pastoral to his clergy, a remarkable communication, revealing the deep anxiety which prevailed in the face of imminent danger, and reflecting on the habits which had been acquired by the people. Montcalm took command of Quebec; Bourlamaque, of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Lake Champlain; and La Corne of the Lake Ontario region. Pouchot was at Niagara, which was attacked by Prideaux, who was killed in the trenches while giving orders. The command then devolved on Sir Wm. Johnson, to whom the Fort yielded on liberal terms of surrender.

Stanwix occupied the forts from Pittsburg northward without opposition. La Corne failed in an attack on Oswego. Amherst proceeded in four columns, Bourlamaque falling on before him to Fort Carillon, which he abandoned on the arrival of Amherst's superior force, retreating to Isle aux Noix, where he collected a force of three thousand five hundred men, one hundred cannon and four armed vessels commanded by naval officers. Amherst went into winter quarters without advancing to attack this position, the season being advanced. On the 26th of June Wolfe reached Isle Orleans, landed his troops on the island next day and thus lay before Quebec, the vital spot in the campaign. With him were Brigadiers General Carleton, Townshend and Murray. The accompanying fleet consisted of twenty-two men of war and the same number of frigates and armed vessels, and was commanded by a capable officer, Admiral Saunders. With this fleet, as the sailing master of a vessel, was James Cook, afterwards the celebrated explorer and navigator. Montcalm's capacity as a general was fully demonstrated. Operations proceeded until September, when on the morning of the 13th the heights were scaled and the British battalions were formed on the famous Plains of Abraham. The victory of the British was dearly bought by the death of Wolfe and of Montcalm. The surrender of Quebec followed, and with it the Conquest of Canada was practically complete, forever passing from France, after a constant occupancy of more than a century and a half.

De Levis and Bougainville were up the St. Lawrence and Montreal was still untaken, and Amherst was wintering on the Champlain frontier.

Thus the winter passed. On the 17th of April De Levis left Montreal, and collecting all the available troops by the way made a descent on Quebec. General Murray, commanding at Quebec, gave him battle on the Plains of Abraham and suffered defeat. Retreating within the city Murray made a resolute defence which he maintained against all odds until relieved by the timely arrival of a British fleet. De Levis was obliged to retreat to Montreal.

In the month of July Amherst assembled his troops at Oswego and proceeded down the river to Montreal, capturing Ogdensburg on the 25th of August. He landed on the Island of Montreal on the 6th of September, 1760. Here came Murray from Quebec, and Haviland who had come by Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. The troops numbered about 16,000 men. Resistance was useless; and on the same day Governor Vaudreuil signed the articles of capitulation, the more important being:—

Art. 3. The troops and militia who are in garrison in the Fort of Jacques Cartier, and in the Island of St. Helen, and other forts, shall be treated in the same manner, and shall have the same honors; and these troops shall go to Montreal, or the Three Rivers or Quebec; to be there embarked for the first sea port in France, by the shortest way. The troops, who are in our posts, situated on our frontiers, on the side of Acadia, at Detroit, Michilimackinac, and other posts, shall enjoy the same honors, and be treated in the same manner. “All these troops are not to serve during the present war, and shall likewise lay down their arms, the rest is granted.”

Art. 4. The militia after evacuating the above towns, forts and posts, shall return to their habitations, without being molested on any pretence whatever, on account of their having carried arms. “Granted.”

Art. 7. The magazines, the artillery, firelocks, sabres, ammunition of war, and, in general, everything that belongs to his most Christian Majesty, as well in the Towns of Montreal and Three Rivers, as in the forts and posts mentioned in the third article shall be delivered up, according to exact inventories, to the commissaries who shall be appointed to receive the same in the name of his Britannic Majesty. Duplicates of the said inventories shall be given to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. “This is everything that can be asked on this article.”

Art. 27. The free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion, shall subsist entire, in such manner that all the states and the people of the towns and countries, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly. These people shall be obliged, by the English Government, to pay their priests the tithes, and all the taxes they were used to pay under the Government of his Most Christian Majesty. "Granted, as to the free exercise of their religion, the obligation of paying the tithes to the priests will depend on the King's pleasure."

Art. 37. The Lords of Manors, the military and civil officers, the Canadians as well in the towns as in the country, the French settled, or trading in the whole extent of the colony of Canada, and all other persons whatsoever, shall preserve the entire peaceable property and possession of the goods, noble and ignoble, moveable and immoveable, merchandizes, furs and other effects, even their ships; they shall not be touched, nor the least damage done to them, on any pretence whatever. They shall have liberty to keep, let or sell them, as well to the French as to the British; to take away the produce of them in bills of exchange, furs, specie or other returns, whenever they shall judge proper to go to France, paying their freight, as in the 26th article. They shall also have the furs which are in the posts above, and which belong to them, and may be on the way to Montreal; and, for this purpose, they shall have leave to send, this year, or the next, canoes fitted out to fetch such of the said furs as shall have remained in those posts. "Granted, as in the 26th article."

Art. 39. None of the Canadians, Acadians, or French, who are now in Canada, and on the frontiers of the colony, on the side of Acadia, Detroit, Michilimakinac, and other places and posts of the countries above, the married and unmarried soldiers remaining in Canada, shall be carried or transported into the British colonies, or to Great Britain, and they shall not be troubled for having carried arms. "Granted, except with regard to the Acadians."

Art. 40. The savages or Indian allies of his most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit; if they choose to remain



there; they shall not be molested on any pretence whatsoever, for having carried arms, and served his most Christian Majesty; they shall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and shall keep their missionaries. The actual Vicars General, and the Bishop, when the Episcopal See shall be filled, shall have leave to send to them new missionaries when they shall judge it necessary. "Granted, except the last article, which has been already refused."

Art. 46. The inhabitants and merchants shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, under the same favors and conditions granted to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, as well in the countries above, as the interior of the colony. "Granted."

Major Rogers, the celebrated Commandant of the Rangers, was despatched to take over the French posts on the lakes. This he satisfactorily accomplished. Amherst established a military government, dividing the country into three districts—Quebec, with Murray as Military Governor; Three Rivers, under Colonel Burton; and Montreal, with Brigadier Gage. At each centre courts of justice were formed, composed of militia officers, with summary jurisdiction in light offences. At length peace was declared and the treaty was finally ratified on the 10th of February, 1763.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE EARLY FUR TRADE.

Practically from the beginning of French discovery in Canada the fur trade was the great source of commercial wealth. The rights and privileges of the trade were granted as monopolies to charter holders, either individuals, or associations formed of merchants in France. The trade extended from the littoral on the Atlantic to points as far inland as the intrepid traders could reach, or from which Indians could be attracted with their flotillas of canoes. It was in connection with this extensive traffic that the *Coueurs des Bois*, who became a distinct element of the population sprang.

Perhaps no better account has been given of the "*Coueurs de Bois*" than that by Sir Alex. MacKenzie. It requires less time, says MacKenzie, for a civilized people to deviate into the manners and customs of savage life than for savages to rise into a state of civilization. Such was the event with those who thus accompanied the natives on their hunting and trading excursions, for they became so attached to the Indian mode of life that they lost all relish for their former habits and native homes. Hence they derive the title of "*Coueurs de Bois*," became a kind of pedlars, and were extremely useful to the merchants engaged in the fur trade who gave them the necessary credit to proceed on their commercial undertaking. Three or four of these people would join their stock, put their property into a birch bark canoe which they worked themselves and would then either accompany the natives in their excursions or penetrate at once into the country. At length these voyages extended to twelve or fifteen months, when they returned with rich cargoes of furs, followed by great numbers of the natives. During the short time requisite to settle their accounts with the merchants and procure fresh credit they generally contrived to squander away all their gains, when they returned to renew their favorite mode of life, their views being answered, and their labors sufficiently rewarded, by

indulging themselves in extravagance and dissipation during the short space of one month in twelve or fifteen. This indifference about amassing property and the pleasure of living free from all restraint soon brought on a licentiousness of manner which could not long escape the vigilant observation of the missionaries, who had much reason to complain of their being a disgrace to the Christian religion by not only swerving from its duties themselves, but bringing it into disrepute with those of the natives who had become converts thereto, and consequently obstructing the great object to which these pious men had devoted their lives. They, therefore, exerted their influence to procure the suppression of these people, and accordingly no one was allowed to go up the country without a license from the French Government.

But the imposition of the licenses was followed with but insignificant results. The licenses were acquired by the fur merchants and others interested, and these employed the Coureurs de Bois as their agents. The military posts on the upper lakes manned by soldiers did more to repress the excesses of the wood runners than either license or remonstrance from Quebec. It would be a mistake to suppose that the Coureurs de Bois was composed entirely of the lowest class of settlers or of broken or desperate men. The fur trade presented many inducements and opportunities to the bold and ambitious adventurer, and educated men of good social standing, daring and adventurous, were attracted to it by the excitement and freedom of an open air life, and association with the Indians instead of being repugnant to many of them produced an opposite feeling and a strong attachment which bound them by strong ties to their dusky friends.

M. de Denonville says that the youths of the colony were beyond parental control. When big enough to shoulder a gun they took to the forest and supplied the ranks of the Coureur de Bois, adopting the life of the Indian born to the extent of going about naked. The sons of officers were not better in this respect than other boys. The men were tall, well-made, robust, active and accustomed to hardships and frugal fare. The women and girls were pretty, but idle from want of suitable occupation.

The Coureurs de Bois rendered great service to Canada in 1693, at a

critical moment, by escorting successfully the large flotilla carrying furs from Michilimackinac to Montreal under De Louvigny.

After the cession of Canada to Britain what became of these hardy French voyageurs, whose employment by the fur traders provided them with an occupation? They had become too much assimilated to the life of the Indians, among whom the most of their time had been spent, to endure the restraints of a civilization, and consequently they allied themselves with the Indians, becoming absorbed in the savage tribes.

The attempt, by means of companies and associations to develop the commerce of Canada had been marked by failure. In 1664 the original "Cent Associés" were replaced by a company known as the "Compagnie Occidentale," but, in 1665, the trade in furs in the province was transferred to a Canadian combination of the inhabitants, on condition of the annual payment of a million pounds of beaver skins for the enjoyment of the privilege. The rights which the company reserved were confirmed by de Tracy in 1667. For some period much activity was shewn, and the company annually employed one hundred vessels in their operations. As they assumed the responsibility of meeting much of the expense of the government, the trade of Tadousac was retained by them. In 1674, this company became bankrupt, and was suppressed. On Colbert's recommendation the debts, amounting to 3,523,000 *livres*, were assumed by the King, and the shareholders were paid the amount of their investments, 1,297,000 *livres*. The monopoly was transferred to the Oudiette Company, which undertook to pay the same contribution for the support of the Government, and the tax on the commerce of the country remained unchanged. All furs were ordered to be brought to the stores of the company, the skins being arbitrarily valued at four *livres* ten *sols* each. It was, however, discovered that there were different qualities of fur; eventually they were divided into classes one, two and three, "*cache-gras*," "*demi-gras*" and "*sec*." Charlevoix tells us that the term "dry beaver" was applied to skins which had not been used, and that "*cache-gras*" had been worn by the Indians, after having been treated on the inside with the marrow of animals, to render it pliable. Several skins were sewn together to form a robe, which, during winter, was worn next the skin, never to be removed. The consequence was



that the long hair was worn off, and the fur that remained, obtained the appearance of what is now known as "plucked beaver." Fourteen or fifteen months were necessary to obtain this result. In 1675, Oudiette retired. Two companies were successively formed, each of which accepted the conditions on which Oudiette had declined to continue his operations, each in turn to be ruined. They were followed by the *fermiers généraux de France*, who gathered a number of skins, but could find no market for them, and a million skins remained unsold in their stores. In 1700 another company was formed in Canada. France, however, could purchase only 150,000 skins, and the company was not allowed to send the furs elsewhere, from fear of injuring the business of the Paris hat-makers. In 1706 this company became bankrupt; its debts amounted to 1,812,000 *livres*. The monopoly was then given to Aubert, Neyret and Gayot. In 1715 they failed.

When, in 1718, the company of Aubert, Neyret and Gayot, came to an end, their charter was transferred to Law's company (the famous Paris financial speculator), with the privilege until the last of December, 1742, of receiving beaver skins in Canada to the exclusion of every one else. Except the company, no one could purchase. A beaver skin on board a vessel was sufficient to lead to her confiscation.\*

The fur trade was carried on under licenses granted to old officers and favorites, which were sold to the inland traders. "The amount of trade allowed to each license was merchandise to the amount of one thousand crowns, to carry which, and to convey the returns, the purchaser of the license was bound to employ two canoes, with crews of six men in each. The seller of the license had also the right of furnishing merchandise suitable for this trade, to the amount before mentioned, at an advance of fifteen per cent. upon the market price, making, with the annual price of the license, namely, six hundred crowns, a handsome income in those times of comparative economy. A successful adventure under such a license, generally gave to the merchant a profit of 400 per cent. on the merchandise, and 600 crowns to each of the canoemen. The canoemen were not only entitled to provisions and clothing, but interested in the result of the adventure, by having a

\* Kingsford.

legal right to divide the surplus of the returns, after the cost of license, merchandise, and 400 per cent. profit to the merchant, has been reimbursed." At this time the average price of beaver skins at Montreal in money was 2 livres, 13 sous, or about 2s. 3d. sterling per pound. It will thus be seen that the Indians were cheated to a considerable extent, and they themselves becoming aware of the fact through their intercourse with the British, made incessant complaints; and this probably was one great cause of their want of faith in the French.

A large annual fair was held at Montreal where the Indians resorted in large numbers and disposed of their furs instead of going with them to Albany (1743). Abbe Picquet in 1750 in the course of a journey along the northern shore of Lake Ontario remarks on the considerable traffic which had grown up at Toronto as it was even then called and from which the furs were conveyed by water to Oswego.

About the middle of the seventeenth century two men appear on the scene destined to play an important part in the fur trade of Canada; the two French Protestant adventurers, Radisson and Groseilliers. Pierre Esprit Radisson was born near Meaux in France, and Medard Chouart "Sieur des Groseilliers" at St. Malo in Brittany. Radisson had been captured and adopted into one of the Iroquois tribes. Chouart was an assistant at a Jesuit mission, but left its quiet for the more stirring prospects of a trader's life. On the death of his first wife, who had been a daughter of Abraham Martin, after whom the Plains of Abraham were named, he married again, the widowed sister of Radisson, and this relationship knit them together in their enterprises in after life. They explored and traded in the far west. In 1758 they made a two years' trip in the west, and returning wintered at Lake Nipigon. In the account of this journey Radisson states that they had not reached Hudson Bay. In 1661 the two traders went on a fourth journey, this time without a license, which the Governor would only grant on very severe conditions. The journey lasted two years, which were spent in exploring the north shore of Lake Superior, and French writers assert that during this time they penetrated overland to Hudson Bay. The accounts, however, conflict with one another, and as the statement was made probably with the object of influencing the French

claim to the territory of Hudson Bay, it has been supposed by some writers not to be based upon fact. Had they accomplished this the feat would have been of too important a character not to be emphasized by the explorers, but the passage in Radisson's journal does not lead one to suppose that the partners reached the Canadian sea, and he says:—

“We went away with all haste possible to arrive the sooner at ye great river. We came to the seaside, where we finde an old house all demolished and battered with bullets. We were told yt those that came there were of two nations, one of the wolf and the other of the long-horned beast. All those nations are distinguished by the representation of the beasts and animals. They tell us particulars of the Europeans. We know ourselves and what Europe is life, therefore in vaine they tell us as for that. We went from isle to isle all that summer. We pluckt abundance of ducks as of other sort of fowles; we wanted not fish nor fresh meat. We weare well beloved and weare overjoyed that we promised them to come with such shipps as we invented. This place has a great store of cows. The wild men kill not except for necessary use. We went further in the bay to see the place that they weare to pass that summer. That river comes from the lake and empties itself in ye river of Sagnes (Saguenay), called Tadousack, which is a hundred leagues in the great river of Canada, as where we are in ye the Bay of the North. We left in this place our marks and rendezvous. The wild men yt brought us defended us above all things, if we would come quietly to them, that we should by no means land and so goe to the river to the other side, that is to the north, towards the sea, telling us that those people weare very treacherous.”

It has been pointed out that the words “we came to the sea side” may by no means refer to the Canadian Sea, as Radisson frequently used the terms “sea and lake” interchangeably, while other passages of his journal would lead to the conclusion that he had not seen the waters of Hudson Bay.

On the return of the explorers to Quebec Groseilliers was arrested for illicit trading, and both he and Radisson were fined ten thousand pounds, four thousand to be spent on the erection of a fort at Three Rivers and six thousand to augment the general revenue. Against this sentence the partners appealed to France, and while in Paris made fruitless efforts to inter-

est the Government there in Hudson Bay trade. They returned to Quebec, and finding no satisfaction there any more than they had found in Paris, they made overtures to the British, going to Port Royal in 1664 and thence to Boston. It is to be noted that they made no claim at Boston of having been at Hudson Bay, but stated that while in the territory north of Lake Superior they had been assured by the Indians that Hudson Bay could be reached. This visit resulted in the fitting out of a ship in which they sailed to the entrance of Hudson's Straits when the expedition was abandoned. While endeavoring to organize another expedition and meeting much disappointment, they met the two Royal Commissioners sent out from Britain to adjust disputes which had arisen between New England and New York. Sir George Carteret was one of these Commissioners and by him Radisson and Groseilliers were persuaded to go to London and organize an expedition there. Sir George was a man of considerable standing, being Vice-Chamberlain to the King and treasurer to the navy. He and the Frenchmen sailed together for London and on the way were captured by a Dutch ship from which they were landed in Spain and were consequently delayed from reaching England. On the 25th of October, 1666, Carteret's influence procured for the two partners an audience with King Charles, who promised them a ship with which to make a voyage to Hudson Bay. One year, however, and then another passed and for various reasons the expedition did not set out. The interest of a number of influential merchants had been in the meantime aroused and the influence of Prince Rupert, the King's cousin, secured in the enterprise. Thus came into existence the famous Hudson's Bay Company. The first stock book is dated 1667, and first on the list of shareholders is the name of James, Duke of York, afterwards King. Second is the name of Prince Rupert, each for £300. Among others whose names appear on the first list are the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Craven, the Earl of Arlington, the Earl of Shaftsbury, Sir John Robinson, Sir George Carteret, Sir Robert Vyner, Sir Peter Colleton, all for substantial amounts. The last named is credited with £96 for cash paid to Radisson and Groseilliers on account of their having been the originators of the company. The company having been thus organized sent two ships, the "Eaglet" and the "Nonsuch Ketch" on a trading expedition to the Bay. Groseillers was on the



"Nonsuch" and Radisson on the "Eaglet." The latter abandoned the trip when approaching Hudson's Straits, but the "Nonsuch Ketch" made the voyage, reaching the south end of the Bay on September 29th, 1668, and landed on the River Nemisco, which in honor of their patron they named Prince Rupert's River. They held a conference with the native Indians, and with their approval built a stone fort which they named Charles Fort after King Charles. This was the first fort built on the shores of Hudson Bay, and the beginning of the great fur trade by way of the northern route. The party passed the winter in their quarters, and in April, 1669, returned to London, calling at Boston on the way after a most successful voyage. The company now applied for a charter, which was granted by the King on 2nd May, 1670. Eighteen incorporators are named and the full title of the company in the charter is "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England" trading into Hudson Bay.

Henry Hudson left the Thames on his famous voyage of discovery in April, 1610, and in August of the same year he entered the great Canadian sea, which has so long borne his name, and sailing south to James Bay wintered there, and fell a victim to his mutinous crew when about to return, who cast himself and some of those who remained faithful to him, adrift in a small boat, to perish.

James Bay, of special interest at present to Ontario, begins at Cape Jones on the east side and Cape Henrietta Maria on the west, and runs south about three hundred and fifty miles, with an average breadth of about one hundred and fifty miles. The east side of Hudson Bay, including its southern prolongation, is known as the Eastmain Coast. Between Cape Jones and Cape Dufferin, on the Portland Promontory, and again in approaching Cape Wolstenholme, at the northern termination of this coast the land is high and bold, some parts attaining an elevation of nearly two thousand feet above the sea. The country on the southwest side of the main bay as well as that lying to the west of James Bay, is low and generally level, with shallow water extending a long distance out from the shore. Both sides of Hudson's Strait are high and rocky, but the northern is less precipitous than the southern. The monopoly of trade was given to "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay."

According to Professor Bryce the correct designations of the company and the Bay are "The Hudson's Bay Company" and "Hudson Bay." The rights and privileges under the charter were comprehensive and included "the whole trade of all those seas, straights and bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and sounds in whatsoever latitude they shall be that lie within the entrance of the straights commonly called Hudson's Straights, together with all lands, countries and territories upon the coasts and confines of the seas, straights, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks and sounds aforesaid which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects or by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State." The language of this charter covered a vast territory, including that drained by the rivers passing through northern Ontario into James Bay and in due course trading posts were erected within that portion of their territory. The company received its extraordinary extent of land in free and common socage, that is, as absolute proprietors, and had also the power to make laws to govern all persons upon their lands, and the authority to administer justice, whether civil or criminal according to the laws of Great Britain. The company was fully empowered to send ships of war, men and ammunition into their plantations, to appoint and issue commissions to the officers commanding such expeditions and within their territory enjoyed "the whole entire and only liberty of trade and traffic." Anticipating a little, Dr. Bryce's summing up of this remarkable company may be quoted: "The Hudson's Bay Company was a keen trader as the motto 'Pro Pelle Cutem'—'skin for skin'—clearly implies. With this no fault can be found, the more that its methods were nearly all honorable British methods. It never forgot the flag that floated over it, one of the greatest testimonies in its favor was that when two centuries after its organization it gave up, except as a purely trading company, its power in Canada, yet its authority over the widespread Indian population of Rupert's Land was so great that it was asked by the Canadian Government to retain one-twentieth of the land of that wide domain as a guarantee of its assistance in transferring power from the old to the new regime."

The organization of this formidable company and the success attending their ventures in Hudson Bay aroused the jealousy of the French in Canada, and representations were made to Paris. Duchesneau, the Intendant,

was instructed to challenge the right of the British to erect factories on Hudson Bay. Radisson and Groseilliers, who had in the meantime returned to the French service, were sent to Canada in 1681, when they organized the Northern Company, and fitted out two small ships for Hudson Bay in 1682. Radisson and Groseilliers accompanied the ships and appeared before Charles Fort from which they passed to the west side of the bay and entered the Hayes River, where they built Fort Bourbon, from which they returned to Quebec in the following year with a shipload of peltries. Governor Denonville did everything that lay in his power to encourage the Northern Company, and set about to organize an overland expedition to Hudson Bay with the object of destroying the British forts there. The idea was gladly taken up and soon an expedition was organized under the leadership of Lemoyne D'Iberville. The party left the St. Lawrence in March, 1685, travelling by the streams running across the Laurentian range and after nearly three months' hard as well as tedious travel they reached their destination. The first attack was made on the fort which had been built at the mouth of Moose River. The place was fairly fortified, having four bastions and manned by fourteen guns. It speedily fell before the French, who also captured and threw down the fortifications of Charles Fort at the mouth of Prince Rupert's River. Fort Albany, with furs to the value of fifty thousand crowns, surrendered after a slight resistance and Port Nelson now remained the only post in the hands of the company. These captures were made when France and England were nominally at peace and were made the subject of negotiations between the two powers. Yet although a treaty of neutrality was signed in 1686 the French did not restore the forts, the occupancy of which changed hands according to the ascendancy of either power for the time being until in terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 France restored the posts to the company and provided that satisfaction should be given for damages inflicted by the French in time of peace. The effect of the company's operations was to attract to itself the fur trade which had hitherto gone from northern Ontario in the Lake Superior region to Montreal by the St. Lawrence.

In 1717 M. de Vaudreuil sent Sieur de la Noue to the west to establish a post at Kaministiquia and from that centre cultivate the fur trade and

divert it as much as possible from the sea route. De la Noue found the Indian still friendly to the French and ready to bring his furs to their newly established post. The founding of the post of the Sioux took place in 1727. The fort on Lake Nipigon was the rendezvous of many of the Indians who gave up trading with Hudson's Bay Company in favor of the French. Then came Verandrye's great exploration, his goal being a western sea. His route lay by the Pigeon River, known as the Grand Portage, which he entered and reached Rainy Lake in 1731. At the head of Rainy River he built Fort St. Pierre. He then returned and wintered at Kaministiquia. In the following year he passed Fort St. Pierre and descended the Rainy River into the Lake of the Woods, then called Minitie, on the southwest side of which he built Fort St. Charles, hoping to secure thereby trade with the Sioux. From this point he passed on to Lake Winnipeg by the River Maurepas in 1733. Then followed Verandrye's great journey into the heart of the prairies in 1738, the original account of which has been secured for the Canadian archives.

After the conquest new elements entered into the great Canadian fur trade, the more prominent being a number of Scottish merchants in Montreal, including Alexander Henry, Thomas Curry and James Finlay, also Benjamin and James Frobisher, two Englishmen who became famous traders. By this time Nipigon and Kaministiquia had largely given place to Grand Portage, where as early as 1783 about 500 men were employed by the Montreal merchants in the fur trade. In 1784 the celebrated Northwest Company, composed of these Montreal merchants, was formed in order to meet effectually the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company. Still another company of Montrealers was formed, which included the famous Sir Alexander MacKenzie, the explorer. These two companies conducted a large and lucrative business, and were, generally speaking, on fair terms, but their interests blended, and in 1787 a union between them was effected, leading to the extension of business in the far west. In 1788 the gross trade of the united Montreal companies was forty thousand pounds. Before the end of the century that amount was more than trebled. A year's production at that time would be about one hundred and six thousand beavers, thirty-two thousand martins, eleven thousand mink,



seventeen thousand musquash, not less than one hundred and eighty-four thousand skins.

These united Canadian companies entered on their career practically at the same time as Ontario became the Province of Upper Canada, and their operations were conducted largely through Ontario routes, while their headquarters were in Ontario territory.

The Jay Treaty, of 1794, seemed to require the transference of all the British forts in United States territory within two years, and as the Grand Portage was on the side of the United States, the North-West Company was considerably disturbed. It was then that David Thompson's services were taken advantage of.

David Thompson was born in London, and was educated at the Blue Coat School there. He was a thorough mathematician and was a master in the use of astronomical instruments. He had been in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and explored for it in the far west, but the work of surveying, in which he was engaged for that company, having been discontinued, he resigned and took up a position in the service of the North-West fur traders as astronomer and surveyor.

It is interesting to recall the special work assigned to him. (1) He was instructed to survey the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. This involved a question which had greatly perplexed the diplomatists, viz., the position of the source of the Mississippi. The fact that the sources were a factor in the settling of the boundary line at this time made it necessary to have expert testimony on the question such as could be furnished by a survey by Thompson. (2) The surveyor was to go to the Missouri and visit the ancient villages of the natives who dwelt there and who practised agriculture. (3) In the interests of science and history, to inquire for the fossils of large animals, and to search for any monuments that might throw a light on the ancient state of the regions traversed. (4) It was his special duty to determine the exact position of the posts of the North-West Company visited by him, and all agents and employés were instructed to render him every assistance in his work.

The observation for Grand Portage he found to be 48 degrees north latitude and 89 deg. 34 (nearly) W. long. He took up the duties of his

position without delay and proceeding westward with a brigade of canoes he traversed and took observations along Rainy River, Lake of the Woods, Winnipeg River, Lake Winnipeg and westward, wintering at Belleaus Fort. Early the next summer he journeyed southward and eastward to Assiniboine House, where John McDonnell, brother of Miles McDonnell, was in charge. Here he transcribed his journals in ink, made his maps, wrote out his astronomical observations and crayon sketches.

He then explored the Mandan villages on the Missouri River in a dangerous journey covering two hundred and eighty miles, the record of which is most interesting. His next expedition was a survey of the Red River, for which he left Assiniboine House about the close of February, 1798. In ten days he covered a distance of one hundred and sixty-nine miles along the Assiniboine River, reaching its junction with the Red River at the point where the City of Winnipeg now stands, but then was not even a site of a trading post. On the 7th of March he began the survey. Seven days brought him to Pembina post near the 49th parallel, and he marked the international boundary line so that the trading post might be moved to the north of it when required. He then pushed southward and continued his survey of the river, which having accomplished, he proceeded to find the source of the great Mississippi River, passing by Turtle Lake on his way. At the time of the Treaty of 1783 Turtle Lake was believed to be further north than the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods. Thompson explains that this belief arose from the voyageurs counting a pipe to a league at the end of which it was their custom to take a rest. The length of time taken to smoke a pipe, however, was nearer two miles than three, so that the head waters of the Mississippi had been counted one hundred and twenty-eight miles further north than Thompson found them to be. Thompson, however, was mistaken in thinking that Turtle Lake was the source of the great river which was discovered in 1832 to be Lake Itasca, about half a degree southwest of Turtle Lake.\* Thompson thereafter operated onwards to Lake Superior and reported at Grand Portage after an absence of two years, and his invaluable services were most cordially recognized by the company.

\* Dr. Bryce.

In 1805 Thompson, in the employment of the now united company, operated in the far west and crossed the Rockies in 1806, returning to Grand Portage in 1808. In 1809 he explored southward on the Columbia River, after which he, by forced journeys, went eastward as far as Rainy Lake in 1810. He again returned that year, going to Athabaska, and discovered Athabaska Pass. From July of the following year he began the descent of the Columbia, and at the junction of the Spokane River he erected a pole and claimed the country to the north of it for Britain. Continuing to the mouth of the Columbia he found the United States Company settled at their post of Astoria. Disappointed at being thus forestalled, he returned northward. Soon after this he abandoned western exploration and settled at Terrebonne, Quebec, where he prepared the great map of the country that is known by his name. For many years it hung on the walls of the company's banqueting room at Fort William, but it is now, with his voluminous journals and papers, in the possession of the Ontario Government. He lived for many years at the River Raisin, near Williamstown, Ontario, and at the age of 87 died at Longueuil in 1857. Not the least important of his brilliant work was that done in defining the boundary line between Ontario and the United States, in which his great ability as an expert surveyor, combined with his natural shrewdness, his extensive knowledge of Canadian water-ways and his never-failing vigilance in dealing with the astute representatives of an aggressive power saved him from weak compromise and the sacrificing of the interests of his own country to the desires, and sometimes to the efforts, of the party of the second part. Two extracts from his letters may not be out of place here as illustrating the importance of this service and the capable manner in which it was performed: "When the survey was undertaken to decide the place of the above boundary line, several important questions arose not contemplated in the Treaty, among which was that, as the middle of the river is a line an equal distance from both banks of the river, this line would often intersect islands which would give a boundary line on land, under circumstances very inconvenient to each power, especially on civil and criminal processes, illicit trade, etc. It was, therefore, determined that to whatever power the greater part of an intersected island should belong, that power should have the whole

of the island, and thus avoid all the above evils. This decision was approved and confirmed by the Foreign Office and at Washington. It may be said, by following the middle of the greatest navigable channel, a boundary line could have been readily established; but on my great surveys of this continent to the latitude of 60 degrees north, I examined almost all the great rivers from their sources to the eastern seas or Pacific Ocean, and found them all obeying the same physical law with the great rivers in Europe and in a bolder manner. On this continent the deep channel for five miles out of six miles will be found on the north side of the river. After the survey was finished this truth was forced on the United States Commissioner, and he insisted on the middle of the deep channel for the boundary line, but was kept to the letter of the Treaty. . . . The Treaty of 1783 gave peace to the United States, but their treasuries were exhausted. To raise money, the State of New York sold to the Holland Company large tracts of land, among which were all the islands of the River Cataraqui from St. Regis to Lake Ontario, which, by the boundary to be drawn, should belong to the State of New York. The several naval commanders who had been in charge of Kingston Harbor, the vessels on the lakes, etc., had sent to the Admiralty from time to time their opinions on the necessity of securing to Great Britain certain islands for the protection of the navy, etc., at Kingston. These were transmitted to the Foreign Office and forwarded to the British Commissioners, and every place pointed out by the Admiralty for the safety of our navy, etc., was obtained, the principal of which was Grande Isle (Wolfe Island), opposite to Kingston. By the Treaty, this island belonged to the United States, and on account of the Holland Company was considered hopeless, but at the time the division of the islands took place, certain peculiar circumstances happened, which enabled the British Commissioners to exchange Grande Isle above the Niagara Falls for Grande Isle opposite Kingston on condition of indemnifying the Holland Company by giving up British isles to make up 13,359½ acres, the difference in area between the two islands. This will account for several islands in the River Cataraqui being placed on the side of the United States."

Meanwhile a new company sprang up in Montreal, and in a short time entered on a career of aggressive rivalry with the North-West Company. It



was formed in 1795 and came to be known as the X Y Company. It shadowed its rival company at many points, building its trading house at Grand Portage and afterwards at Kaministiquia, following the North-Westers there. Eventually Sir Alex. MacKenzie threw in his lot with them and until the removal of Simon McTavish in 1804 the keenest competition prevailed. McTavish's death prepared the way for a union of the three companies, and as the list of the partners of the new North-West Company thus formed contains many names interesting in our early history, they are here reproduced: Alex. MacKenzie, Thomas Forsyth, John Richardson, John Inglis, James Forsyth, John Muir, John Forsyth, Alex. Ellis, John Haldane, John Finlay, Duncan Cameron, James Hughes, Alex. McKay, Hugh McGillis, Alex. Henry, Jr., John McGillivray, James MacKenzie, Simon Fraser, John D. Campbell, D. Thompson, John Thompson, John Gregory, William McGillivray, Duncan McGillivray, Thomas Forsyth, Leith Jamieson & Co., John Ogilvie, P. D. Rochebalne, Alex. McKenzie (2), John Macdonald, James Leith, John Willis, William Hallowell, Rod. MacKenzie, Angus Shaw, Dl. McKenzie, Wm. McKay, John McDonald, Donald McTavish, John McDonnell, Arch. N. McLeod, Alex. McDougall, Chas. Chaboillez, John Sayer, Peter Grant, Alex. Fraser, Aeneas Cameron.

In a journey from the west to Upper Canada in 1797 Rod. McKenzie, a cousin of Sir Alexander, was made aware by an Indian family near Rainy Lake of a route suitable for large canoes a little farther north of Rainy Lake. Following the course indicated he arrived at the mouth of the Kaministiquia. The route was the old French route, although it had in the interval been completely forgotten. In 1800 the North-West Company built a fort called the New Fort at the mouth of the Kaministiquai, and in 1803 moved their headquarters thither from Grand Portage, and now, when the North-West and X. Y. Companies had united, the name New Fort was changed to Fort William in honor of the Honorable Wm. McGillivray, the leading member of the company. Fort William became the great headquarters of the western trade and was the scene of stirring incidents connected therewith for many years. It is of special interest at this interval of time to read the description of it given by Franchere, a French Canadian of respectable family, who had been engaged by the Astor Company at

Astoria. In crossing the continent eastward he passed Fort William, and a translation of his description is thus reproduced by Dr. Bryce:—

“Fort William has really the appearance of a fort from the palisade fifteen feet high, and also that of a pretty village from the number of buildings it encloses. In the middle of a spacious square stands a large building, elegantly built, though of wood, the middle door of which is raised five feet above the ground plot, and in the front of which runs a long gallery. In the centre of this building is a room about sixty feet long and thirty wide, decorated with several paintings, and some portraits in crayon of a number of the partners of the company. It is in this room that the agents, the clerks, and the interpreters take their meals at different tables. At each extremity of the room are two small apartments for the partners.”

“The back part of the house is occupied by the kitchen and sleeping apartments of the domestics. On each side of this building there is another of the same size, but lower; these are divided lengthwise by a corridor, and contain each twelve pretty sleeping rooms. One of these houses is intended for the partners, the other for the clerks.

“On the east side of the Fort there is another house intended for the same purpose, and a large building in which furs are examined and where they are put up in tight bales by means of a press. Behind, and still on the same side, are found the lodges of the guides, another building is of grey stone, and roofed in with tin. In the corner stands a kind of bastion or point of observation.

“On the west side is seen a range of buildings, some of which serve for stores and others for shops. There is one for dressing out the employés; one for fitting out canoes; one in which merchandise is retailed; another where strong drink, bread, lard, butter, and cheese are sold, and where refreshments are given out to arriving voyageurs. This refreshment consists of a white loaf, a half pound of butter, and a quart of rum. The voyageurs give to this liquor store the name ‘Cantine Salope.’

“Behind is found still another row of buildings, one of which is used as an office or counting-house; and a third as a prison. The voyageurs give to the last the name ‘Pot au beurre.’ At the southeast corner is a stone shed roofed with tin. Farther back are the workshops of the carpenters,



OLD TRADING POST AT FORT WILLIAM.





tinsmiths, blacksmiths and their spacious courts or sheds for sheltering the canoes, repairing them, and constructing new ones.

“Near the gate of the fort, which is to the south, are the dwelling-houses of the surgeon and resident clerk. Over the entrance gate a kind of guard-house has been built. As the river is deep enough at its entrance, the company has had quays built along the fort as a landing place for the schooners kept on Lake Superior for transporting peltries, merchandise and provisions from Fort William to Sault Ste. Marie and *vice versa*.

“There are also on the other side of the river a number of houses, all inhabited by old French-Canadian voyageurs, worn out in the service of the North-West Company, without having become richer by it. Fort William is the principal factory of the North-West Company in the interior and a general rendezvous of the partners. The agents of Montreal and the proprietors wintering in the north nearly all assemble here every summer and receive the returns, form expeditions and discuss the interests of their commerce.

“The employés wintering in the north spend also a portion of the summer at Fort William. They form a great encampment to the west, outside the palisades. Those who are only engaged at Montreal to go to Fort William or to Rainy Lake, and who do not winter in the north, occupy another space on the east side. The former give to the latter the name ‘mangeurs de lard.’ A remarkable difference is observed between the two camps, which are composed of three or four hundred men each. That of the ‘mangeurs de lard’ is always very dirty and that of the winterers neat and clean.”

Since these days a great transformation has taken place. Instead of the canoe of the voyageur, with its load of furs, steam railways carry the traffic not only of a western empire, but of that China a western passage to which lured Columbus to immortality and was the lodestar of French explorers in Canada and navigators of the Northern Sea for centuries, to and fro by Fort William and its twin neighbor Port Arthur; while mighty steamships traversing the Great Lakes lay their cargoes on its docks. Huge elevators receive the world's best cereals from the boundless prairies for transhipment to the markets of the world, and it was but yesterday that

having more than the requisite population the Legislature of Ontario conferred upon Fort William, the pretty Village of Franchere, the dignity of a city, an honor also bestowed at the same time on Port Arthur, its friendly rival in the strenuous expansion and enlightened enterprise of trade and commerce. Reverting to the times of the fur trade and the North-West Company Fort William soon became a great trading centre and ranked with the great stations of the Hudson's Bay Company at York or Albany, and from it the operations of the company in the far west were directed, the success of which awakened opposition movements of a serious character, one in which the celebrated Earl Selkirk played the leading part.

The story of the Hudson's Bay Company or of the North-West Company brings out the fact that many of those employed in the various grades of the service were from the north or the Highlands of Scotland, Orkney and Shetland, a hardy adventurous race which gave of its best to the famous Highland Regiments, to the navy and to the fleets of commerce. The condition of things in their homeland had undergone a great change and emigration was rendered necessary in order to escape the operation of illiberal land laws. Earl Selkirk, a Douglas of Borders, in his early years became deeply interested in the problem presented by the social state of the Highlands, and he believed he found a remedy in emigration on a large scale to the fertile prairies of the Canadian west. Sir Alexander MacKenzie's books had awakened his interest and he projected a scheme to carry his views on emigration to Canada into execution. He considered the great monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company as the chief obstacle to the settlement of the prairies and his sympathies went out to the North-West Company. He said that if the Nor' Westers were allowed the free navigation of Hudson Bay they might extend their traffic from sea to sea and send home more than double the value then derived from the trade. He made representations to the British Government, but his project fell on deaf ears. He thus began his connection with Canada and the fur trade from the patriotic motive of helping the Highland crofters, and as a matter of fact, in 1803, he organized a contingent of emigrants numbering 800 for Nelson River. He was stopped by the British Government, who did not consider the far west suitable for such a large settlement and compelled him to choose a

location for his colony nearer the Atlantic. He selected Prince Edward Island, and after some initial difficulties the settlers there became prosperous. Selkirk visited them and went on to Montreal, where he was well received by the fur merchants, and what he saw of them confirmed him as to the great possibilities of the distant west, both for an expansion of the fur trade and the settlement of farmers.

It may be stated here that Selkirk placed several settlements in Ontario, one of over a hundred being founded at Bear Creek, in the County of Kent. It was called Baldoon. Another was made at Moulton, Haldimand County, near the mouth of the Grand River. Finding the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly an obstacle to settlements in the west, he set about to get control of the company by purchasing its stock. But before doing so he obtained an opinion from a number of the leading lawyers of the day "that the grant of soil contained in the Charter is good, and that it will include all the country, the waters of which run into Hudson Bay, as ascertained by geographical observation." He then proceeded to obtain a controlling interest in the stock. The Nor' Westers became alarmed when their quondam friend and guest had become Governor of their great rival company, and they choose to regard his emigration schemes as having, not the improvement of the social condition of the Highlands, but the expansion of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade as their impelling motive. Thus began the antagonism so injurious in its results and so regrettable in its course. Selkirk's first thought was colonization without a doubt, for when he had secured control of the company his first act was to obtain a large tract of land on the Red River for a crofter settlement, the hard experiences of which we need not follow, nor the commercial warfare between the great companies and the troubles it gave rise to in the west. It may be mentioned, however, that the Nor' Westers in their efforts to break up the settlement induced about 130 to abandon their new home and to accompany them to Fort William. About one half of the number returned while the rest continued the hard and hazardous journey to the settled portions of Ontario, and some of them in 1820 settled at West Gwillimbury, in the County of Simcoe; others went on to the Township of Aldborough, in the County of Elgin, where they settled.

After the fatal collision in 1816 when Governor Semple of the Hudson's Bay Company and others were killed, the little settlement at Red River was again scattered, and a few of them travelled eastward to southern Ontario. These troubles brought Selkirk himself out to Canada, and while at Sault Ste. Marie he heard of Semple's murder. He had taken with him from Montreal, for the protection of his colony, eighty of the men who had been members of the De Meuron Regiment, and from Kingston twenty men of the De Watteville Regiment. These corps had been sent out to assist in the war of 1812, and were made up of continental troops. When he heard the news of the proceedings of the Nor' Westers on the Red River, he proceeded to Fort William, and in his capacity as a magistrate in Canada arrested some of the Nor' Westers, to some extent using force, and it would seem without the due formalities of law. His appearance at his settlement on the Red River restored confidence and order, but the troubles between him and the North-West Company were of an extremely grave character, and it became a matter of moment to both the Nor' Westers and the Hudson's Bay Company that an arrangement should be effected whereby old scores should be wiped off and an honorable course of business pursued for the future. This fact led in 1821 to the amalgamation of the companies. The Hon. Edward Ellice, a prominent Nor' Wester, proved himself an influential and able mediator, and the negotiations owed their successful termination in no small degree to the wise manner in which he conducted them.

After the union of the companies the headquarters were removed from Fort William to Norway House on Lake Winnipeg, and so far as Ontario is concerned the public interest in the operations gradually diminished, except in so far as the northern portion of the province was drawn upon from Moose Factory to which the stations in the north contributed.

These stations now are: Michipicoten, Batchewana, Lake Nipigon, Fort William, Pigeon River, Lacloche, Little Current, Mississangie, Green Lake, Whitefish Lake, Sault Ste. Marie, Moose Factory, Abitibi, Temagaminque, Mattawa, Biscoosing, Flying Past, Haileybury, Mattagami, Matachewan, Ft. Frances, Missinabi, Kenora, Brunswick House, Narrows of Lake Abitibi.

The Canadian fur trade did not give to France the golden harvest which Mexico gave to Spain but from its earliest days it gave a rich return





THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL.



to those engaged in it, it was interwoven for two centuries with the life of the country as no other great branch of commerce was; adapting itself to the changing circumstances of the times, from the modes of the haughty Iroquois to the autocracy of a Nor' Wester and to the more orderly demands of civilized commerce; and still the merging streams, rising in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, flow on in one grand current, strong and clear to a future possibly as distant as its past is remote.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS.

No one conversant with the true story of the United Empire Loyalists will withhold a generous tribute to their memory. But the story itself has not been fully told, and until recently there was a danger of that brightest episode in the history of our people being all but forgotten. There were several reasons for the seeming neglect. In the first place, in the hasty departure from their old homes but few papers could be taken away, the preservation of which would illumine the losses and privations they suffered, and in the second place, after those who had found a resting place in Canada had settled on British soil they had to face the task of hewing out new homes for themselves in the unbroken forest, and there was little consonance between the stern toil of the clearing, with its constant vicissitudes, and the writing of past woes, however keenly felt. It was, consequently, some time ere the story reached the public on the printed page, and when it did it was bereft of many particulars material to the ease and interesting to the narrative. Of recent years the descendants of the Loyalists have been active in the praiseworthy duty of rescuing papers, and recollections bearing on the part played so nobly and well by their forefathers, and the accumulation of this material aid in rendering justice to the brave men and women who first risked their all for the sake of the principles they held sacred, and having sunk in the struggle, faced the fate, rendered unnecessarily cruel by greed and persecution, that was in store for them without flinching, and with a heroism possible only in character of a high quality.

The causes which led to the revolutionary war were many, and some of them of slow growth. It was not unnatural that as time passed on the tie between the colonies and the mother land should weaken. It was natural that a people mostly drawn from Great Britain should desire self government in a measure consistent with their self respect and what they considered the necessities of their commercial development, and such



aspirations Great Britain would be the last to deny. There were others who were tinged with the doctrines of red republicanism. There were those who inherited hostility to Great Britain and her institutions, and others again forming a not inconsiderable portion of the population, who cherished what they considered the wrongs of their fathers and the oppression of the Cromwellian wars and, of course, there were the political agitators ready to make use of any cry which they could turn to momentary advantage. But alongside of these and greatly predominating in numbers were men of a different stamp; men who realized what Great Britain had done for the colonies. How when the torpid colonial legislators had failed through indifference or selfish greed, or both combined, to protect their frontier from the inhuman raids of the Indian, or their borders from the aggressions of the French, British blood and treasure had been generously poured out on their behalf. There were men who still cherished a love for the great institutions of the Motherland, who believed in the monarchical form of government, and whose loyalty to their sovereign could not be tainted. Not that some of these did not share in the feeling of discontent which existed with respect to the measures which pressed upon the colony and called for a remedy, but while prepared to protest, it was with the object of persuading to better things in a constitutional manner than by resistance to constituted authority. These men were actuated by high principles, and it was to vindicate those principles that they stood by Great Britain in the struggle known as the Revolutionary War.

A letter from Montcalm, which enters into the literature of this subject is of more than passing interest. He writes: "I console myself, nevertheless, for the prospect of my own defeat, and of the loss of the colony, by my firm conviction that this defeat will prove in the long run better than a victory for France, and that the conqueror, England, will find a tomb in her own conquest. This may appear a paradox, but a little reflection and a glance at the political situation in North America will prove the correctness of my opinion. A large portion of the English colonists are the children of men who left England during the period of the civil war, and betook themselves to America to find a country where they might live and die in freedom and independence. I know them thoroughly, not by hearsay, but

by means of sure information and correspondence which I have arranged myself, and which, if my life had been prolonged, I had meant to have turned to the advantage of France. In fact all the English colonists would have shaken off the yoke long ago, and every one of them would have become an independent little republic had it not been for the fear of France at their doors. As between two masters they preferred their own fellow-countrymen to foreigners, taking care, meanwhile, to render no more obedience than they could help; but if Canada is conquered, and if the Canadians and the English colonies become one people the very first occasion on which England will appear and interfere with their interests, do you suppose the colonists will obey her? What have they to fear if they revolt? I am so perfectly certain of the truth of what I have written that I will only allow ten years after the conquest of Canada to see my predictions accomplished. Now you see the reason which consols me as a Frenchman for the imminent danger France is incurring of seeing Canada lost forever."

Many of the Loyalists had taken part in the struggle for supremacy in North America between Great Britain and France on the side of the former power and shared in the glories of the British victories. The Conquest of Canada took place only fifteen years before the colonies had decided to renounce their British allegiance, and the veterans who had helped to maintain the honor of the British arms at Louisburg, Quebec, and on other hard fought fields, were not likely to lag behind when the British flag was again unfurled.

But not only those who had been trained to arms, but men of all classes and callings rallied to the cause which, above everything else, was supreme to their conscience, their reason, and their hearts. It was the cause of the unity of the British race on the North American continent, and of the integrity of the British Empire. To them Imperial sentiment meant a great deal; by it they understood religious and political liberty and the blessings which they associated with the great institutions of their race. In their time Great Britain represented the higher blessings of civilization more than did any other nation or country on the continent of Europe, for no other nation stood as Great Britain did sponsor for human progress, and the advancement of enlightened rule. The time was also rife with great move-

ments on the chessboard of the world. Kingdoms changed, and the destinies of nations were thrown in the uncertain alembic of fate. The men who appreciated the vast sweep of the British empire understood the great possibilities of their own continent under the control of a united British race, working in harmony and living in peace. No one now denies that the very best elements of the population, the men of large views and high principles, the men who could sacrifice their all for their principles, speaking of the people as a whole, were those who stood faithfully and loyally on the British side. The line of division between the Loyalists and revolutionists soon became marked, and the revolutionists became aggressive, exposing the Loyalists to petty annoyance and sometimes even to the confiscation of their property; and the Declaration of Independence threw them into bitterly opposing camps, and the horrors of civil war were loosened. No doubt there was some bad blood, attacks, and reprisals, for which the blame was equally shared, but the revolutionists were, as a rule, the aggressive party of destruction. Popular meetings assumed the powers of legislatures and of government, and disposed arbitrarily, and illegally, of the property and persons of their fellow citizens who differed from them. Liberty of speech, freedom of opinion, right of public meeting, were denied to the Loyalists, their civil rights were abrogated, and they, themselves, treated as aliens and fugitives. Instead of the usages recognized in civil war by civilized nations, being observed, the cruelties with which the Loyalists were visited and the hardships they were made to endure, were of a very different character, and can best be explained as emanating from breasts dead to pity, and feelings hardened by the treatment meted out, on the one hand to the Indian, and to the negro on the other; for the tide of human brutality did not rise higher in the bloody career of Clavers on the Moss-hags, or in the stained footsteps of the alien troopers in the runs of Ireland, than it did on the banks of the Monongahela and the Susquehanna. The men who remained peaceably at their homes were hounded and harrassed, and thrown into vile prisons, or murdered in their tracks, as might more easily suit the convenience of their erstwhile neighbors. Their wives and tender families were pitilessly turned out of their dwellings, to seek shelter in their helplessness wherever pity had for them

reserved a tear. Wives and daughters were made to feel the iron rod of indignity and insult, nor were age nor youth spared. The records of the times are filled with the harrowing tales of wanton injury, and of suffering, borne with the courage of despair. The amount of property lost was enormous, and beyond a fair calculation, for the enemy obviously kept no strict record of his plunder. To quote from Hildreth's *History of the United States*: "As the warmth of political feeling increased the Loyalists had been exposed to the violence of mobs and to all sorts of personal indignities, in which private malice, or a wanton and insolent spirit of mischief, had been too often gratified. Under the guise of patriotism the barbarous and disgraceful practice of tarring and feathering, and carting Tories—placing them in a cart and carrying them about as a sort of spectacle,—had become in some places a favorite amusement. Those who refused to acknowledge the authorities were exposed to severe penalties, confiscation of property, imprisonment, banishment and finally death."

There might be a possible justification of some of these outrages during progress of the war, but that persecution and cruelties should have been systematically indulged in after the peace, would be, were the fact not indisputable, hard to believe. The treatment of the Loyalists from beginning to end by the revolutionists places the latter in a light which reveals them as being destitute of the first principles of humanity, and altogether insensible to the idea of public or private honor. The insatiable greed which overstepped all barriers in the rush for the property of the Loyalists, might possibly be explained as the outcome of inherited marauding propensities which would yield to the civilizing touch of time; but for the outrages committed on helpless individuals, and the wanton persecution of them which was a disgraceful feature of the war, no other reason can be assigned than that they were an evidence of the elemental characteristics of primal barbarity. It will not, of course, be supposed that this characterization is intended to be applied to the revolutionists indiscriminately. There were among them men of high character and amiable qualities, who regretted (and expressed their regret in no measured terms) the unholy course pursued in the atrocities which prevailed. But they were wholly unable to modify the evils or to restrain the violence of their fellows.



It is questionable whether the British people realized the extent to which the Loyalists had been made to suffer, but there was no indifference on the part of the Government, or of Parliament, as to their condition, nor was there any desire to overlook their just claims to special consideration. But it was only common justice that in arranging the terms of peace, the interests of the Loyalists should be provided for. When Lord Cornwallis capitulated he sought to obtain an indemnity for the loss incurred by the colonists who had supported the British side. His efforts were unavailing. Not only so, but he was obliged to give up the Loyalists who had taken refuge in his camp, to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. In negotiating the treaty of peace the British Commissioners were entrusted with the securing of equitable terms for the Loyalists, and the obtaining, if possible, of some restitution for the property which had been taken from them, and the banishment they had incurred. The mephistophelian tactics of Benjamin Franklin defeated this design.

"The Commissioners," he said, "had no such power, nor had even Congress." They were willing that Congress should, with certain modifications, recommend those indemnities to the several States; and, as one of the negotiators from England tells us, they to the last "continued to assert that the recommendation of Congress would have the effect we proposed." The British diplomatists persevered in their original demand, and at one time there seemed a probability that the negotiations might break off, chiefly on this ground. Twice was Mr. Strachey, the Under-Secretary of State, an able and experienced man, dispatched to Paris to aid Mr. Oswald with his counsel and co-operation. But at last the mind of Franklin, ever ingenious and fertile of resources, devised a counter scheme. He said that he would allow the losses which the Loyalists had suffered, provided another account were opened of the mischief they had done, as of slaves carried off, or houses burned; new Commissioners to be appointed to strike a balance between the two computations. At this formidable proposal, involving an endless train of discussions and disputes, the negotiators from England finally gave way.

By the fourth, fifth and sixth Articles of the Treaty it was engaged that Congress should earnestly recommend to the several Legislatures to pro-

vide for the restitution of all estates belonging to real British subjects who had not borne arms against them. All other persons were to be at liberty to go to any of the provinces and remain there for twelve months to wind up their affairs, Congress also recommending the restitution of their confiscated property, on their repayment of the sums for which they had been sold. No impediment was to be put in the way of recovering *bonâ fide* debts; no further prosecutions were to be commenced, no further confiscations made.

Franklin was extremely active in his opposition to the demand that the Loyalists should receive any compensation for their losses, and was resourceful enough to succeed. It could not be denied that the claims of the Loyalists to compensation for loss of property were just, indeed, the fact that the Commissioners for the colonies consented to recommend that the several states should make restitution, is conclusive of the fact; and Dr. Andrews well remarks that it was so sustained by historical precedents that Congress could not possibly plead a want of foresight that it would be made; adding, that no other motive but that of the basest and most barbarous revenge could induce men to express an averseness to so humane and necessary a measure. It was shown that when the Dutch provinces asserted their independence of Spain they had agreed to an act of oblivion and even restored to those who had adhered to the cause of Spain their property of every denomination that had been confiscated or the full value of it, that Spain had twice so treated the Province of Catalonia, that Britain had so acted in Ireland in the case of those who had supported James the Second. In these instances those who had broken with the government had been restored to their property or otherwise compensated. The conclusion is inevitable that the refusal of the colonial Commissioners and the reason put forward in its support was a mere pretext invented by Franklin in order to puzzle the British Commissioners who, strangely enough, did not seem to perceive that if Congress had power to restrain the various provinces from continuing the confiscation of the property of the Loyalists, which had up till then been left untouched, Congress had equal power to enforce compensation. Any one who carefully examines the proceedings of the peace Commissioners, sitting at Paris, will not seriously impugn the verdict

passed by Dr. Ryerson upon it. "Dr. Franklin," he says, "the most experienced and ablest of the American diplomatists was the most crafty and overbearing against England. At the beginning of the negotiations for peace he demurely proposed and half converted Mr. Oswald to his proposition to concede Canada (which at that time meant all British North America) to the United States, though his commission related simply to the independency of the thirteen colonies, and when the British Cabinet vetoed this extra-official and extravagant proposition, Dr. Franklin and his colleagues over-reached the ignorance and weakness of the British diplomists by carefully constructed maps for the purpose of making the boundary lines between the proposed possessions of Great Britain and the United States on their northern and northwestern frontiers. These lines were so ingeniously drawn as to take from Great Britain, and include in the United States, the immense and valuable territories, back settlements and the whole country between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi, which have since become the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, Michigan, Minnesota, etc., to not one foot of which the thirteen American colonies had the slightest claim—territories ample to compensate Loyalists for their losses and banishment, but whose interest, together with these most valuable possessions, were lost to Great Britain by the subserviency of the British Commissioner, Oswald (a London and an American merchant), who looked to his own interests and was the tool and echo of Dr. Franklin. The above territories were a part of the domain of Congress, irrespective of any State, and therefore at the absolute disposal of Congress. Yet with these immense accessions of resources, the Commissioners professed that Congress had no power or means to compensate the United Empire Loyalists for the confiscation and destruction of their property. One knows not at which most to marvel—the boldness, skill and success of the colonial Commissioners, or the cowardice, ignorance and recklessness of the British diplomatists."

The Loyalists were thus thrown on the mercy of the several States and how they were to fare with them could have easily been foretold. The treatment they received is briefly summed up thus by Sabine:—

"At the peace, justice and good policy both required a general amnesty,

and the revocation of the acts of disability and banishment, so that only those who had been guilty of flagrant crimes should be excluded from becoming citizens. Instead of this, however, the State Legislatures generally continued in a course of hostile action, and treated the conscientious and pure, and the unprincipled and corrupt, with the same indiscrimination as they had done during the struggle. In some parts of the country there really appears to have been a determination to place these misguided but then humbled men beyond the pale of human sympathy. In one legislative body, a petition from the banished, praying to be allowed to return to their homes, was rejected without a division; and a law was passed which denied to such as had remained within the State, and to all others who had opposed the revolution, the privilege of voting at the elections or of holding office. In another State, all who had sought royal protection were declared to be aliens, and to be incapable of claiming and holding property within it, and their return was forbidden. Other Legislatures refused to repeal such of their laws as conflicted with the conditions of the treaty of peace, and carried out the doctrines of the States alluded to above without material modification. But the temper of South Carolina was far more moderate. Acting on the wise principle that 'when the offenders are numerous, it was at times prudent to overlook their crimes,' she listened to the supplications made to her by the fallen, and restored to their civil and political rights a large portion of those who had suffered under her banishment and confiscation laws. The course pursued by New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia was different. These States were neither merciful nor just; and it is even true that Whigs, whose gallantry in the field, whose prudence in the Cabinet, whose exertions in diplomatic stations abroad, had contributed essentially to the success of the conflict, were regarded with enmity on account of their attempts to produce a better state of feeling and more humane legislation. Had these States adopted a different line of conduct, their good example would not have been lost, probably, upon others, smaller and of less influence; and had Virginia, especially, been honest enough to have permitted the payment of debts which her people owed to British subjects before the war, the first years of our freedom would not have been stained with a breach of our public faith, and the long and angry contro-



versy with Great Britain which well nigh involved us in a second war with her, might not have occurred.

“Eventually, popular indignation diminished; the statute book was divested of its most objectionable enactments, and numbers were permitted to occupy their old homes, and to recover the whole or part of their property; but by far the greatest part of the Loyalists who quitted the country at the commencement of, or during the war, never returned, and of the many thousands who abandoned the United States after the peace and while these enactments were in force, few comparatively had the desire or even the means to revisit the land from which they were expelled.”

The course taken by the colonies was fully represented to the British government and met with a ready and liberal, if in the circumstances, not an adequate response, in the final adjustment of the indemnity; but as to the genuineness of British sympathy there can be no doubt. Wilberforce declared to the House of Commons that he felt himself conquered and his country humiliated when he considered the case of the Loyalists. The faith of the nation had been pledged to do justice to the Loyalists. Lord North considered that in order to preserve the honor of Great Britain the Loyalists must not be allowed to suffer unrequited. Lord Mulgrave characterized the article in the treaty concerning the Loyalists should be more reproachful and derogatory to the honor and gratitude of Great Britain than it appeared to be wanton and unnecessary. Secretary Townsend (Lord Sidney) said the country was bound in honor to make them full compensation for their losses. In Mr. Burke's opinion the nation's honor was pledged for their security at all hazards. The Lord Advocate stated that the Loyalists merited every possible effort on the part of Britain. Mr. Sheridan execrated the treatment of those unfortunate men who without the least notice taken of their civil and religious life were handed over as subjects to a power that would not fail to take vengeance on them for their zeal and attachment to the religion and government of this country. As an independent country gentleman Sir Peter Burrell gave vent to honest indignation, saying that the fate of the Loyalists claimed the compassion of every human breast. To Sir Wm. Bootle the abandonment of the Loyalists to the various States appeared scandalous and disgraceful. Member after

member of the House of Commons spoke in a similar strain, and a vote of censure on the government passed the House because of the want of firmness on their part to which was attributed the surrender of the United Empire Loyalists' rights in the treaty. Whereupon the Earl of Shelbourne, the Prime Minister, resigned. Nor was the House of Lords less vehement in its expression of indignation at what Lord Sackville regarded the abandonment of the Loyalists as a thing of so atrocious a kind that if it had not been painted in all its horrid colors he should have attempted the ungracious task, but never should have been able to describe the cruelty in language as strong and expressive as were his feelings. The government itself did not for one moment seek to deny the justice of these statements, but pled justification for their own course, in what they termed the "necessities" of the situation, adding, that Parliament must take cognizance of the matter and afford such "relief which reason, perhaps policy, certainly virtue and religion required."

Instead of obtaining restitution from the States contumely and further persecution were meted out with the exception of in the State of South Carolina, where the Legislature and people were fairly reasonable. A joint committee was appointed from the Senate and House of Representatives of the State, to hear the petitions of the Loyalists who had incurred the penalties of the confiscation, banishment and amercement laws resulting in favor of the great majority of the petitioners and the sentences against them were withdrawn. Petitions from others were presented from year to year, were considered until finally the most of them had their estates restored and they were received back as citizens.

The refusal on the part of the other States to do justice resulted in a movement to enlist the intervention of Great Britain on behalf of the sufferers. The Loyalists organized an agency appointing one delegate or agent from each of the thirteen States on a committee which should present their case before the British government. It is interesting to recall the names of those agents. For the Massachusetts Loyalists, W. Pepperell was appointed. For New Hampshire, J. Wentworth, Jun. For Rhode Island, George Rowe. For New York, Jas. Delancey. For New Jersey, David Ogden. For Pennsylvania and Delaware, Joseph Galloway. For Maryland, Robert Alex-

ander. For Virginia, John R. Grymes. For North Carolina, Henry Eustace McCulloch. For South Carolina, James Simpson. For Georgia, Wm. Knox. In the case prepared for the clients of these agents in 1783 the claims are based on indisputable arguments. It is maintained "that it is an established rule that all sacrifices made by individuals for the benefit and accommodation of others shall be equally sustained by all those who partake of it, and numerous cases are cited to show that the sacrifices of the Loyalists were embraced in this principle, also that in the case of territory alienated or ceded away by one sovereign power to another the rule is still applicable for that in the treaties of international law it is held that the State ought to indemnify the subject for the loss he has sustained beyond his proportion. The claimants had been called by their sovereign when surrounded by tumult and rebellion to defend the supreme rights of the nation and to assist in suppressing a rebellion which aimed at their destruction. They had received from the highest authorities the most solemn assurances of protection and even reward for their meritorious services and that His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament having thought it necessary as the price of peace or to the interest and safety of the Empire, or from some other motive of public convenience to ratify the Independence of the United States without securing any restitution whatever to the Loyalists they conceive that the nation is bound as well by the fundamental laws of society as by the invariable and external principles of natural justice to make them compensation.\*

The Loyalists in thus addressing themselves to Parliament were under no misapprehension as to the reception their claims would receive at its hands, for it was well known that Britain would readily shoulder the task, which ought to have been undertaken by the United States, but repudiated by them. At the opening of the Session of Parliament the King's speech contained the words: "I have ordered enquiry to be made into the application of the sum to be voted in support of the American sufferers, and I trust you will agree with me that a due and generous attention ought to be shown to those who have relinquished their properties or progressions from motives of loyalty to me or attachment to the Mother Country." A bill was intro-

\* Tract, reproduced by Dr. Ryerson.

duced without opposition in June, 1783, appointing Commissioners to enquire into the losses and services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties and professions during the late unhappy dissensions in America in consequence of their loyalty to His Majesty and attachment to the British Government. It was in the following terms:—

Whereas, during the late unhappy dissensions in America, many of your Majesty's faithful subjects have, in consequence of their loyalty to your Majesty, and attachment to the British Government. and their obedience to your Majesty's proclamation, and various other proclamations and manifestoes, issued by your Majesty's Commissioners, generals, and Governors, suffered in their rights, properties, and professions, insomuch that several well-deserving persons are reduced from affluence to circumstances so straitened as to require the aid of a temporary support, which has been allotted to them by the Commissioners of the treasury, by annual allowances made, and occasional assistance by sums of money given to them from the revenues of your Majesty's civil list, the amount of which has hitherto been made good by Parliament; and your faithful Commons, not doubting but that your Majesty's most earnest endeavors will be employed for procuring from the United States of America restitution of or recompense for the estates and effects of those who have thus unhappily suffered, and intending to give all due aid and assistance to those who may return to America for the recovery of their former possessions under the Provisional Articles, and to extend such relief to others who may, by particular circumstances, be deprived of that advantage, as their respective cases may require, and the public afford; to which end, it is necessary that a diligent and impartial enquiry should be made into the losses and services of all such persons as may, within the time hereinafter limited for that purpose, claim or request such aid or relief as is intended to be given: we pray your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that John Wilmot, Esquire, Daniel Parker Coke, Esquire, Colonel Robert Kingston, Colonel Thomas Dundas, and John Marsh, Esquire, shall be, and they are hereby constituted Commissioners for enquir-



ing into the respective losses and services of all such person and persons who have suffered in their rights, properties and professions during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his Majesty, and attachment to the British Government.

Here it will be appropriate to refer to a part of the United Empire Loyalists' story which should never be forgotten. We have seen how the Loyalists were actuated by principles of the highest patriotism and public spirit, but alongside the men of British or European blood there stood true in the day of trial, the dusky sons of the forest, the Indians of the Six Nations. Some Indians took the other side, but the Six Nations did not forget their old alliance and their fidelity to the British cause as well as their services were genuine and great. The progress towards civilization of these Indians was remarkable. Writing of Sullivan's desolating march through their country, their homes are thus described: "The valley of the Genesee for its beauty and fertility was beheld by the army of Sullivan with astonishment and delight. Though an Indian country, its rich intervals presented the appearance of long cultivation, and were then smiling with the harvests of ripening corn. Indeed, the Indians, themselves, professed not to know when or by whom the lands on the stream were first brought into cultivation. Instead of a howling wilderness, Sullivan and his troops found the Genesee flats, and many other districts of the country resembling much more the orchards and farms and gardens of civilized life. But all was now doomed to speedy devastation. The Genesee Castle was destroyed. The troops scoured the whole region round about, and burnt and destroyed everything that came in their way. The Town of Genesee contained 128 houses, mostly large and very elegant. It was beautifully situated; almost encircled with a clear flat extending a number of miles over which extensive fields of corn were waving together, and every kind of vegetable that could be conceived. But the entire army was immediately engaged in destroying it, and the axe and the torch soon transformed the whole of that beautiful region from the character of a garden to a scene of sickening desolation. Forty Indian towns, the largest containing 128 houses, were destroyed. Corn gathered and ungathered, to the

amount of 160,000 bushels shared the same fate; the fruit trees were cut down; and the Indians were hunted like wild beasts, till neither house nor fruit tree, nor field of corn, nor inhabitant, remained in the whole country. The gardens were enriched with great quantities of useful vegetables of different kinds. The size of the cornfields, as well as the high degree of cultivation excited wonder, and the ears of corn were so remarkably large that many of them measured twenty-two inches in length. So numerous were the fruit trees that in one orchard they cut down 1,500."

The Indians, who were learning to enjoy life in such comfort, were compelled to abandon their homes like their white compatriots, and what amends the British Government could make for their loss were cheerfully made by grants of land at the Bay of Quinte and on the Grand River. In this connection it is interesting to read a few extracts from the official papers on the subject in the Ontario Bureau of Archives. In a letter from Lord Dorchester to Sir John Johnson, of the 19th July, 1787, the lands set apart on the Bay of Quinte are thus described: "Situated on the north side of the Bay of Quinte, containing about twelve miles in front and in depth to the west boundary of the purchase made by the Crown from the Mississauga Nation. Bounded in front on the south by the Bay of Quinte, including a small island called John's Island, which lies opposite the Mohawk village, and on the west by the mouth of Angoasoka River (Shannon), and the Township of Thurlow, on the east by the mouth of Bowen's Creek, and the Township of Richmond, and on the north by the west boundary of the purchase made by the Crown from the Mississauga Nation."

The land had been purchased in 1784 by Captain Crawford of the Indian Department, by order of Sir John Johnson, from the Mississauga Indians, and the Mohawks on crossing to Canada settled upon it.

On the 22nd of April, 1784, General Haldimand writes to Sir John Johnson regarding a request made through Col. Claus from "John the Mohawk"—Captain Brant, for an augmentation of the land intended for the Mohawk Nation at the Bay of Quinte, and the establishment of a school in their village. "I have so often expressed to you the interest I take in the welfare of the Mohawks, that it is unnecessary to say, that I shall cheerfully as far as it is in my power, come into such measures as you,

and they, shall consider the best calculated for their happiness, with this view, although I am partial to the situation, and the arguments urged by Joseph for their settling at the Grand River in preference to the Bay of Quinte yet, so desirous am I to prevent the Nation from separating (from a conviction that a determined union and attachment can alone support their strength and consequence as well with the Six Nations as the Americans) that I advised Joseph rather to yield to the general opinion, than oppose it, if he should find the bulk of the Nation prepossessed in favor of Quinte Bay as they can, at any time, extend their settlement and form such connections with any of the Six Nations who may settle higher up, as their mutual interests shall require. I have therefore only to acquaint you, that you have my authority to acquaint the Mohawks who have decided for Bay of Quinte, that it is not my intention to restrict them to the 7,000 acres mentioned in their letter to Colonel Claus, and that whatever addition shall be deemed necessary for their more comfortable and happy establishment, shall be made. I speak of the Mohawk Nation, for I never will entertain the idea of any distinction between their villages. I shall also in compliance with their wishes allow them a schoolmaster. You have not said anything of the person they recommend. I shall therefore rely entirely upon your choice of a proper person, whose attachment to Government in all situations must be the first consideration."

For the reserve on the Grand River land was secured from the Mississaugas, in connection with which this official paper is of interest:—

This indenture made at Niagara the twenty-second day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, between Wabakanyne, Nannibosure, Poquan, Nanaghkaweskam, Peapamaw, Tanendan, Sawarnenik, Peasanish Wapamonisschqua Wapeanghqua, Sachems War Chiefs and Principal Women of the Mississauga Indian Nation on the one part, and our Sovereign Lord, George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., etc., etc., on the other part, Witnesseth that the said Wabakanyne the above-mentioned Sachems, War Chief and Principal Women, for and in consideration of eleven hundred and eighty pounds seven shillings and four pence, lawful money of Great Britain to them, the said Wabakanyne, the Sachems,

War Chiefs and Principal Women in hand well and truly paid, at or before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof they, the said Wabakanyne, the Sachems, War Chiefs and Principal Women, doth hereby acknowledge, and thereof and therefrom, and from every part or parcel thereof doth acquit, release, exonerate and forever discharge His Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors and every of them, by these presents, hath granted, bargained, doth grant, bargain, sell, alienate, release and confirm unto His Britannic Majesty, and to his heirs and successors, all that tract or parcel of land, laying and being between the Lakes Ontario and Erie beginning at Lake Ontario, four miles southwesterly from the point opposite to Niagara Fort, known by the name of Mississauga Point and running from thence along said lake to the creek that falls from a small lake into the said Lake Ontario, known by the name of Waghquata, from thence a northwest course until it strikes the River La Tranche, or New River, then down the stream of said river to that part or place where a due south course will lead to the mouth of Catfish Creek emptying into Lake Erie and from the above mentioned part or place of the aforesaid River La Tranch, following the south course to the mouth of the said Catfish Creek, thence down Lake Erie to the lands heretofore purchased from the Nation of Mississauga Indians, and from thence along the said purchase to Lake Ontario at the place of beginning as above mentioned, together with the woods, ways, paths, waters, water courses, advantages, emoluments and hereditaments whatsoever, to the said tract or parcel of land, situated as above mentioned, belonging or in any wise appertaining, or which to and with the same now are, or at any times heretofore have been held, used, occupied, accepted, reported, taken or known, as part, parcel, or member thereof, or any part thereof, and the issues and profits of all and singular, the said premises and every part and parcel thereof, with the appurtenances; and also all the estate, right, title, interest, property claim, and demand whatsoever of them the said Wabakanyne, the Sachems, War Chiefs and Principal Women of, in and to all and singular the said premises above mentioned, and of, in, and every part and parcel thereof, with the appurtenances; to have and to hold all land singular the said tract or parcel of land, hereditaments and premises in and by these presents released and confirmed, and every part



and parcel thereof, with the appurtenances, unto His Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, and to and for no other use, intent or purposes whatsoever; And the said Wabakanyne, the Sachems, War Chiefs and Principal Women for themselves, their heirs and successors doth covenant, grant, promise and agree, to and with His Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors, that they, the said Wabakanyne, the Sachems, War Chiefs and Principal Women, now are the true, lawful and rightful owners of all and singular the said tract or parcel of land, hereditaments and premises above mentioned, and of every part or parcel thereof, with the appurtenances; and the time of sealing and delivery of these presents, are lawfully and rightfully seized in their own right of a good, sure, perfect, absolute and indefeasible estate of inheritance in fee simple, of and in all singular the said premises above mentioned, with the appurtenances, without any manner of condition, limitation of use or uses, or matter, cause or thing whatsoever to alter, change, charge or determine the same; and also that His Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall and may at all times for ever hereafter, peaceably and quietly have, hold, occupy, possess and enjoy all and singular the said tract or parcel of land, hereditaments and premises aforesaid with the appurtenances and every part or parcel thereof, without trouble, hindrance, molestation, interruption or disturbance, of them, the said Wabakanyne, the Sachems, etc., their heirs or successors, or any other person or persons lawfully claiming, or to claim, by, from or under them, or any of them, and that freed, discharged, and kept harmless and endemnified, of, from, and against all former and other gifts or grants whatsoever.





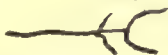

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, the date and date above mentioned.

Witness present: (Signed) Robt. Hayes, Majr. 34th Regt.; D. Forbes, Capt. 34th Regt.; Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea; David Hill, Harongh-youtye; R. Wilkinson, Acting Secretary Six Nation Dept.

his

(Signed) 1. TUEKINAGOSEY, ....  Chief.

mark.

- (Signed) 2. AGUSSHAWAY,  his Chief.  
mark.
3. SHUNADUCK,  his Chief.  
mark.
4. WAWISQUE,  his Chief.  
mark.
5. MASHKEWAPO,  his Chief.  
mark.
6. KEWETASKINA,  his Chief.  
mark.
7. NUANAGO,  his Chief.  
mark.

Captain Brant submitted a memorandum to the Governor-General relating to the Grand River lands, the substance of which is as follows: That His Excellency the commander in chief should give the superintendent and inspector general of Indian affairs instructions and empower Lieut.-Colonel Butler to purchase from the Mississagas or proprietors, a tract of land consisting of about six miles on each side of the Grand River called Oswego, running from the River La Tranche into Lake Erie, for the use of the Mohocks and such of the Six Nations as are inclined to join them in that settlement. Colonel Butler is fully acquainted with the views and inclinations of Captain Brant and the Mohocks respecting this settlement, and only waits the General's approbation to make the purchase. The sooner

this can be done the better, as they would remove this spring (3rd Feb., 1791) time enough to plant corn, etc., and Captain Brant would propose that some of his party be sent off upon this business, to Colonel Butler as soon as he returns to Montreal. The above mentioned limits are only meant for the Indians of the Six Nations who may settle there, but a more considerable tract of land may at the same time be purchased on very reasonable terms whereon to settle Loyalists, or for any future purpose.

The Governor-General endorsed this memorandum and Sir John Johnson was instructed to purchase the tract of country between the three lakes—Ontario, Erie and Huron—out of which the land required by the Mohawks, for the Six Nations, was to be granted to them by deed. The rest was to be reserved for the Loyalists, or any future purpose.

On the 1st February, 1791, a meeting of the Land Board of Niagara was held at which the following minute of business transacted was agreed to: "A plan of the Grand River was laid before the Board, and having called in Captain Joseph Brant, Tekarchokea, Shasiowanea, Atewanookten, Oghnasongoghton, Oghguarioseta, Ojageghte, Gonghsaneyonte, Kayendaderhon, Chickheless, and several of the principal chiefs to aid the land board with their advice and counsel, it was unanimously agreed upon and determined: that the bend of the river easterly, nearly two miles from its mouth or issue into Lake Erie, and the Mohawk Village shall be the two fixed points and that a line drawn straight from one of these points to the other shall form the centre line of the Indian settlements or lands on the Grand River, and that two parallel lines to this, six miles distant on each side of the river shall form the bounds between them and the settlement of Nassau.

Signed on the plan: Jos. Brant, (x) Ojageghte, (x) Gonghsaneyonte, (x) Atewanookte, (x) Oghsita, (x) Kayendaderhon, J. Butler, Peter Ten Broeck, R. Hamilton.

Thus, were the loyal Indians provided for on two of the most beautiful as well as most fertile portions of Ontario; they have thriven well, their farms and homes showing the progress they have made since driven from the delightful valley of the Genesee.

The policy of persecution adopted by the States reduced the Loyalists to a deplorable plight. Driven from their homes, an exodus from the

country was the only relief available to them. Britain, Nova Scotia and Canada (Upper and Lower) and the West Indies received the devoted fugitives. About 2,000 persons crossed the Atlantic to Britain between 1775 and 1785, but some of them came to Canada afterwards. From 1776 small parties began to locate in Nova Scotia, but after the peace the number was enormous, so that shipping facilities were overtaxed. By December of 1783 from 30,000 to 40,000 refugees had arrived in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and they were locating at Halifax, Annapolis, Cumberland Bay, St. John, Port Roseway, etc. Seven general routes were taken by the Loyalists coming to Canada. Five of these were by the Hudson River to points between Oswego to Montreal. Some went by the Atlantic and St. Lawrence, and others by Western New York State. By 1782 a large number of families had reached Lower Canada. In 1783 about 10,000 Loyalists arrived, it is stated, in Upper Canada; during the year following the population had greatly increased, and by 1791 was estimated at 25,000, very largely United Empire Loyalists. The hardships of travel were not mitigated by the attitude of the people they were leaving behind, nor was the prospect cheering for people who were, the most of them, leaving the security of comfortable homes for the unbroken forest where neither hearth nor homestead, however humble, awaited them. Some of the narratives of the Loyalists or of their children who had the story from the lips of their parents are striking and impressive in their very simplicity. The following statement is given in Mr. Grass' own words as related to a friend. The Governor addressing Mr. Grass says:—

“Mr. Grass, I understand you have been at Frontenac, in Canada. Pray tell me what sort of a country it is. Can people live there? What think you? My father replied: ‘Yes, your Excellency, I was there a prisoner of the war, and from what I saw I think it a fine country, and that people might live there very well.’ ‘Oh! Mr. Grass,’ exclaims the Governor, ‘how glad I am to hear that, for the sake of these poor Loyalists. As they cannot all go to Nova Scotia, and I am at a loss how to provide for them, will you, Mr. Grass, undertake to lead thither as many as may choose to accompany you? If so, I will furnish a conveyance by Quebec, and rations for you all till such time as you may be able to provide for yourselves.’ My



father requested his Excellency to allow him three days to make up his mind. This was granted, and accordingly, at the expiration of the three days, my father went to the Governor and said he would undertake it. Notices were then posted up through the city, calling for all that would go to Frontenac to enroll their names with Mr. Grass; so in a short time the company of men, women and children was completed, a ship provided and furnished, and off they started for the unknown and far distant region, leaving the homes and friends of their youth, with all their endearing recollections, behind them—the fruits of all their former toil and suffering—a sacrifice to their loyalty. The first season they got no further than Sorel, in Lower Canada, where they were obliged to erect log huts for the winter. Next spring they took boats, and proceeding up the St. Lawrence, at length reached Frontenac, and pitched their tents on Indian Point, where the marine docks of Kingston now stand. Here they awaited the surveying of the lands, which was not accomplished so as to be ready for location before July. In the meantime several other companies had arrived by different routes under their respective leaders, who were all waiting the completing of the surveys. The Governor, also, who by this time had himself come to Quebec, paid them a visit, and riding a few miles along the lake shore on a fine day, exclaimed to my father: ‘Why, Mr. Grass, you have indeed got a fine country! I am really glad to find it so.’ While the several companies were together waiting for the survey, some would say to my father: ‘The Governor will not give you the first choice of the townships, but will prefer Sir John Johnson and his company, because he is a great man.’ But my father replied that he did not believe that for if the Governor should do so he should feel himself injured and would leave the country, as he was the first man to mention it to the Governor in New York, and to proceed hither with his company for settlement.

“At length the time came, in July, for the townships to be given out. The Governor came, and having assembled the companies before him, called for Mr. Grass, and said: ‘Now, you were the first person to mention this fine country, and have been here formerly as a prisoner of war, you must have the first choice. The townships are numbered first, second, third, fourth and fifth, which do you choose?’ My father says: ‘The first township (King-

ston).’ Then the Governor says to Sir John Johnson, ‘Which do you choose for your company?’ He replies, ‘The second township (Ernestown).’ ” \* Col. Rogers obtained the third, Major Vanalstine the fourth, and Colonel McDonell the fifth.

“The batteaux,” says the late Sheriff Sherwood of Brockville, “by which the refugees emigrated were principally built at Lachine, nine miles from Montreal. They were calculated to carry four or five families with almost two tons weight. Twelve boats constituted a brigade and each brigade had a conductor with five men in each, one of whom steered. The duty of the conductor was to give directions for the safe management of the boats to keep them together, and when they came to a rapid they left a portion of the boats in charge of one man. The boats ascending were doubly manned and drawn by a rope fastened at the bow of the boat having four men in the boat with setting poles; thus the men walked along the side of the river, sometimes in the water or on the edge of the bank as circumstances occurred. Having reached the head of the rapids the boats were left with a man and the other men went back for the other boats; and so they continued until the rapids were mounted. Lachine was the starting place—a place of some twenty dwellings.”

One who knew of the struggles and experiences of those early days well, has thus described them:—

The Loyalists were supplied with “clothes for three years, or until they were able to provide these articles for themselves. They consisted of coarse cloth for trousers and Indian blankets for coats, and of shoes; besides, each received a quantity of seed grain to sow upon the newly cleared land, with certain implements of husbandry. To each was allotted an axe, a hoe and a spade; a plough and one cow were allotted to two families; a whip and cross-cut saw to every fourth family; and, even boats were provided for their use, and placed at convenient points”; and “that nothing might seem to be wanting, on the part of the Government, even portable corn mills, consisting of steel plates, turned by hand like a coffee mill, were distributed among the settlers. We have learned they were also supplied with nails, hand-saws and other materials for building. To every

\* Ryerson.

five families were given a 'set of tools,' such as chisels and augers, of various sizes, and drawing-knives; also pick-axes, and sickles for reaping. But, unfortunately, many of these implements were of inferior quality. The axe, with which the burden of the work was done, was unlike the light implement now in use, it was but a short-handled ship axe, intended for quite a different use from chopping trees and clearing land. Notwithstanding these various implements, thoughtfully provided by Government, how greatly must they have come short in meeting the varied wants of the settler, in his isolated clearing, far separated from places whereat things necessary could be procured. However, the old soldier, with his camp experience, was enabled by the aid of his tools, to make homely and rude articles of domestic use. And, in farming, he constructed a rough, but serviceable plow, and harrow, and made handles for his scythe." \*

Thus provisioned and clothed, and thus armed with implements of industry, the old soldiers advanced to the attack of a last enemy, the wild woods. Unlike any previous warfare, was this lifetime struggle. With location ticket in hand, they filed into the batteaux to ascend the rapids. A certain number of batteaux joined together, generally about twenty or twenty-five, formed a brigade, which was placed under the command of a suitable officer, if not one who had, in previous days, led them against the foe. It is quite impossible to conceive of the emotions which found a place in the breasts of the veterans as they journeyed along wearily from day to day, each one bringing them nearer to the spot on which the tent was to be pitched for the last time. Eagerly, no doubt, they scanned the thickly wooded shores as they passed along. Curiously they examined the small settlement clustering around Cataraqui. And, it cannot be doubted, when they entered the waters of the lovely Bay of Quinte, the beauty of the scene created a feeling of joy and reconciliation to their lot, in being thus cast upon a spot so rich in natural beauty. These disbanded soldiers, at least each family, had a canvas tent capable of accommodating in a certain way, from eight to ten persons. These were pitched upon the shore, at first in groups, until each person had learned the situation of his lot, when he immediately removed thereto. But there were by no means enough tents

\* Canniff.

to give cover to all, and many had only the friendly trees for protection. The first steps taken were to clear a small space of trees, and erect a place of habitation. We have seen what were the implements he had to work with—the materials he must use to subdue the forest tree standing before him.

“Here, at the very threshold of Upper Canadian history, was initiated the ‘institution’ of ‘bees.’ ‘Each with his axe on his shoulder, turned out to help the other,’ in erecting a log shanty. Small and unpretending, indeed, were these humble tenements first built along the shores of the bay. The size of each depended upon the number to occupy it. None were larger than twenty by fifteen feet; and an old man tells me that his father, who was a carpenter, built one fifteen feet long and ten feet broad, with a slanting roof seven or eight feet in height. The back-woodsman’s shanty, which may yet be seen in the outskirts of our country, is the counterpart of those which were first built; but perhaps many of our readers may never have seen one. ‘Round logs’ (generally of basswood), roughly notched together at the corners, and piled one above another, to the height of seven or eight feet, constituted the walls. Openings for a door, and one small window’ (always beside the door) ‘designed for four lights of glass, 7 x 9, were cut out,’ (Government had supplied them with a little glass and putty); ‘the spaces between the logs were chinked with small splinters, and carefully plastered outside and inside, with clay for mortar. Smooth straight poles were laid lengthways of the building, on the walls, to serve as supports of the roof. This was composed of strips of elm bark, four feet in length, by two or three feet in width, in layers, overlapping each other, and fastened to the poles by withs.’ (The roof was sometimes of black oak, or swamp oak, bark), ‘with a sufficient slope to the back, this formed a roof which was proof against wind and weather. An ample hearth, made of flat stones, was then laid out, and a fire back of field stone or small boulders, rudely built, was carried up as high as the walls. Above this the chimney was formed of round poles, notched together and plastered with mud. The floor was of the same materials as the walls, only that the logs were split in two, and flattened so as to make a tolerably even surface. As no board were to be had to make a door, until they could be sawn out by the whip saw, a blanket suspended from the inside for some time took its



place. By and by four little panes of plass were stuck into a rough sash, and then the shanty was complete.\*

The ordinary course of clearing land is pretty well known. At the present day the autumn and winter is the usual time, when the wood is cut in sleigh lengths for home use, or made into huge heaps, and in the following season, when sufficiently dry, is burned up. Now, wood, except in the remote parts, is very valuable, and for those who can part with it, it brings a good income. But then, when the land was everywhere covered with wood, the only thought was how to get rid of it. The great green trees, after being cut down, had to lie until they had dried, or be cut to pieces and removed. Time was necessary for the first. To accomplish the second involved labor with the unwieldy axe; and there were at first, no beasts of burden to haul the heavy logs. The arm of the pioneer was the only motor power, and the trees had to be cut in short lengths, that they might be carried. To overcome the more heavy work connected with this, the settlers would have logging bees from place to place, and by united strength subdue the otherwise obstinate forces. Mainly, the trees were burned; the limbs and smaller portion first, and subsequently the large trunk. The fire would burn all that was flammable, leaving great black logs all over the ground. Then came 'logging,' that is, piling these black and half burned pieces into heaps, where, after a longer time of drying, they might be consumed. A second, perhaps a third time the pieces would have to be collected into 'log heaps,' until finally burned to ashes. It was by such means that slowly the forest along the St. Lawrence, and surrounding the Bay of Quinte, as well in the adjacent townships melted away before the daily work of the aggressive settler. Although deprived of all the comforts, which most of them had enjoyed in early life in the Hudson, and Mohawk valleys, and fruitful fields of Pennsylvania, they toiled on determined to conquer—to make new homes; and, for their children at least, to secure comforts. They rose early and toiled on all day, whether long or short, until night cast its solemn pall over their rude quiet homes. The small clearing of a few acres gradually widened, the sound of the axe was heard ringing all the day, and the crash of the falling tree sent the startled wild beast to the deeper

\* Croil.

recesses of the wild wood. The toilers were not all from the same social rank, but now, in the main, all found a common level; the land allotted to the half pay officers was as thickly covered with wood. A few possessed limited means, and were able to engage help to do some of the work, but in a short time it was the same with all; men of education, and who held high positions, rightly held the belief that it was an honor to be a refugee farmer.\*

The Government was solicitous for the welfare of the Loyalists, but government machinery is frequently cumbersome, and delays happened both with the necessary food supplies, and in the settlement of claims. Instructions from the King were transmitted to General Haldimand, the Governor-General of Canada, in July, 1783, to give lands to them, the wording being: Whereas many of our loyal subjects, inhabitants of the colonies and provinces, now the United States of America, are desirous of retaining their allegiance to us, and of living in our dominions, and for this purpose are disposed to take up and improve lands in our Province of Quebec; and we being desirous to encourage our said loyal subjects in such their intentions, and to testify our approbation of their loyalty to us, and obedience to our Government, by allotting lands for them in our said province; and whereas we are also desirous of testifying our approbation of the bravery and loyalty of our forces serving in our said province, and who may be reduced there, by allowing a certain quantity of land to such of the non-commissioned officers and private men of our said forces, who are inclined to become settlers therein. It is our will and pleasure, that immediately after you shall receive this, our instruction, you do direct our Surveyor General of Lands for our said Province of Quebec, to admeasure and lay out such a quantity of land as you with the advice of our council shall deem necessary and convenient for the settlement of our said loyal subjects, the non-commissioned officers and private men of our forces which may be reduced in our said province, who shall be desirous of becoming settlers therein; such lands to be divided into distinct seigneuries or fiefs, to extend from two or four leagues in front, and from three to five leagues in depth, if situated upon a navigable river, otherwise to be run square, or in such shape and in

\* Canniff.

such quantities, as shall be convenient and practicable—and in each seigneurie a glebe to be reserved and laid out in the most convenient spot, to contain not less than 300 nor more than 500 acres; the propriety of which seigneuries or fiefs shall be and remain vested in us, our heirs and successors, and you shall allot such parts of the same as shall be applied for by any of our said loyal subjects, non-commissioned officers and private men of our forces reduced as aforesaid, in the following proportions; that it to say:

To every master of a family, one hundred acres, and fifty acres for each person, of which his family shall consist.

To every single man, fifty acres.

To every non-commissioned officer of our forces reduced in Quebec, two hundred acres.

To every private man reduced as aforesaid, one hundred acres.

And for every person in their family, fifty acres.

With the opening of the spring of 1784 settlers took up locations on the surveyed lands. The first townships were not named but numbered consecutively from east to west, along the River St. Lawrence, from Pointe au Baudet to Elizabethtown, 1-9; the second series westward began at Kingston and numbered ten. Townships one to five above Lake St. Francis were occupied by 1,462 of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, and those from six to eight, by 495 of Jessup's Corps. Of the five townships of Cataraqui, Captain Grass's party of 187 took the first; 434 of Jessup's Corps, the second; 310 of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, and Major Rogers, with 229 men, the third; Major Vanalstine and party and some of Roger's men, the fourth; and 303 soldiers of various regiments, a part of the fifth; a total of about 3,800 married and single men. Butler's Rangers settled at Niagara and westward to Detroit River. By 1789 about 17,000 Loyalists had settled above Montreal, and in 1790 about 25,000. In 1785 there were fifty houses in Kingston.

Lord Dorchester issued instructions on the 4th June, 1787, that: "For the encouragement of such settlers, who besides supporting their former characters for loyalty to the King and attachment to the British Government, and a peaceable, decent, deportment have, by their industry, in im-

proving and cultivating the lands already assigned to them, given cause to presume that they will be good and profitable subjects, you are to add to every head of a family of that description two hundred acres, exclusive of what is allowed to the other members of it severally by the Royal instructions."

On the 24th July, 1788, Lord Dorchester divided Upper Canada into the four old districts of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse, and following the formation of these districts, Land Boards were appointed to receive and report upon applications for land from settlers. At a meeting of the Governor's Council held in the Council Chamber, Quebec, on the 17th February, 1789, rules and regulations for the conduct of the Land Office Department were enacted, among which was the following respecting the United Empire Loyalists:—

The respective Boards shall, on petitions from Loyalists already settled in the upper districts for further allotments of land under the instructions to the Deputy Surveyor-general, of the 2nd of June, 1787, or under prior or other orders for assigning portions to their families, examine into the ground of such requests and claims, and being well satisfied of the justice thereof, they shall grant certificates for such further quantities of land, as the said instructions and orders may warrant.

General Haldimand's instructions of 1783 conferred 1,000 acres on every field officer; 700 acres on every captain; 500 acres on every subaltern, staff or warrant officer; 200 acres to every non-commissioned officer; 100 acres on every private soldier, and the same quantity on every head of a family, being a Loyalist; 50 acres on every Loyalist a single man; 50 acres on every individual of which the families of all the above described persons shall consist.

The Land Board of Nassau considered Lord Dorchester's instructions of 2nd June, 1787, as conferring 200 additional acres on all those settlers who had already improved, so far as in their power, the lands before granted them, and that this additional bounty extends as well to single men improving their own lands as to the heads of families; that every discharged soldier from his Majesty's service is intitled to 300 acres, every non-commissioned to 400, and that every Loyalist, or other received good character



settled prior to the date of the instructions of 17th February, 1789, is intitled to 200 acres, together with 50 acres to each individual of which their families shall consist; that after the date of these instructions persons settling under the denomination of Loyalists, or all others who shall be approved of by the Board, shall only receive 200 acres for themselves, leaving the provision for their families to the commander in chief's future bounty, which will certainly follow their decent deportment, and their improving with industry the grant now made them; that, as it appeared to be the wish of Government to distinguish their *active friends and adherents* by peculiar marks of attention—*those only* who had borne arms, or in some other capacity had served Government during the war—should of right be intitled to this 300 acres, or more in proportion to their rank; and that all others should now only receive 200 acres, leaving the door open for future application in their favor, as the merits of their case may require.

On the 9th of November, 1789, Lord Dorchester met his Council at Quebec and intimated that it was his wish to put a mark of honor upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal Standard in the colonies before 1783, and the Council accordingly ordered that the several Land Boards preserve a registry of the "names of all persons falling under the description aforementioned to the end that their posterity may be discriminated, from future settlers, in the Parish registers and rolls of the militia, of their respective districts, and other public remembrancers of the province, as proper objects by their persevering in the fidelity and conduct, so honorable to their ancestors, for distinguished benefits and privileges, that the Land Boards may in every such case provide not only for the sons of those Loyalists, as they arrive to full age, but for their daughters also of that age, or on their marriage assigning to each a lot of two hundred acres, more or less, provided nevertheless that they respectively comply with the general regulations, and that it shall satisfactorily appear that there has been no default in the due cultivation and improvement of the lands already assigned to the head of the family of which they are members." Thereafter the Loyalists were entitled to affix the letters U. E. to their names, alluding to their stand for the Unity of the Empire.

A proclamation by President Russell, of the 15th December, 1798, provides that all Loyalists whose names have been enrolled on the U. E. lists, previous to the date of the proclamation, and their sons and daughters when of age, or married, "to whom the King's bounty in lands has not been already extended, may continue to consider themselves entitled to receive from this Government two hundred acres of land free from the payment of fees and all other charges; but that, except to the extent allowed by his Majesty's instructions, neither U. E. Loyalists nor their children, can be considered as exempted from the standing fees, it having been ordered that they shall be annexed to every further grant of land, to them as well as to others, be its extent what it may."

In Upper Canada 3,200,000 acres were given to Loyalists who settled there before 1787. About 730,000 acres went to militiamen, 450,000 to discharged soldiers and sailors, 225,000 to magistrates and barristers, 136,000 to executive councillors, 50,000 to five legislative councillors, 37,000 to clergymen, 264,000 to surveyors and helpers, 500,000 for schools, 93,000 to officers of the army and navy and smaller tracts to prominent persons, and probably \$4,000,000 was spent in surveys, official salaries, clothing, food, tools and stock, before the Loyalists in Upper and Lower Canada were established on a self-supporting basis. But their sacrifices could not be reckoned in money however large the amount.

The Commissioners appointed by the Act of the British Parliament in 1783 to enquire into the losses of the Loyalists took up the duty entrusted to them without delay. The Commissioners classified the claimants according to the nature of the claim, into six classes, viz.: (1) Those who had rendered services to Great Britain; (2) Those who had borne arms against the revolution; (3) Uniform Loyalists; (4) Loyalists resident in Great Britain; (5) Those who took oaths of allegiance to the American States, but afterwards joined the British; (6) Those who armed with the Americans and later joined the British army or navy. Claimants had to state specifically in writing the nature of their losses. Claims were first ordered to be presented by March 25th, 1784, but the time was later extended till 1790. On the first date mentioned, 2,063 claims were presented representing a loss of about \$35,000,000 in real and personal property, \$11,770,000 in debts and \$443,000 in incomes, making a total of nearly \$47,250,000. Compensa-

tion was not allowed for estates bought after the war, rents, incomes of offices received during the rebellion, anticipated professional profits, losses in trade, labor, or by the British army, losses through depreciated paper money, captures at sea and debts. By April, 1788, the Commissioners had examined 1,680 claims on which they allowed \$9,448,000.

It soon became evident, that, to do justice to the Loyalists, Commissioners must be sent to Canada and the United States. To Canada Col. Thomas Dundas and Mr. Jeremy Pemberton came. Mr. Pemberton was a barrister of Lincoln's Inn and had been appointed to fill a vacancy which had occurred in the Commission. These two Commissioners had similar powers as the Board sitting in London. Their work began on the 17th Nov., 1785, and continued until 1789. Evidence was taken at Halifax, St. John, Quebec and Montreal, and six reports were made, showing that 1,401 claims were heard; and that 834 were, for various reasons, not heard. On 432 claims under the Act of 1783, \$1,061,000 was allowed, and on 969 claims under the Act of 1785, \$1,684,000 was allowed, making a total of \$2,745,000 passed for claims in Canada. Of the claims examined, nearly two-thirds in number and value were from New York State. Many of those who had large fortunes at stake went directly to Britain to have their claims adjusted, and after the Commissioners left Canada, petitions were still sent to London.

The process of enquiry was necessarily slow and the time limit for receiving claims and hearing evidence had to be from time to time extended. The enquiry was carried on with great care and claimants were required to furnish adequate evidence of loss and service in order to satisfy the Commissioners as to the genuineness of their claims. The evidence, therefore, forms a body of invaluable data regarding the sacrifices made and the sufferings endured by the Loyalists during and after the war and taken with all the judicial reserve and safeguards the most of it, if not entirely all, cannot be gainsaid.

The study of the subject but enlarges and strengthens the high estimate to be placed on the character of the men and women who were loyal and true amidst their enemies, and who when the day was lost came to Upper Canada to lay the foundation true and lasting of the great Province of Ontario.

## CHAPTER IX.

### UNDER BRITISH RULE.

The ever growing strength of the white man was looked upon with suspicion by the Indian. Before the conquest by the British, he found some satisfaction in the fact that he believed he held the balance of power between the two great opposing forces of Britain and France. Now, however, he saw in the triumph of Britain his own abasement and the probable relinquishment of his necessary hunting grounds and tribal territories in the west. There was also the natural disposition which held him aloof from intimate friendship with the Anglo-Saxon, whom he viewed with more or less distrust. On the other hand, the free and easy manners of the Frenchman, the readiness with which he entered into the life and sympathies of the children of the forest, shared their hardships and festivities, intermarried with them and adopted their modes of life, had won the Indian's heart, and he viewed with no small misgivings what appeared to be the utter ruin of his old and long tried friends.

While disturbed by such reflections, a man arose among them having all the qualities of a great native leader. He was shrewd, capable and eloquent, and commanded both the confidence and the admiration of the western tribes. He was chief of the powerful Ottawa nation which had settled in the Detroit region, and was the controlling influence in the wide territory of which Detroit was the centre. He confronted Major Rogers when the latter was on his expedition to take over the French lake posts, and from him learned for the first time how Canada had been surrendered to the British, and the French dispossessed of the land. He acted strictly correct with Rogers and was a party to the peaceable surrender of Detroit, although he and his people saw with ill-concealed sorrow the Union Jack raised where flew the Fleur-de-Lis.

Indian disaffection with British rule came to a head, and a vast conspiracy was organized with Pontiac as the directing mind. The rising



was on a large scale, even the Delawares and the Shawnees, the Senecas and the tribes from the lake region to the Mississippi, entering into the compact. Sir William Johnson was able to hold the allegiance of the Iroquois tribes with the exception of the Senecas, but they only of the Five Nations were hostile.

The first direct warning of the impending storm was given to Ensign Holmes, who was in charge of the small post at Miami. He interrogated the Indians who, however, denied and concealed their hostile designs. Holmes reported the matter to his superior officer, Major Gladwyn, at Detroit, and he transmitted the intelligence to General Amherst, who had fixed his headquarters at New York. Little attention was paid to the rumor, but it was considered wise to strengthen Detroit and some of the western posts in case the warning should prove to be true. The fort at Detroit was eleven hundred yards in circumference with picket walls twenty feet high. There was accommodation not only for the garrison, but for the fur traders and the settlers, and outside the fort a number of white settlers had taken up lands on the banks of the river.

Pontiac's scheme was to combine all the western Indian tribes, drive the British from all the posts, Detroit included, and maintain the region west of Pennsylvania and the Iroquois hunting grounds, against British encroachment—the policy of de Galissionere and other French Governors—and trust to the ever varying fortunes of war in Europe or America as to the final result. The capture of Detroit he reserved for himself. At this time the garrison did not number more than one hundred and twenty-eight rank and file and eight officers of the Eightieth Regiment of the line, a few traders and hunters and the Canadians of the Settlement. The artillery was weak, but the waterway was protected by two small armed vessels. The massacre of this garrison had been decided upon at a council of the tribes, and Pontiac's plan was to seek a conference with Gladwyn and his officers in attending which, he and sixty of his warriors, their arms concealed, would obtain entrance to the fort. At a given signal a general massacre would take place.

The great Indian pursued his plan<sup>1</sup> with due caution, and, to disarm the suspicion that a demand for such a conference might excite, he peaceably

waited upon Gladwyn accompanied by a few of his followers and gave expression to friendly feelings and goodwill, remarking, however, as he was about to depart, that on the sixth day afterwards he desired to visit him again, hold a solemn council and smoke the pipe of peace. Gladwyn, however, was not without suspicion regarding this proposal. He remembered the warning from Miami given by Ensign Holmes, and a friendly Canadian likewise, had recently given him information as to the designs of the Indians. By the time set for the council therefore Gladwyn was prepared to receive Pontiac and his braves, who, on entering the fort found the garrison armed and ready for action. Pontiac, however, proceeded to the council chamber, delivered his oration, maintained a calm demeanor and conducted himself with such masterly dissimulation that Gladwyn could find no fault and was compelled to allow him to retire without charging him with any breach of faith.

Two days afterwards Pontiac threw aside all disguise and proceeded to blockade the garrison, while the cruel work incident to Indian warfare was carried on outside the fort wherever British could be found. Pontiac's permanent camp was formed about two miles from Detroit near a small creek known as Bloody Run, and from here he carried on his attacks against the fort. Gladwyn, not apprehending the extensive nature of Pontiac's design, sent friendly Canadians to him with overtures of peace. Pontiac demanded a conference with the leaders of the fort, and Capt. Campbell and Lieut. McDougall were, with much reluctance on Gladwyn's part, because he suspected treachery, sent to Pontiac's camp. They were made prisoners, and next day Gladwyn was summoned to capitulate. The garrison held out, though closely blockaded by land, and the besiegers were greatly annoyed by the fire from the vessels in the river which covered the waterfront of the fort and enabled friendly Canadians from the opposite shore to supply food under cover of night. Pontiac's large army, numbering about two thousand men, began to feel the want of provisions, and their leader organized a regular commissariat.

A detachment sent from Niagara under Lieut. Kyle to relieve Detroit, was surprised at night by the Indians and utterly defeated at the mouth of the Detroit River, and their military stores and provisions seized. The

prisoners were subjected to horrible cruelty, and this success stimulated the Indians in their work of extermination at the outlying posts. The Delawares and Shawnees raided Pennsylvania, the Senecas massacred the garrison at Fort Venango and carried destruction along the Susquehanna. Other tribes devastated the frontiers in every direction, and the full fury of Indian war was felt in the land.

Fort Pitt, however, held out, defended by Capt. Ecuyer, and the best efforts of the attacking Indians were unavailing. Not being able to carry the fort, the Indians tried what could be done by conference, in which the Delaware chief endeavored to deceive the commandant by protestations of friendship on the one hand, and on the other, by an alleged desertion from the British of the Five Nation Indians. Ecuyer was not to be deceived, however, and his assurance had the effect of depressing the cunning Indians.

At Detroit the seige went on, giving, on the whole, the advantage to Pontiac. The arrival of the schooner Gladwyn, however, supplied the garrison with ammunition, provisions and an addition of sixty men, and enabled them to continue the defence with renewed hope. By the same means, the garrison received the news of the final ratification of peace between Britain and France.

Closely following upon this Major Dalmazell, an aide-de-camp of General Amherst, with two hundred men from Niagara and a small body of Rangers under Major Rogers, arrived at Detroit. Dalmazell did not possess Gladwyn's experience of the Indians, and he incautiously urged a night attack with a view of crippling Pontiac. The wary chief obtained information of the preparations that were being made with this object in view, and took measures to receive the British force. When the attack was made by Dalmazell with a column of about two hundred and fifty men, they were received with a murderous fire which threw them into disorder. Quickly re-forming, they charged, but only to find that the Indians, supposed to be in front, had disappeared. In retreating to the fort they were subjected to a severe fire from the Indians in which Dalmazell himself was shot dead. Capt. Grant took command of the detachment, and after six hours' continued fighting, reached the fort with his shattered force. This was the affair known as the "Bloody Run," a victory to Pontiac which inspired the tribes with fresh courage,

one result being renewed and determined efforts to reduce Fort Pitt, and the continuance of the ravaging of the frontiers.

The colonial legislators were practically indifferent to the hardships of their pioneer citizens, and Amherst, with only a few regular troops at his disposal, found it difficult to take decisive action in the far west. Col. Bouquet was instructed to operate for the relief of Fort Pitt, and every available soldier was sent to him from New York. His relieving force did not exceed five hundred men all told, many of them being of the Forty-Second Highlanders. With this Bouquet moved forward, driving the Indians before him. From Fort Ligonier he proceeded with a pack train of 350 horses. At a mountain stream called "Bushy Run" he was attacked by a large body of Indians, and then began a struggle which continued stubbornly for two days. Bouquet, by skilful movements of his men, led the Indians to believe that he meditated retreat, and they rushed from their cover. By this device he drew them into the open and their rout was soon complete. Bouquet then proceeded, and after four days' march reached Fort Pitt, to find that his victory at Bushy Run had so alarmed the Delawares and Shawnees, that they had concentrated their forces and deprived Pontiac of the aid which he expected from them.

The Senecas operated chiefly on the New York border settlements, their most notable exploits being on the Niagara, where an empty return train of wagons and pack horses with an escort of twenty-four soldiers was captured at the place known as the "Devil's Hole," the horses, wagons and men being precipitated on the rocks below. Major Wilkins with a force of six hundred regulars ascended the Niagara to relieve Detroit, but met disaster from a violent storm on Lake Erie in which seventy men perished, together with all his stores and ammunition.

Pontiac abandoned the siege of Detroit for the winter. Fort Pitt was held by Ecuyer, but these two posts were all that remained in British possession in the great west.

In the spring of 1764 Pontiac reappeared before Detroit, but the attack was desultory. Bouquet with a strong column, and Bradstreet with another body of troops, moved against the Indians with the object of re-establishing



the reduced posts, of relieving Detroit and of effecting the submission of the tribes.

Sir William Johnson, also, was incessant in his endeavors to detach the Indians from Pontiac's cause. He succeeded in inducing the tribes to send delegates to Niagara to confer in this matter. When they all arrived the great gathering numbered two thousand, and separate treaties were effected with the various tribes.

On the 26th of July of the same year Bradstreet relieved Detroit, and the surrounding tribes brought in their submission to him there. Following this success, the Ottawas and Chippewas dismissed their old chiefs and appointed new ones, who made treaties and placed themselves under British protection, measures which restored peace among the northern tribes. The Shawnees and Delawares still smarted under their defeat at Bushy Run and sought revenge, but were effectually reduced by Bouquet, thus bringing one of the most bloody, and, to the Indians disastrous, tribal wars to a close.

Murray, who had been appointed Governor-General of Canada under the cession of 1763, assumed office on the 10th of August, 1763, and his administration pertained largely to Lower Canada.

He was succeeded on the 12th April, 1768, by Lieut.-Governor Carleton (Sir Guy Carleton), who assumed office on the 25th October of the same year. Governor-General Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester), occupies an exceptionally high place, the most eminent of all, among the personages associated with the organization and early government of Canada. He was no less distinguished as a soldier than as a statesman and the value of his services to Canada can hardly be overestimated. He was born on the 3rd September, 1724, at Strabane, Ireland, and after completing his studies, entered the army and obtained speedy promotion. He accompanied Wolfe to Canada, showed signal ability in the operations before Quebec, and served at Belle Isle and Havana. He was appointed Lieut.-Governor and Acting Governor-General of Quebec in 1766 and Governor-General in 1768. He was in London prior to the passing of the Quebec Act of 1774 and conferred with the British authorities respecting the measure. After the passage of the Act he returned to Canada and took a deeply interested part in bringing its provisions into operation, as well as rendering superior

services in the field on the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. In 1777 he withdrew to England, having been superseded in the command of the army by General Burgoyne. The honor of knighthood was conferred on him during this visit. In 1782 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in America in the place of Sir Henry Clinton, with headquarters at New York. On returning to England in 1786 he was raised to the Peerage as Baron Dorchester, and a pension of £1,000 per annum was bestowed upon him for life and for the lives of his wife and two sons. In the same year he was again appointed Governor-General and Captain General of Canada, and he continued to govern the province until 1796. He married in 1772 Lady Maria, daughter of the second Earl of Effingham, by whom he had many children. He died on the 10th Nov., 1808, at Stubbings, near Maidenhead, England.

Enjoying peace, Canada gradually recovered from the devastations of war, and, with the growth of trade and commerce, civil institutions became a necessity, and the desire for a constitution ultimately resulted in the Quebec Act of 1774, which was strongly debated in the British House of Commons. The speeches contribute a great deal of information regarding the condition of Canada, and reveal the views of the British Government as to the relations between the French and British races, the religious privileges accorded to each, and generally as to the future of the country, in which respect the debates form interesting material in a study of Canadian history.

The Act repealed all the provisions of the Royal proclamation of 1763, annulled all the Acts of the Governor and Council relative to the civil government and administration of justice, revoked the commission of judges, established new boundaries for the province which was now declared to embrace all ancient Canada, Labrador, and the regions west of the Ohio and Mississippi, released the Roman Catholic religion in Canada from all penal restrictions, renewed their duties and tithes to its regular clergy from members of their own church, and confirmed all classes with the exception of the religious orders and communities, in full possession of their properties. The French laws were declared to be the rule for decision relative to property and civil rights, while the English criminal law was established

in perpetuity. Both the civil and criminal codes were liable to alteration by the ordinances of the Governor and the legislative council appointed by the Crown, and consisting of not more than twenty-three, nor less than seventeen members. The power of this council was limited to levying local or municipal taxes and to making arrangements for the administration of the internal affairs of the province, the rights of external taxation being reserved for the British Parliament. Every ordinance of the council was subject to the approval of the King.\*

The Act alarmed the British settlers in the province, and raised a squall of indignation in the British colonies of America, their interest being the one of boundary to the west, the Act depriving them of what they had contended for against the Indians. On the other hand, the French Canadians were overjoyed, and, on Governor Carleton's return from England at the later part of 1774, he was received with demonstrations of popular gratitude and joy.

Affairs in the colonies were assuming a forbidding aspect, and in 1775 the war of the Revolution was begun. Carleton became anxious regarding the defences of the Canadian frontier, but the colonists were reluctant to embark on another war and the Governor found but meagre support from them. He proclaimed martial law and called out the militia, but without much effect. Bishop de Briand issued a mandate to his clergy exhorting the people to support the British by arms. On the other hand, Congress made overtures to the French Canadians, and organized expeditions under Schuyler and Montgomery to seize the forts and towns of Canada on the St. Lawrence. Governor Carleton displayed both activity and capacity in his defensive measures, and there was general sympathy with him when he was superseded in the chief command by General Burgoyne in 1777. Carleton considered Burgoyne's appointment as unjust to him and he requested his own recall, when he was succeeded by Sir Frederick Haldimand, a native of Switzerzland, who had rendered valuable services to the British Government during the war of the conquest and subsequently.

Haldimand took up the reins of power in 1778, and discharged his duties in the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, arising from

\* McMullen.

the progress of the revolution, prudently and with success. To him credit is due for the voluminous collection of official papers which now forms part of the Canadian Archives at Ottawa known as the Haldimand collection, and for the important work in laying out settlements, especially in Ontario, for the United Empire Loyalists. He was subjected, however, to strenuous criticism on account of what was considered to have been his arbitrary measures, and he asked for his recall in 1783. It was two years later, however, before the Home Government, which had full confidence in his ability, accepted his resignation.

He was succeeded by Mr. Henry Hamilton, but as Lieut.-Governor only, and in 1786 General Carleton, who had in the meantime become a peer, was again appointed Governor-General and he assumed office the year following, the administration meanwhile being carried on by Col. Henry Hope, a member of the Legislative Council.

The affairs of Canada were not in a satisfactory condition, jealousy and friction existed between the contending races, which, with the large accession to the English-speaking population of Upper Canada caused by the influx of United Empire Loyalists, led to the proposal that Lower and Upper Canada should be created into separate provinces, a measure embodied in the Act of 1791.



## CHAPTER X.

### THE PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA.

With the exception of the French settlers to be found in the neighborhood of Detroit, the United Empire Loyalists were the first white people to occupy the Province of Ontario, they coming in, as we have seen, from the routes diverging from the Hudson River and at the western entrance into the Niagara peninsula. They were of various races and nationalities, and into the warp and woof of our Ontario population there entered at this early stage much diversity of blood. The foundation of our nationality, so far as the Province of Ontario is concerned, included elements from the composite people of the British Isles,—the English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh,—also of the dominant races of Europe, such as the Dutch, German and French, for France gave of its Huguenots as the Palatine provinces of their people. The regiments raised locally which engaged on the British side during the Revolutionary War, were composed of much the same elements. These origins, to some extent, explain the fidelity and devotion with which the United Empire Loyalists adhered to their cherished principles throughout the Revolutionary War. Their fathers had been tried in the fiery furnace of persecution in the old Fatherlands beyond the sea, and the descendants inherited the character with the blood of sires unbending and resolute in matters of conscience.

#### THE EARLY SETTLERS.

The story of the extraordinary emigration from the Palatine to England, early in the eighteenth century, has been often told. Time has not robbed it of its interest. The Palatine was a fertile as well as a beautiful province, and its people were prosperous and attached to the soil. They had adopted the Lutheran form of religion, and when the possession of their country became an object of dispute between Louis XIV. of France and the German Duchies, the people suffered persecution on account of their religi-

ous views, as well as the devastating losses caused by war. General Montelas overran the country in revenge for the shelter it afforded to the French Protestants, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The villages and towns were burned, and the people were given three days to leave their homes. The suffering caused by this drastic measure was extreme, and many of the people perished of hunger, while those who survived were dispersed through Europe. Then came the victories of Marlborough, and the British Naturalization Act of 1709, which made it easy for refugees to settle in Britain, or in the British colonies. In 1708 a party of fifty-two Palatines, led by their minister, landed in England, with a desire to be sent to America. They were settled at Quassait Creek, where the City of Newburg now stands. On the following year large number of the Palatines found their way to London. They were quite penniless. The British Government was willing to receive 5,000 of them, and provide ships for their passage to America, but the immigration proceeded so rapidly that by the month of June 7,000 had arrived, and in October the number reached 15,000; and was only then stopped by the vigorous action of British agents sent to Holland, and up the Rhine, to turn the people back. The populace as a whole, seemed bent on abandoning their native province, going they did not well know whither, but at least to a resting place from the horrors of war, and where religious freedom could be found. The British ministers had a difficult problem now on their hands, not to be easily solved. The people, from the Queen and the nobility to the tradesmen, became intensely interested in the refugees. The Queen allowed them nine-pence a day. Tents were sent from the Tower to be erected on Blackheath for their accommodation. Empty warehouses in the city were placed at their disposal. Collections on their behalf were made in parish churches and a bounty of five pounds a head was offered by the Board of Trade, to parishes that would receive and settle them. By this means a number, who were skilled artisans, became absorbed in the English population. Three thousand eight hundred settled in Munster, becoming prosperous colonists; and about one hundred families went to the Carolinas, while many enlisted in the British army, and about 1,000 died in the encampment at Blackheath. There does not seem to have been an effort on the part of the Government up to this time to send them

to the American colonies, but it happened that four Mohawk chiefs were then visiting London accompanied by Peter Schuyler and Colonel Nicholson, and among other sights in their tour, saw the camp of foreigners at Blackheath, then attracting national attention. The chiefs commiserating the condition of the immigrants, bethought them of their own vacant lands at home, and invited them thither, offering the Queen a grant of land on the Schoharie River for their use. The offer was supported by Robert Hunter, then on the eve of departing as Governor of New York, and it was accepted, with the result that 3,200 set sail in March, 1710, in ten ships, nine of which reached New York in June and July, of that year, one being wrecked on Long Island. In a work entitled "The German Exodus to England," by F. R. Diffenderfer, Lancaster, Pa., the following acknowledgment of Britain's generous treatment to these people is made: "From first to last and during every stage of its progress this remarkable episode proved a very costly affair to the British Government. The records are still accessible and from them we learn the total cost was £135,775. Here we have more than half a million dollars paid out at a period when Britain was not so rich as she is now and at a time too when she was engaged in costly foreign wars and when money was worth much more than it is to-day. All Germans, and more especially we Americans of German origin, owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Great Britain,—the Government as well as her individual citizens, for what they did for those forlorn and distressed Palatines." The new-comers were left at Nuttan Island for five months waiting for lands to be surveyed for them. Governor Hunter, of New York, considered that they could be usefully employed on pine bearing lands in producing tar from the pine, for the use of the royal navy, while at the same time clearing the land for their homes, and it having been ascertained that there was very little pine on the land granted by the Mohawk chiefs for them on the Schoharie, 6,000 acres of land were bought on the east side of the Hudson River, which with 600 acres of Crown lands on the west side, formed their first settlement. Thus, was settled a people from which, after the Revolutionary War, came the German U. E. Loyalists to the Counties of Dundas and Stormont in Ontario. But they did not remain on the selected land, finding the production of tar not profitable, and the land itself too poor for

cultivation. Consequently discontent arose and the settlement broke up. Some families purchased land in the neighborhood, others founded the Town of Rhinebeck, lower down the river, while others longed for the lands on the Schoharie granted to them by Queen Anne. They sent agents secretly to make arrangements with the Indians there for a settlement. The report being favorable a number settled in Schoharie during the winter of 1712-13, and as they were unprovided for, were dependent on the kindness of the Indians and of the Dutch, at Albany. A large settlement from Germany had taken place in Pennsylvania and the Governor of that colony hearing of the dissatisfaction of the Palatines invited them in 1722 to settle alongside their countrymen in his province. Fully two-thirds accepted this offer, it being their third migration from the days when they sailed down the Rhine, leaving the old Fatherland behind, seeking rest and freedom. Those who remained on the Mohawk and Schoharie Rivers soon prospered greatly, although they suffered severely in the final struggle for supremacy in America between Great Britain and France. Many of them remained loyal in the Revolutionary War, not forgetting the debt they or their fathers owed to Great Britain. The hardships which they endured in that trying time have elsewhere been touched upon. A very large number of the men who composed Sir John Johnson's King's Royal Regiment of New York, in its two battalions, were Palatines, some were also in Butler's Rangers, Jessup's Rangers, and Roger's Rangers. It is stated that the Palatines of these corps who settled in Dundas and adjoining counties were about 600, irrespective, of course, of men not fit for service and the members of their families or those who came in after the peace, but only the able bodied soldiers who survived the campaign, in which the number killed and who died in prison was considerable. From the sword to the plough and axe was now their role, and their experience in clearing away the forest on the Schoharie was serviceable to them, when the implements of war were exchanged for those of husbandry, and soon their new homes arose on the banks of a grander stream on British soil where at last they found the true home of freedom.

Different in essentials, yet equally interesting with the story of the Palatine settlers of Eastern Ontario is that of the Glengarry Highlanders.



They did not fight for religious freedom in the land of their nativity, but for their "rightful king," the Stuart line, and sought, in consequence, refuge beyond the Atlantic. Later on it was the clearing of the glens by the landlords—unmindful of the devotion of the clans—which caused many a cruel eviction and many a shipload of emigrants to leave for America. In the contests of 1689, under Dundee, of 1715, under the Earl of Mar, and of 1745, when led by Prince Charles Edward, in person, the clans suffered severely for the Stuart cause through the adverse fortunes of war, and each disaster sent mountaineers to the colonies, many settling in Virginia and the Carolinas, who afterwards found their way to Upper Canada. After the battle of Culloden the social condition of the Highlands changed, and the people left the country in thousands, many settling in America and many joining the Highland regiments formed in 1757, and subsequently such as Montgomeries' Highlanders and Fraser's Highlanders, for service in the American war. After the peace of 1763 these regiments were disbanded and many of the men settled in Quebec and Nova Scotia, became members of the 84th Regiment of Royal Highland Emigrants for service in the Revolutionary War and settled, at its close, in Glengarry and other parts of Upper Canada. Others tried their best to remain in peace in the land of their fathers, but fell before the large sheep-farmer and flock-masters of the Scottish border counties, whose wealth enabled them to offer high rents for large sheep runs created out of the small holdings of the old tenantry. From the Glengarry country large numbers subjected to this treatment settled in northern New York under the auspices of Sir William Johnson, the magnate of the Mohawk valley. Sir William, though of Irish birth, himself, it is said claimed to have been of near Highland descent belonging to the branch of the Clan Macdonald known as the MacIans or Johnsons, and was, in consequence, interested in the Glengarry Highlanders, who were mostly Macdonells. Among the leading men—men of ancient families and honorable lineage, who settled in the Mohawk valley (Tryon County), were: Macdonell, of Aberchaldier, of Leek, of Cullachie, and of Scotos (Scot-house), nearly related to the chief of their clan, but treated as if they had been strangers. In the Revo-

lutionary War they fought as their fathers before them had fought their battles, bravely and well; and adhering to the loyal principles of Crown and country in which they had been reared, scorned to change their allegiance. These formed the substantial nucleus of the settlers in the County of Glengarry.

The Highland or Keltic element enters so largely into the population of the province that a little attention may well be devoted to it here. The Highlands of Scotland are of small area covering only ten counties, some of them small, some of considerable size. The people there lived of old under the clan system, which, while not recognized by the Crown, was the effective system which governed social and public life. The clan and chief shared the lands not as under the feudal tenure, but mutually. The clan as a whole was superior to the chief, as the state is to the Crown, not only so far as related to leadership in times of danger, but in all things, property, succession to the chiefship, deposition, etc. The relationship was one of blood, actual or implied; the chief was bound to protect and to provide for the clansman, and his office was well understood. The welfare of the clan was supreme, but that being provided the chief's power was extensive. Under this system a splendid race developed—independent, proud, intrepid. The fall of the Stuart cause at Culloden hastened the end of a system gradually giving way before the levelling influence of feudalism and commerce. But the Highlands were far removed from the world of commerce and the people did not understand the changes which substituted the landlord for the chief, the persecutor for the protector, but they were now to learn. They believed they had an ancient and inalienable right to the soil which their own and their fathers' good claymores had won and kept for the clan. As Eglinton's translation of the Gaelic song, sung by the Glengarrymen in Canada has it:—

When the bold kindred, in the time long vanished,  
Conquered the soil and fortified the keep,  
No seer foretold the children should be banished,  
That a degenerate lord might boast his sheep.

Come foreign raid? let discord burst in slaughter,  
Oh, then, for clansmen true, and keen claymore,  
The hearts that would have given their blood like water,  
Beat heavily beyond the Atlantic's roar.  
Fair these broad meads—those hoary woods are grand;  
But we are exiles from our fathers' land.

They were cruelly and ruthlessly evicted from their homes, the homes of comfort, if not of luxury; the homes of happiness, refinement, and hospitality; of moral and religious principles, and a patriotic sentiment born of strong attachment to the soil. United States writers have repeatedly caricatured the Highlanders of the Mohawk valley as wild, Highland caterans, whose conduct and ferocious appearance were as distasteful to the peaceful German settlers as was their religion. The Glengarry Highlanders were Roman Catholics, devout and genuine, as much attached to their priest as ever a Lutheran to his pastor, but the imputed savagery was born of the imagination of vivid Americanism. It was as far from the truth as east is from the west. In fact these Highlanders were in most comfortable circumstances in their native land, and no inducement the American colonies could offer would have led them to leave their homes. They were not freeholders, and when deprived of their lands to make room for sheep, many of them were ruined and found it necessary to begin colonial life under all the disadvantages of pioneer days.

The history of the Highlands from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century is full of interest to the student of the Canadian people. That was the great period of transition in the Highlands, of the great emigration of which Canada received so large a share under circumstances embracing the poetry and the pathos of romance. The people were moral, religious and martial to an uncommon degree. Hugh Miller, one of the most reliable witnesses, as he is one of the ablest writers of English, thus describes the tenantry of Sutherlandshire from which so many people have settled in Upper Canada. Before the evictions: "There were very few among the holders of its small inland farms who had not saved a little money. Their circumstances were such, that their

moral nature found full room to develop itself, and in a way the world has rarely witnessed. Never was there a happier or more contented people, or a people more strongly attached to the soil; and not one of them now lives in the altered circumstances on which they were so rudely precipitated by the landlord, who does not look back on this period of comfort and enjoyment with sad and hopeless regret." As to the change so ruthlessly brought about, Miller sums up the sad and shameful narrative thus: "A numerous party of men, with a factor at their head, entered the district, and commenced pulling down the houses over the heads of the inhabitants. In an extensive tract of country not a human dwelling was left standing, and then, the more effectually to prevent their temporary re-erection, the destroyers set fire to the wreck. In one day were the people deprived of home and shelter, and left exposed to the elements. Many deaths are said to have ensued from alarm, fatigue and cold. In this instance the victory of the lord of the soil over the children of the soil was signal and complete. In a little more than nine years a population of fifteen thousand individuals were removed from the interior of Sutherland to its sea-coasts or had emigrated to America. The inland districts were converted into deserts through which the traveller may take a long day's journey, amid ruins that still bear the scathe of fire, and grassy patches betraying when the evening sun casts aslant its long, deep shadows, the half-effaced lines of the plough."

A lady who well remembered the happy days in Sutherlandshire gave the following description of the people, some years ago: "The chiefs here, for many generations, had been 'men fearing God and hating covetousness.' Iniquity was ashamed and obliged to hide its face. A dishonorable action excluded the guilty person from the invaluable privilege enjoyed by his equals in the kind notice and approbation of his superiors. Grievances of every kind were minutely inquired into and redressed, and the humble orders of the community had a degree of external polish and manly mildness of deportment in domestic life that few of the present generation have attained to, much as has been said of modern improvements."

What has, thus, been quoted furnishes a vivid picture of the kind of life spent by the Highland mountaineers from whom Canada has drawn largely for her population, but one testimony yet, must not be withheld. No



representative man in the Northern Highlands could speak in the name of his countrymen with more authority than the Rev. John Kennedy, D.D., of Dingwall. In one of his books \* he says: "At the climax of their spiritual prosperity, the cruel work of eviction began to lay waste the hillsides and the plains of the north. Swayed by the example of the godly among them, and away from the influences by which less sequestered localities were corrupted, the body of the people in the Highlands became distinguished as the most peaceable and virtuous peasantry in Britain. It was just then that they began to be driven off by ungodly oppressors, to clear their native soil for strangers, red deer and sheep. With few exceptions the owners of the soil began to act as if they were also the owners of the people. . . . Families by the hundreds were driven across the sea . . . by wholesale evictions wastes were formed for the red deer, that the gentry of the nineteenth century might indulge in the sports of the savages of three centuries before. . . . Meanwhile their rulers, while deaf to the Highlanders' cry of oppression, were wasting their sinews and their blood on battle-fields, that, but for their prowess and their bravery, would have been the scene of their country's defeat."

Not far removed from the habitat of the Macdonells who followed Aberchaldar and his kinsmen to the Mohawk valley is the District of Morvern, famous for its "Fiunary," the home of the Macleod family of celebrated clergymen. The tenantry of Morvern and those of Glengarry were in similar social circumstances—those of Glengarry perhaps more comfortable. The famous Norman Macleod thus describes an average household of Morvern: "Below these tacksmen (large tenants) were those who paid a much lower rent, and who lived very comfortably, and shared hospitably with others the gifts which God gave them. I remember a group of men, tenants in a large glen, which now has not a smoke in it, as the Highlanders say, throughout its length of twenty miles. They had the custom of entertaining in rotation every traveller who cast himself on their hospitality. The host on the occasion was bound to summon his neighbors to the homely feast." Macleod was present on one such occasion. "We had a most sumptuous feast—oat cakes, crisp and fresh from the fire; cream, rich and

\* The Days of the Fathers of Ross-shire.

thick, and more beautiful than nectar—whatever that may be; blue Highland cheese, finer than Stilton; fat hens, slowly cooked on the fire in a pot of potatoes, without their skins, and with fresh butter—‘stored hens,’ as the superb dish was called; and though last, not least, tender kid, roasted as nicely as Charles Lamb’s cracklin’ pig. All was served up with the utmost propriety, on a table covered with a fine white cloth, and with all the requisites of a comfortable dinner, including the champagne of elastic, buoyant and exciting mountain air. The manners and conversations of these men would have pleased the best bred gentlemen. Everything was so simple, modest, unassuming, unaffected, yet so frank and cordial. The conversation was such as might be heard at the table of any intelligent man. Alas! there is not a vestige remaining of their homes. . . . The land is divided between sheep, shepherds, and the shadows of the clouds.” Dr. John Macleod, Dr. Norman Macleod’s uncle, was minister of this parish. “At one stroke of the pen,” says Dr. John Macleod, “two hundred of the people were ordered off. There was not one of these whom I did not know, and their fathers before them; and finer men and women never left the Highlands.” Such were the fathers and grandfathers of many of the people of the Ontario of to-day. They were a race of which none need be ashamed. Canada owes much to high character. The story of Glengarry, of Sutherlandshire, of Ross, and of Morvern, could be repeated, both as to the character of the people and the landlord’s cruel rapacity throughout the length and breadth of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and the list would be a long one. The origins of very many of our population would be found in the Hebrides—Lewis, Harris, the Uists, Benbecula and Barra; in the misty Island of Skye, in Iona, Tiree and Coll; in “Green, Grassy, Islay,” of fertile dales, and verdure-clad hills; in “Mull of the Bens,” in far Kintyre, and the mainland of Argyll; in the Cameron country, in lovely Glenelg, Kintail of rich pasturage, Lochcarron, Strathconon, Strathglass, Stratherrick, Strathspey and the Black Isle; in the Glens of Athole, Rannoch and Breadalbane; in Glenorchy, and in other districts, for no country escaped the spoiler’s hand, and the number who settled in Canada was almost beyond belief, considering the small area, and that a rural one, from which they were drawn. But the Highlands, under the old system was

capable of bearing a comparatively large population. Notwithstanding the heavy emigration, the enormous number of 80,000, of as fine men as ever drew sword, enlisted in the British regiments from 1760 to 1810. They it was who renovated, and gave new life to the British army, "restored the prestige of the country, retrieved its laurels and brought victory to crown British banners in every quarter of the globe." In fact the military spirit of the Highlanders and their readiness to fight their country's battles in the hour of danger, show the patriotism of the race. A partial record of one county will illustrate this, the County of Sutherland. In 1745, 2,550 men obeyed the call of the chiefs; in 1760, in nine days 1,100 responded; in 1777, an equal number; in 1794, 1,800 men followed their chiefs to the field; in 1800, the 93rd Highlanders was raised 1,000 strong, and 800 of them were from the county. The other counties had their regiments, their Fencibles and their volunteers. Ross-shire its Mackenzies, Munroes, Macraes and Macleennans; Inverness-shire, its Frasers, its Macdonells, its Mackintoshes, Grants, MacLeods and its Camerons; Perthshire, its Campbells, its Stewarts, its Murrays, its Robertsons, and its Drummonds; Aberdeenshire, its glorious Gordons, its Forbeses, and its Farquharsons; Argyllshire, its Campbells, of many ilks, its Macleans, its MacIntyres, its MacLachlans, MacArthurs and its MacAlpines. The clans gave themselves to the army of Britain with the lavish generosity of patriotism and love; and to the colonies of Britain under the compulsion of the dire necessity of securing a home refused by the country whose battles they fought. In Britain's treatment of the clans humanity and statesmanship were divorced. There is no parallel to it in history, for it there is no palliation, no mitigating element enters into the case. The clansmen who fought British battles were deprived of their homes, and many of them who had not recovered from their wounds, nor from the disease contracted on the battlefield, or in the trenches, were driven from the only shelter they had or could obtain, and were left destitute on the roadside to view the flames consuming what had been their all. In a few years a loyal peasantry was destroyed, and those who had lived in comfort banished across the ocean to make room for the red deer and sheep.

From the Lowlands of Scotland emigration was voluntary and gradual.

From Dumfries many families settled near Galt on the Dickson lands, while the busy manufacturing towns of Hawick, Galashiels, particularly, and others in the eastern counties sent skilled factorymen to nurse the infant industries of the province. The County of Wellington drew upon Aberdeenshire for farmers not surpassed in their day nor yet, by those of any county in our banner province. The Counties of Bruce and Grey were mostly settled by Scotch and large numbers located in the Counties of Renfrew, Victoria, Ontario, Simcoe, Peel, Oxford, Middlesex, Huron, Elgin, Lambton and Kent.

From Yorkshire and Devonshire came large numbers of stalwart Englishmen settling mainly in the central counties and towns. Irish from the north and south of the Emerald Isle contributed liberally to the population. They seem to have preferred the towns—urban to rural life and form a strong element in the urban population. Germans and Dutch spread, very early, over various parts of the province—Waterloo, York, Niagara, Oxford, Norfolk, Elgin, Huron, Bruce, Wentworth, Grey and in north and south Renfrew. French Huguenots figured among the U. E. L. settlers, the names of many of whom are to be found in the lists of the Midland District, while in the old townships from Cornwall westward very many settled.

#### DIVISION OF THE PROVINCE.

Quickly adapting themselves to their new mode of life when first transplanted from Europe the early settlers grew up sturdy lovers of free institutions, and had made substantial advances to local self-government. Their townships had been organized, and in the town meeting the citizens made their voice heard in their own immediate affairs, and the conditions with which they were familiar in some of the colonies they brought with them to Ontario, and it was natural that they should desire to have something similar reproduced there as a part of the constitution of their new country. This differed from the practice prevailing in Lower Canada where seigneurial sway was still the rule.

The English speaking residents of Lower Canada, who had been increasing in number and held a position of prominence on account of their large commercial interests, did not take kindly to the French system, and, as their numbers increased by the influx of the United Empire Loyal-



ists who settled among them, they expressed a strong desire for constitutional changes. This coincided with the desire of the settlers in Upper Canada, who had sent a petition in 1785 to the British Government in favor of the establishment of a separate district of government to the west of the French Canadian seignories, in which they would enjoy "the blessings of British laws and British Government and with exemption of French tenure of property." This may be regarded as the starting point of the separation between Upper and Lower Canada.

In 1788 Lord Dorchester formed five new judicial districts in the Province of Quebec in order that, within these districts, the Loyalists might have practical control of their own affairs. The districts were Gaspé, where a few Loyalists had settled, and in Upper Canada; Lunenburg from the River Ottawa to Gananoque; Mecklenburg from Gananoque to the River Trent; Nassau, from the River Trent to Long Point, and Hesse, from Long Point to Lake St. Clair—at the same time appointing a judge and sheriff to administer justice in each district, while the settlement of land was conducted under Land Boards working under regulations issued by the Governor-General-in-Council at Quebec.

In the meantime, agitation was proceeding in Lower Canada for the establishment of a House of Assembly, popularly elected, but not having in view the separation of the Upper from the Lower part of the province. In such an Assembly the English-speaking people, as a whole, would, it was hoped, command a strong representation from the outset, and with the increase of the population of Upper Canada, in the course of a short time it might reasonably be expected that the control would pass from the French Canadian element. This the French Canadians perceived, and did not favor the proposal. The agitation gathered force and Mr. Lymburner, a Quebec merchant of prominence, possessing ability, figures as a leader of the English speaking residents of Lower Canada. It does not appear that the inhabitants of Upper Canada approved of the proposal to continue Upper and Lower Canada as one province, but thought they should be separated. Mr. Lymburner proceeded to London and placed his view before some of the merchants there with whom he had had trade relations, and received considerable encouragement from them.

Before Lymburner's departure it was known in Quebec that the Government had informed Dorchester that there was no immediate prospect of changing the Quebec Act. But not long afterwards it was deemed opportune to effect a change and the following message was sent by the King to both Houses of Parliament on the 25th February, 1791, "relative to a proposed division of Canada and to the establishment of a Government in the divided province.

"George R.

His Majesty thinks it proper to acquaint Parliament that it appears to His Majesty, that it would be for the benefit of His Majesty's subjects in his Province of Quebec, that the same should be divided into two separate provinces, to be called the Province of Upper Canada, and the Province of Lower Canada; and that it is accordingly His Majesty's intention so to divide the same, whenever His Majesty shall be enabled, by Act of Parliament, to establish the necessary regulations for the government of the said provinces. His Majesty therefore recommends this object to the consideration of Parliament.

"His Majesty also recommends it to Parliament to consider of such provisions as may be necessary to enable His Majesty to make a permanent appropriation of lands in the said provinces for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy within the same, in proportion to such lands as have already been granted within the same by His Majesty: and it is His Majesty's desire that such provision may be made, with respect to all future grants of land within the said provinces respectively, as may best conduce to the same object, in proportion to such increase as may happen in the population and cultivation of the said provinces; and for this purpose His Majesty consents that such provisions or regulations may be made by Parliament, respecting all future grants of lands to be made by His Majesty within the said provinces, as Parliament shall think fit."

The power to divide territory and to create a province is here shown to reside in the Sovereign, the Act of Parliament merely providing the machinery of Government.

Lord Dorchester was invited to repair to London in order to confer with the Ministry on the provisions of the Act. He did not, however,

arrive there until after the Act had passed into law. The bill was introduced in the 7th of March, 1791, by Mr. Pitt, from whose speech it may be gathered that the differences between the English and French speaking inhabitants of Lower Canada would be composed by the establishment of a Legislature, not evidently, apprehending that the main object of the English speaking body which so strongly advocated an Assembly, was to secure a dominating influence in the affairs of the province, which object they could scarcely hope to obtain by the division of Canada into two provinces.

When Lord Dorchester left for London on a summons from the Ministry there Sir Alured Clarke, the Lieutenant-Governor, assumed the administration. He had a long and distinguished military career. His stay in Canada was a short one. He succeeded Col. Hope in 1790 as Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, and acted as administrator during the absence of Lord Dorchester in Great Britain. He was a careful and capable business man. As administrator he had the honor of issuing the proclamation of 18th November, 1791, bringing into operation the Act dividing the Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada. He was born about 1745. He served in Germany under Lord Granby in 1759 and with Howe at New York. He was Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica 1782-90. After he left Canada he reduced the Cape of Good Hope and won a knighthood. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Madras in 1795, relinquishing that important post in 1797 for the command and governorship of Bengal. He was then Governor-General of India for a short time and in 1798 became commander-in-chief of the forces in India. In 1802 he was made a general in the army, having returned from India, and his long career was crowned in 1830 by his being raised to the rank of a field marshal. He lived until 1832.

Mr. Adam Lymburner was the champion of the English element. When the bill was under consideration in the House of Commons he appeared at the bar of the House and stated his views with great clearness and ability.

Kingsford notes that Mr. Lymburner was a native of Kilmarnock, Ayrshire. He was for many years a member of the Executive Council. Leav-

ing Canada, he took up his residence in London, where he died in 1836, at the age of 90.

The support of the London merchants which had been obtained by Lymburner, took the form of a petition to the House of Commons against the bill, and it was presented on the 4th of April. Their cause was espoused by Fox, who was prominently opposed to the bill. He argued against separating the British and the French settlers and in favor of an elective council with a higher electoral qualification than that necessary for the Lower House. "By this means," he said, "Canadians will have a real aristocracy chosen by persons of property from among persons of the highest intelligence who would thus have that weight and independence necessary to guard against the innovation of the people on the one part, or of the Crown on the other."

On the other hand, Edmund Burke warmly supported the bill. This difference between Burke and Fox, who had so long been firm friends, led to an alienation between them, and it is said the bridge was never afterwards closed. Burke spoke again on the re-consideration of the bill on the 6th of May, and in that speech alluded to the Loyalists who had given such proofs of their attachment to the British Crown and institutions that there was no danger of their returning to their former homes, as it had been predicted they should do if the bill were to pass.

Messrs. Hussey and Powis opposed the division of the province, and Mr. William Grant contributed to the debate, but it is more interesting to note that one person was present as a member of the House and took part in the debate on the bill who became a personage in Canadian history, namely, J. Graves Simcoe. He was member for Saint Maw, Cornwall, and not only on account of his former connection with North America in the war, but as prospective Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada, the provisions of the bill were of more than ordinary interest to him.

In support of the provision that the members in the Upper Canada Legislature should be sixteen, Mr. Pitt stated that there were not ten thousand inhabitants in the province at that time, including men, women and children. At the same time Mr. Pitt introduced the clause setting apart lands to the extent of one-seventh part for the support of the Protestant



clergy. Several of the clauses were sharply debated, Pitt, Fox and Burke taking considerable part in the discussion.

Notwithstanding the lively opposition, the bill became law, and as it constitutes what may be called Ontario's charter, copious extracts are given.

II. And whereas His Majesty has been pleased to signify, by his message to both Houses of Parliament, his Royal intention to divide his Province of Quebec into two separate provinces, to be called the Province of Upper Canada and the Province of Lower Canada: Be it enacted that there shall be within each of the said provinces respectively a Legislative Council and an Assembly, to be severally composed and constituted in the manner hereinafter described; and that in each of the said provinces respectively, His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, shall have power during the continuance of this Act, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of such provinces respectively, to make laws for the peace, welfare and good Government thereof, such laws not being repugnant to this Act; . . . for the purpose of constituting such Legislative Council, . . . the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government, shall summon to the said Legislative Council a sufficient number of discreet and proper persons, being not fewer than seven, to the Legislative Council for the Province of Upper Canada, and no fewer than fifteen to the Legislative Council for the Province of Lower Canada; it shall also be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs or successors, from time to time, by an instrument under his or their sign manual, to authorize and direct the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government in each of the said provinces respectively, to summon to the Legislative Council of such province in like manner such other persons as His Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall think fit; and that every person who shall be so summoned to the Legislative Council of either of the said provinces respectively, shall thereby become a member of such Legislative Council, to which he shall have been so summoned.

IV. . . . No person shall be summoned to the Legislative Council, in either of the said provinces, who shall not be of the full age of twenty-one years, and a natural born subject of His Majesty, or a subject of His Majesty naturalized by Act of the British Parliament, or a subject of His

Majesty having become such by the conquest and cession of the Province of Canada.

V. . . . Every member of each of the said Legislative Councils shall hold his seat therein for the term of his life, but subject nevertheless to the provision hereinafter contained for vacating the same, in the cases hereinafter specified.

VI. . . . Whenever His Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall think proper to confer upon any subject of the Crown of Great Britain, by letters patent under the Great Seal of either of the said provinces, any hereditary title of honor, rank or dignity of such province, descendible according to any course of descent limited in such letters patent, it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs or successors, to annex thereto by the said letters patent, if His Majesty, his heirs or successors shall so think fit, an hereditary right of being summoned to the Legislative Council of such province, descendible according to the course of descent so limited with respect to such title, rank, or dignity; every person on whom such right shall be so conferred, or to whom such right shall severally so descend, shall thereupon be entitled to demand from the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government of such province, his writ of summons to such Legislative Council at any time after he shall have attained the age of twenty-one years, subject nevertheless to the provision hereinafter contained.

VII. . . . When and so often as any person to whom such hereditary right shall have descended shall, without the permission of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, signified to the Legislative Council by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government there, have been absent from the said province for the space of four years continually, at any time between the date of his succeeding to such right and the time of his applying for such writ of summons, if he shall have been of the age of twenty-one years or upwards at the time of his so succeeding, or at any time between the date of his attaining the said age and the time of his so applying, if he shall not have been of the said age at the time of his succeeding; and also when and so often as any such person shall, at any time before his applying for such writ of summons have taken any oath of

allegiance or obedience to any foreign prince or power, in any such case such person shall not be entitled to receive any writ of summons to the Legislative Council by virtue of such hereditary right, unless His Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall at any time think fit, by instrument under his or their sign manual, to direct that such person should be summoned to the said council; and the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government in the said provinces respectively, is hereby authorized and required, previous to granting such writ of summons to any person applying for the same, to interrogate such person upon oath, touching the several particulars before such Executive Council as shall have been appointed by His Majesty, his heirs or successors, within such province for the affairs thereof.

VIII. . . . If any member of the Legislative Council of either of the said provinces respectively, shall leave such province, and shall reside out of the same for the space of four years continually, without the permission of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, signified to such Legislative Council by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering His Majesty's Government there, or for the space of two years continually without the like permission, or the permission of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government of such province, signified to such Legislative Council in the manner aforesaid; or if any such member shall take any oath of allegiance or obedience to any foreign prince or power, his seat in such council shall thereby become vacant.

IX. . . . In every case where a writ of summons to such Legislative Council shall have been lawfully withheld from any person to whom such hereditary right, as aforesaid, shall have descended, by reason of such absence from the province as aforesaid, or of his having taken an oath of allegiance or obedience to any foreign prince or power, and also in every case where the seat in such Council of any member thereof, having such hereditary right as aforesaid, shall have been vacated by reason of any of the causes hereinbefore specified, such hereditary right shall remain suspended during the life of such person unless His Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall afterwards think fit to direct that he be summoned to such Council; on the death of such person such right, subject to the provisions

herein contained, shall descend to the person who shall next be entitled thereto, according to the course of descent limited in the letters patent by which the same shall have been originally conferred.

X. . . . If any member of either of the said Legislative Councils shall be attainted for treason in any court of law within any of His Majesty's dominions, his seat in such Council shall thereby become vacant, and any such hereditary right as aforesaid then vested in such person, or to be derived to any other person through him, shall be utterly forfeited and extinguished.

XI. . . . Whenever any question shall arise respecting the right of any person to be summoned to either of the said Legislative Councils respectively, or respecting the vacancy of the seat in such Legislative Council of any person having been summoned thereto, every such question shall by the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of the province, or by the person administering the Government there, be referred to such Legislative Council to be by the said Council heard and determined; and that it shall and may be lawful, either for the person desiring such writ of summons, or respecting whose seat such question shall have arisen, or for His Majesty's Attorney-General of such province in His Majesty's name, to appeal from the determination of the said Council in such case to His Majesty in his Parliament of Great Britain; and that the judgment thereon of His Majesty in his said Parliament shall be final and conclusive to all intents and purposes whatever.

XII. . . . The Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of the said provinces respectively, or the person administering His Majesty's Government therein respectively, shall have power and authority from time to time to constitute, appoint and remove the Speakers of the Legislative Councils of such provinces respectively.

XIII. . . . For the purpose of constituting such Assembly as aforesaid in each of the said provinces respectively, it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs or successors to authorize and direct the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government in each of the said provinces respectively, within the time hereinafter mentioned,



and thereafter from time to time as occasion shall require to summon and call together an Assembly in and for such province.

XIV. . . . For the purpose of electing the member of such Assemblies respectively it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs or successors, to authorize the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of each of the said provinces respectively, or the person administering the Government therein, within the time hereinafter mentioned, to issue a proclamation dividing such province into districts, or counties, or circles, and towns or townships, and appointing the limits thereof, and declaring and appointing the number of representatives to be chosen by each of such districts, or counties, or circles, and towns or townships respectively; and that it shall also be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs or successors, to authorize such Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government, from time to time to nominate and appoint proper persons to execute the office of returning-officer in each of the said districts, or counties, or circles, and towns or townships, and such declaration and appointment of the number of representatives to be chosen by each of the said districts, or counties, or circles, and towns or townships, respectively, and also such nomination and appointment of returning-officers in the same, shall be valid and effectual to all the purposes of this Act, unless it shall at any time be otherwise provided by an Act of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the province, assented to by His Majesty, his heirs or successors.

XV. Provided, nevertheless, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the provision hereinbefore contained for empowering the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government of the said provinces respectively, under such authority as aforesaid from His Majesty, his heirs or successors, from time to time to nominate and appoint proper persons to execute the office of returning-officer in the said districts, counties, circles and towns or townships, shall remain and continue in force in each of the said provinces respectively for the term of two years from and after the commencement of this Act within such province, and no longer; but subject nevertheless to be sooner repealed or

varied by any Act of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the province, assented to by His Majesty, his heirs or successors.

XVI. . . . No person shall be obliged to execute the said office of returning-officer for any longer time than one year, or oftener than once, unless it shall at any time be otherwise provided by any Act of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the province, assented to by His Majesty, his heirs or successors.

XVII. . . . The whole number of members to be chosen in the Province of Upper Canada shall not be less than sixteen, and the whole number of members to be chosen in Lower Canada shall not be less than fifty.

XVIII. . . . Writs for the election of members to serve in the said Assemblies respectively shall be issued by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering His Majesty's Government within the said provinces respectively, within fourteen days after the sealing of such instrument as aforesaid for summoning and calling together such Assembly, such writs shall be directed to the respective returning-officers of the said districts, or counties, or circles, and towns or townships, such writs shall be made returnable within fifty days at farthest from the day on which they shall bear date, unless it shall at any time be otherwise provided by an Act of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the province, assented to by His Majesty, his heirs or successors; writs shall in like manner and form be issued for the election of members, in the case of any vacancy which shall happen by the death of the person chosen, or by his being summoned to the Legislative Council of either province, such writs shall be made returnable within fifty days at farthest from the day on which they shall bear date, unless it shall at any time be otherwise provided by any Act of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the province, assented to by His Majesty, his heirs or successors; in the case of any such vacancy which shall happen by the death of the person chosen, or by reason of his being so summoned as aforesaid, the writ for the election of a new member shall be issued within six days after the same shall be made known to the proper officer for issuing such writs of election.

XIX. . . . All and every the returning-officers so appointed as

aforesaid, to whom any such writs as aforesaid shall be directed, shall, and they are hereby authorized and required duly to execute such writs.

XX. . . . The members for the several districts, or counties, or circles of the said provinces respectively shall be chosen by the majority of votes of such persons as shall severally be possessed, for their own use and benefit, of lands or tenements within such district, or county, or circle, as the case shall be, such lands being by them held in freehold, or in fief, or in rotture, or by certificate derived under the authority of the Governor and Council of the Province of Quebec, and being of the yearly value of forty shillings sterling or upwards, over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same; the members for the several towns or townships within the said provinces respectively shall be chosen by the majority of votes of such persons as either shall be severally possessed for their own use and benefit of a dwelling house and lot of ground in such town or township, such dwelling house and lot of ground being by them held in like manner as aforesaid, and being of the yearly value of five pounds sterling or upwards, or as, having been resident within the said town or township for the space of twelve calendar months next before the date of the writ of summons for the election, shall *bonâ fide* have paid one year's rent for the dwelling house in which they shall have so resided, at the rate of ten pounds sterling per annum or upwards.

XXI. . . . No person shall be capable of being elected a member to serve in either of the said Assemblies, or of sitting and voting therein, who shall be a member of either of the said Legislative Councils to be established as aforesaid in the said two provinces, or who shall be a minister of the Church of England, or a minister, priest, ecclesiastic or teacher, either according to the rites of the Church of Rome, or under any other form or profession of religious faith or worship.

XXII. . . . No person shall be capable of voting at any election of a member to serve in such Assembly, in either of the said provinces, or of being elected at any such election who shall not be of the full age of twenty-one years, and a natural born subject of His Majesty, or a subject of His Majesty naturalized by Act of the British Parliament, or a subject of His

Majesty having become such by the conquest and cession of the Province of Canada.

XXIII. . . . No person shall be capable of voting at any election of a member to serve in such Assembly in either of the said provinces, or of being elected at any such election, who shall have been attainted for treason or felony in any court of law within any of His Majesty's dominions, or who shall be within any description of persons disqualified by an Act of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the province, assented to by His Majesty, his heirs or successors.

While the bill was under consideration, Simcoe submitted his views on the policy which he considered best for Upper Canada.

In June of 1791 he submitted to Dundas, the Secretary of the Colonies, a detailed statement of what he considered to be the requirements of the new provisions, and suggested the appointment of a Bishop as of importance, also the formation of a service corps to be employed within the province. This corps was, in the course of time, formed as the Queen's Rangers.



## CHAPTER XI.

### LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS.

The Quebec Act having become law Colonel John Graves Simcoe was in due course appointed Lieutenant-Governor for Upper Canada. As the first ruler of the province and the important part he played in laying its foundation, special interest attaches to his career and personality. He was born in 1752 at Cotterstock, England, and was the son of Captain John Simcoe, Commander of H.M.S. "Pembroke," who was killed at Quebec in 1759. John Graves was the elder of two sons, and his brother was drowned shortly after his father's death. Young Simcoe was educated at Exeter, at Eton and at Merton College, Oxford. In his nineteenth year he joined the army with an ensigncy in the 35th regiment of the line, and left for North America almost immediately. He served as Adjutant of the 35th and then purchased a captaincy in the 40th regiment. In 1777 he obtained the command of the Queen's Rangers, a mounted infantry partisan corps recruited in and near New York. Under him the corps became famous for gallant exploits. At the close of the war he returned to England, and not long afterwards married Miss Guillim, a distant relative. In 1790 he was elected Member of Parliament, for St. Maw's, Cornwall, but resigned on his appointment as first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada in 1791. He was accompanied to his new post by his wife and young family. They landed in Quebec in November, 1791, and wintered there. On the 8th of July he arrived in Kingston, and proceeded at once to organize his government. From Kingston he went to Newark, the provincial capital, and there remained until the seat of government was removed to Toronto. Under his governorship the first Parliament of Upper Canada was opened on the 17th September, 1792. In 1794 he was promoted to the rank of Major General in the army. In 1796 he was, at his own request, recalled, and was subsequently appointed Governor of San Domingo. In 1798 he became a Lieutenant-General, and in 1806 was appointed successor to Lord Lake as

Commander-in-Chief of India, but died at Torbay before going out to India to assume command. He left a lasting impression on Ontario and is held in high esteem as a far-seeing and enlightened statesman. His name has been perpetuated in important place-names in Ontario, and an heroic statue in bronze has been erected in his honor at Toronto.

Before leaving London he applied to have his local military rank raised to that of Major-General. He had been offered regular promotion in the army to the rank of Brigadier-General, but as Prince Edward, afterwards the Duke of Kent, was stationed in Canada at the time and had only the rank of Colonel, Simcoe declined the offer of promotion.

To the Prince, Simcoe carried with him a letter of introduction, and on his arrival he was warmly welcomed and took his position at once in the social circles of the ancient capital. He arrived at Quebec in the fall of 1791 and took up his quarters at the Falls of Montmorency in the house that had been occupied by Haldimand. He was the bearer of the instructions to the acting Governor-General regarding the establishment of the separate provinces, in accordance with the Constitutional Act. At the same time Sir Alured received a new commission as Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada. The important duty of proclaiming the newly formed provinces therefore fell to Sir Alured Clarke, and on the 18th of November, 1791, he issued his proclamation, the division taking effect on the 26th of December, 1791.

Chief Justice William Smith pointed out that so soon as General Clarke's proclamation was issued for the division of the provinces, Clarke himself as Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada would have no powers in the civil government of the other province, and that his duties in that respect would be confined to his own government and as the officer in chief command. There was no majority of the council present at Quebec to administer the oaths, and as Simcoe could not be sworn in, he could not legally act. He had no power as Lieutenant-Governor to appoint *ex-officio* any of the legislative councillors, and accordingly he brought the matter to the attention of the Home Government, recommending that Jacques Baby of Detroit should be so named, and that authority be given to supply the

other two required by the Act, which provided the minimum number as seven. Subsequently John Munro, of Matilda, was appointed, and in August, 1792, Richard Cartwright, Robert Hamilton and Richard Duncan were added.\*

It appears that Dorchester had recommended Sir John Johnson for the position of Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and the latter was disappointed at Simcoe's appointment. When at Quebec, Simcoe was able to remove Sir John's feeling of disappointment and established harmony and pleasant relations with him.

Simcoe remained through the winter and spring of 1792 at Quebec, and on the 7th of February, 1792, he issued an important proclamation regarding the sale of Crown lands in Upper Canada.

#### FIRST GOVERNMENT OF UPPER CANADA.

On the 8th of July, 1792, Simcoe reached Kingston and immediately took the oath of office, proceeding next day to form his Executive Council.

William Osgoode, James Baby and Peter Russell were sworn in as members on the 9th of July, 1792, and Alexander Grant on the 11th. Thereafter the council met continually until the 16th of July when the important proclamation was issued in which the province was divided into nineteen counties, and provision made for the selection of sixteen members for the Legislature from these counties. The minutes of these interesting proceedings are given in the Canadian Archives for 1891.

William Robertson does not seem to have taken his seat as a member of the council, and he was replaced on the 21st of June, 1793, by Aeneas Shaw, an officer of the Queen's Rangers and a personal friend of General Simcoe.

It may here be fitting to give a few personal notes regarding some of the men by whom Simcoe was surrounded in the work of legislation and administering the affairs of the province at its commencement.

Hon. Chief Justice Osgoode was born in 1754, and at the age of fifteen was admitted as a commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, graduating in 1777. He was a distinguished student, and a learned lawyer, noted for the extent

\* Kingsford.

and accuracy of his legal knowledge. He was appointed Chief Justice of Upper Canada on its organization and sailed for his new sphere in April of 1792. Simcoe placed much reliance on his judgment; deservedly so, for he was distinguished for integrity as well as for ability. His talents marked him for promotion to the more important Chief Justiceship of Lower Canada, but his memory has been preserved in Upper Canada in place names and in "Osgoode Hall," the home of the law courts of the province. In 1801 he returned to England on his official pension and retired to private life. He died in 1824.

Hon. Alexander Grant was the fourth son of Grant of Glenmorriston, Inverness-shire, Scotland. He was born in 1734. In early youth he entered the merchant service, and then in a man of war as a midshipman. He left the navy for the army on the raising, in 1757, of Montgomerie's Highlanders (the seventy-seventh) in which corps he obtained an ensigny and accompanied the regiment to Canada, taking part in the expedition against Fort du Quêsné, with Brigadier-General Forbes. He came under Amherst's notice in 1759 on Lake Champlain, and his naval experience was made use of by being given command of a sloop of sixteen guns. He was afterwards placed in charge of the vessels between Niagara and Mackinaw, with headquarters at Detroit, hence his title of commodore. In 1780 a large dock-yard was maintained at Detroit. Altogether he was in the service of the Crown fifty-seven years. He was a member of the first Land Board for the District of Hesse, and of Simcoe's Executive Council. On the death of Lieutenant-Governor Hunter he became Administrator of the Government in 1805 until the arrival of Francis Gore. He married Theresa Barthe a French Canadian lady of Detroit, and had a large family. His only son was Colonel Grant, of Brockville. Mr. Grant died in 1813, at Grasse Point, Lake St. Clair.

Peter Russell was descended from a collateral branch of the family of the Duke of Bedford resident in Ireland. His father was Capt. Richard Russell, of the 14th Regiment of Foot. He studied at the University of Cambridge, having in view the church as a profession, but abandoning that idea, entered the army under the patronage of General Henry Braddock and Lord Albemarle. He served two years as ensign, became a lieutenant,



and after twenty-six years of service, obtained a captaincy. He acted in the capacity of secretary to Sir Henry Clinton during the Revolutionary War, having previously relinquished his captaincy in the 64th Regiment. The reason given for leaving his regiment was to enable him to help his father, who was deeply burdened with debt, and to make some provision for his sister Elizabeth to whom he was devotedly attached, and who later on accompanied him to Upper Canada.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, through Sir Henry Clinton's influence, he received an appointment in Upper Canada under Simcoe as inspector-general of the province.

The following very interesting reference to the Hon. Jacques Baby is made in the *Canadian Magazine* for 1883: "James Baby was born in Detroit in 1762. His family was one of the most ancient in the colony; and it was noble. His father had removed from Lower Canada to the neighborhood of Detroit before the Conquest of Quebec, where, in addition to the cultivation of lands he was connected with the fur trade at that time, and for many years thereafter, the great staple of the country. James was educated at the Roman Catholic Seminary of Quebec, and returned to the paternal roof soon after the peace of 1783. The family had ever been distinguished (and indeed all the higher French families) for their adherence to the British Crown; and to this, more than to any other cause, are we to attribute the conduct of the Province of Quebec during the Revolutionary War." The loyalty of the Baby family necessitated the abandoning of their property at Detroit, and removing to the east side of the river, to Canadian territory. On the division of the province M. Baby became an executive and a legislative councillor, for Upper Canada. He and his family suffered severely in the war, and when the office of inspector-general became vacant he received the appointment to it as a compensation for his losses. The last seventeen years of his life were spent at York, where he died, highly respected, in 1833. His sons were Jacques, a lawyer of Toronto; Raymond, sheriff of Kent, and William, of Sandwich.

Hon. Richard Cartwright was born at Albany N.Y., on the 2nd February, 1759. His father was an emigrant from England and his mother was of a loyal Dutch family. He received a liberal education, and intended to

enter the church, but before his studies had been completed, the Revolutionary War broke out and he changed his views of a career by ranging himself on the British side. He accompanied his parents to Canada, and acted for a time as secretary to Colonel John Butler, of the Queen's Rangers. At the conclusion of the war he settled at Cataraqui and engaged in business, forming a connection with Robert Hamilton. When the latter went to Niagara Mr. Cartwright remained at Kingston and became its most influential citizen. Though his tastes were those of a student and scholar, he prospered in business and was able to devote considerable time to public affairs in which he proved a wise and able counsellor. His letters show a grasp of affairs, and one or two which have been published contain interesting information regarding the duties of the Land Boards of Upper Canada, he, himself being a member of that for Mecklenburg. He was appointed a member of the first Legislative Council, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, a County Lieutenant, and was a Colonel of Militia. He declined frequent offers of a seat at the Executive Council of the province. He died in 1815. He left two sons, John S. Cartwright and the Rev. Robert Cartwright, the father of the Hon. Sir Richard J. Cartwright, Minister of Trade and Commerce.

The name of Richard Duncan is first on the list of the names of the members of the Land Board of Lunenburg (named after Lunenburg in Germany). He was a leading settler in the district, who, after having given valuable service to the Loyalist cause in the field, took an active part in the arduous work of a pioneer. He was born in Berwick-on-Tweed, Scotland, and came to America in 1755 with his father, John Duncan, who was then in the 44th Regiment. He served as an ensign in the 55th Regiment, and in 1755 was residing at Schenectady. He obtained a captaincy in Sir John Johnson's corps in 1776 and joined Burgoyne in 1777 at Saratoga. He had acquired a large area of land in Charlotte County, Vermont; at Lake Champlain, in Cherry Valley, Little Falls, Schoharie, and at various points on the Mohawk River. At the close of the war he settled in Williamsburg, his headquarters being at Mariatown, named after his wife, Maria Fraser, sister of Captains Thomas and William Fraser. A great deal of property stood in his name in the new district. Croil says of him that he was gener-

ous and humane and occupied almost all the local public offices. He was a magistrate, and a member of the first Legislative Council of the province. What was said to have been imprudent business transactions necessitated a residence at Schenectady, where he died before the War of 1812.

William Robertson was one of the most active members of the Hesse Land Board. He settled at Detroit in 1782, engaging in general business as a merchant. He was appointed one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas in 1788. He appeared before the Council in Quebec in that year on behalf of the inhabitants of Detroit who memorialized the Governor-General on matters touching the administration of justice. He was appointed a member of Simcoe's first Executive Council, but had by that time settled in England and does not appear to have returned to Canada again.

The Hon. Robert Hamilton was descended from a distinguished Scottish family and first settled at Kingston, U.C., where he carried on an extensive business as a merchant. He and the Hon. Richard Cartwright entered into partnership and while the latter remained at Kingston, Mr. Hamilton moved to Queenston, on the Niagara River. His residence there became the centre of hospitality, famous when hospitality was the general rule. He became interested in Canadian shipping and his name is numbered among its successful pioneers on the St. Lawrence route. A leading citizen, and a capable man of affairs, he was included in Simcoe's first Legislative Council.

John Macdonell, the Speaker, was the eldest son of Alexander Macdonell IV., of Aberchalder, Scotland. Alexander Macdonell was an aide-de-camp to Prince Charles Stuart in 1745. Emigrating with his brother Angus in 1773, they settled in Tryon County, near Johnstown, in the Province of New York, and both served as captains in the King's Royal Regiment of N.Y. 1st Batt. John Macdonell was a subaltern in the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants in 1775, and then became a captain in Butler's Rangers, serving with them for nearly six years. He was Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment, the first regiment raised in Upper Canada (1796). The first battalion was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel J. De Longueuil. The first battalion garrisoned Lower Canada and the second battalion Upper Canada, until dis-

charged in 1802 at the peace of Amiens. John Macdonell was a member of the first Land Board of Lunenburg; was elected member for Glengarry in 1792 for the first Legislature of Upper Canada, of which he was elected Speaker. He was also appointed Lieutenant of the County of Glengarry. He married Helen, daughter of Henry Yates, Governor of New York, and had an only son, Alexander, who was a Major in the Lancaster Regiment of Glengarry, and served in 1837.

John White, the Attorney-General, was allowed to be a man of high legal attainments and personal character. In 1800 owing to an unfortunate misunderstanding between him and Mr. John Small, Clerk of the Executive Council, they fought a duel in which White was fatally wounded. Small was tried before Judge Allcock and a jury, of which Wm. Jarvis was the foreman. He was acquitted. His second was Sheriff Macdonell, that of White, Baron De Horn. A press notice of the sad affair says: "The loss is great; as a professional gentleman, the Attorney-General was eminent, as a friend, sincere; and in whatever relation he stood was highly esteemed; an honest and upright man, a friend to the poor; and dies universally lamented, and we here cannot refuse to mention, at the particular request of some who have experienced his goodness, that he has refused taking fees, and discharged suits at law by recommending to the parties and assisting them with friendly advice, to an amicable adjustment of their differences; and this is the man we have lost!"

Major Edward Baker Littlehales, Simcoe's secretary, and Major of Brigade, was descended from an old family of landowners seated for many centuries at Dawley, near Bridgenorth Co., Salop, England. He proved an efficient secretary and an invaluable official. He evidently returned to England with Simcoe. He was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel and for his civil and military services was created a baronet in 1802. In 1801 he was appointed Under-Secretary for Ireland, during the Lieutenantcy of the Marquis of Cornwallis, and remained in office for seventeen years. In 1805 he married Lady Elizabeth Mary Fitzgerald, daughter of the 2nd Duke of Leinster, and had eight children by her. He assumed by sign-manual, in 1817, the surname of Baker only. He died in March, 1825.

The Hon. D. W. Smith, the Surveyor-General, had taken an active part



in the settlement of the province and was one of its busiest officials. His father was Lieutenant-Colonel John Smith, of Salisbury, who died as commandant at Niagara in 1795. At an early age D. W. Smith was appointed to an ensigncy in his father's regiment, the Fifth Foot, and gradually advanced to the rank of captain. He was the second secretary of the Land Board of the District of Hesse. His civil appointments were numerous. He was member of the three first Parliaments and Speaker of the House of Assembly in two of them and a member of the Executive Council. He was called to the bar of Upper Canada with the rank of Deputy-Judge-Advocate. On his return to England he became agent for the Duke of Northumberland and proved himself an able man of business. He was created a baronet in 1821.

The name of Jarvis has been long and intimately connected with Upper Canada. The family had been of importance in England and offshoots settled in the American colonies. William Jarvis and his cousin Stephen (the Registrar), were officers in the incorporated colonial militia before the outbreak of the War of the Independence. Bishop Jarvis, of Connecticut, was a relative. They came to Canada as U.E. Loyalists. Mr. William Jarvis became Secretary of Upper Canada, and Stephen, Registrar. Mr. Samuel Peters Jarvis, after whom Jarvis Street, Toronto, was named, was a son of Mr. William Jarvis, the Provincial Secretary.

Mr. Angus Macdonell, the first Clerk of the Assembly, was of the Cullachie Macdonells, who settled in the Mohawk valley before the revolutionary war and came with the U.E. Loyalists to Upper Canada. He was the oldest son of Captain Allan Macdonell, of Cullachie, and as such V. of that ilk. His brother, the Hon. Alexander Macdonell, was an officer in Butler's Rangers, member for Glengarry County, sheriff of the Home District from 1792 to 1805, Speaker in 1804, and the occupant of other offices. Angus Macdonell was member of the Legislature for Durham, Simcoe and the East Riding of York. He was treasurer of the Law Society of Upper Canada from 1801 to 1804, and was one of the officials on board of the schooner "Speedy" when it was lost with all on board on Lake Ontario.

The first Legislature assembled at Niagara on the 17th of September, 1792. Newark, as Niagara then was called, was selected as a

convenient place for holding the meeting, but was not regarded by Simcoe as suitable for the permanent capital of the province. In his sketch of the second Legislature of Upper Canada, Mr. C. C. James, F.R.S.C., makes the following interesting note regarding the place of meeting: "The five sessions of the first House were all held at Newark, and the four sessions of the second House were all held at York. The typewritten copies of the journals and the earliest printed statutes confirm this. The little settlement on the left or west bank of the river was variously known Niagara, West Niagara, Butlersburg, Lennox, Nassau and Newark. The official name was Newark at the times of the sessions of the first Legislature. Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe in his proclamation of July, 1792, named the township Newark after Newark in Lincolnshire, England. . . . The Lieutenant-Governor's proclamations and announcements, as a rule, were dated from Navy Hall or Council Room, Navy Hall, as though the little group of buildings near the wharf containing the provincial executive officers, were a place apart from the people's settlement of Niagara or Newark."

Meeting on the 17th of September, 1792, the Parliament continued until the 15th of October. As already noted, Mr. John Macdonell was elected Speaker and the following were the members, according to their constituencies: First session, 1792-1796: Glengarry, 1st Riding, Hugh Macdonell; Glengarry; 2nd Riding, John Macdonell; Stormont, Jeremiah French; Dundas, Alexander Campbell; Grenville, Ephraim Jones; Leeds and Frontenac, John White; Addington and Ontario, Joshua Booth; Prince Edward and Adolphustown, Philip Dorland (seat vacated), Peter Vanalstine; Lennox, Hastings and Northumberland, Hazelton Spencer; Durham, York and 1st Lincoln, Nathaniel Pettit; 2nd Lincoln, Benjamin Pawling; 3rd Lincoln, Isaac Swayzie; 4th Lincoln and Norfolk, Parshall Terry; Essex and Suffolk, David Wm. Smith; Kent (two members), William Macomb, Francis Baby. Philip Dorland, the member from Prince Edward County, stated that as a Quaker he could not take the oath as member, but was willing to affirm. Affirmation was not considered as being legal and Dorland's seat was declared vacant, and in the election which succeeded, Major Van Alstine was returned and he took his seat at the second session of the Legislature.

There seems to have been a prejudice against the selection of half-pay officers; the majority of the members of the Assembly were farmers and business men, and the proceedings of the House showed that they were fully aware of the legislative needs of the province.

Eight statutes were passed. The ancient laws of Canada were abrogated and English civil law introduced. Trial by jury was established. A statute was passed concerning the recovery of small debts, and another to regulate the toll to be taken in mills, the millers being restricted to one-twelfth as their proportion for grinding and bolting. Provision was made for building a jail and court house in each of the four districts into which the province had been divided, the names now being changed from those given by Dorchester to the Eastern or Johnstown district, the Middle or Kingston district, the Home or Niagara district and the Western or Detroit district. Other measures were also passed.

The provision made for the officers of the House, considering the condition of the country, was liberal. A proposal to impose a tax of six pounds per gallon on wine and spirits was carried by the Lower House but thrown out by the Council, and a tax on land was rejected as tending to discourage immigration. The question of validating the marriages which had been irregularly performed, gave rise to considerable discussion and a bill was introduced, but the provisions being considered of very great importance the bill was withdrawn on the understanding that a measure should be carefully prepared during the recess and submitted to the Home authorities. The question was somewhat difficult. While the law required the marriage ceremony to be performed by a regularly recognized clergyman, in many places, there being no clergyman, a military officer read the marriage ceremony, but the issue of such marriages were, by law, illegitimate. Sometimes the ceremony was performed by a justice of the peace, and the moral character of the relationship was never challenged, but the legal right of the offspring was jeopardized. The object of the legislation asked for was to place the legality of those irregular marriages beyond doubt and to make provision for the validity of all such marriages in the future.

Mr. Richard Cartwright, reporting on the subject, makes this interesting statement: "In the Eastern district, the most populous of the province,



there is no Church clergyman. They have a Presbyterian minister, formerly Chaplain to the 48th Regiment, who receives from the Government fifty pounds a year. They have also a Lutheran minister who is supported by his congregation, and the Roman Catholic priest settled at St. Regis occasionally officiates for the Scots Highlanders settled in the lower part of the district, who are very numerous and all Catholics. There are also many Dutch Calvinists in this part of the province who have made several attempts to get a teacher of their own sect, but hitherto without success. In the Midland district where members of the Church are more numerous than in any other part of the province, there are two Church clergymen who are allowed one hundred pounds sterling a year by each government and fifty pounds each by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. There are here also, some itinerant Methodist preachers, the followers of whom are numerous, and many of the inhabitants of the greatest property are Dutch Calvinists who have for some time past been using their endeavors to get a minister of their own sect among them. In the Home district there is one clergyman, who has been settled here since the month of July last. The Scots Presbyterians who are pretty numerous here, and to which sect the most respectable part of the inhabitants belong, have built a meeting house and raised a subscription for a minister of their own, who is shortly expected among them. There are here also, many Methodists and Dutch Calvinists. In the Western district there are no other clergymen than those of the Church of Rome. The Protestant inhabitants here are principally Presbyterians.”

A fact of interest was the issue at Niagara of the official journal, viz., *The Upper Canada Gazette* or *American Oracle*, which appeared on the 13th of April, 1793, and continued to be published there until 1798, by Louis Roy. It has been stated that Simcoe did not regard Newark as the permanent location for the provincial capital, and learning that Fort Niagara was among the military posts to be handed over to the United States, he lost no time in taking steps to select a suitable site for his capital. The advantages of the district through which the River Thames flows, had been brought to his attention at Quebec shortly after his arrival there, and, judging from the study of a map then submitted to him, he seems to have been







THE SIMCOE MONUMENT IN QUEEN'S PARK, TORONTO.

impressed with the suitability of that district. One point in its favor was its convenient communication with Lake Huron, but he also recognized the advantages of Toronto from its being situated on the direct line of communication from the seaboard. But Simcoe seems to have been predisposed in favor of some point on the Thames as possessing water communication with the western lakes, and the further advantage to be derived from an inland location. Accordingly he made a tour of the western country, travelling overland to Detroit, which was then occupied by the 24th Regiment. On the return journey he halted for a day to examine a site proposed for the future capital of the province where now the flourishing city of London stands. He believed that the river was navigable for boats from its mouth to near its source, and considering the site in every way suitable, favored its selection. He at once began a military road from Burlington Bay to the forks of the River Thames, and named it Dundas Street after the Right Honorable Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for the colonies. On the construction of the road, an officer and 100 men of the Queen's Rangers were employed during the summer and fall of 1793, and in the autumn of 1794 it was completed as far as the Grand River, and was designed by Simcoe to form a link between London and York.

Simcoe's desire to establish the capital at London was frustrated later on by Dorchester, and finally York, or Toronto, was decided upon. It was part of Simcoe's plan for the defence of Upper Canada to establish a fortified post at Toronto, another on Lake Erie near Long Point and another at Matchedash Bay. One reason why Simcoe so stoutly adhered to his plan of defence was, that he believed military posts so established would form the nucleus of towns, to the vicinity of which immigration would be attracted, thus strengthening and building up the country at the same time.

Dorchester did not approve of these measures, evidently on the ground that the forces at his command were not sufficiently large to contribute so much to the defence of Upper Canada, when he had, in view of his belief that war with the United States was imminent, to regard as a first duty the defence of the British North American provinces as a whole. Dorchester therefore wrote to Simcoe as follows: "I must request you will be pleased

to consider the extensive frontier of Upper Canada, the number of posts there are under very peculiar circumstances together with the inadequate force for their defence, and you will, I hope, perceive that in augmenting the number of posts you must increase the demand for troops, yet notwithstanding this want of troops, should hostilities commence, the war could not be confined to Upper Canada, and the greatest part of the forces may eventually be drawn from thence, whatever may be the inconvenience to that province." At the same time, Simcoe was directed to pay great attention to the militia, as the defence of the province might have to depend largely on them. The strength of the militia as given for 1794 was: Eastern district, 1,730 men; Midland district, 1,074 men; Home district, 828 men; Western district, 1,084 men.

As a rejoinder to Dorchester, Simcoe explained that the settlement of his province had been retarded on account of general sickness at Philadelphia, but pointed out that the soil in the neighborhood of Lake Simcoe was suitable for settlement, and that he had obtained a route from Lake Ontario to Lake Huron which would obviate the passing westward by Niagara and Lake Erie, and that it was now possible to send troops from eastern Canada by the Ottawa to Matchedash Bay and thence to Toronto. He regarded a strong fort on the Thames as more important than Detroit, and he recommended the reduction of the garrison at Niagara, instead of at which the troops could be employed to better advantage at York and Long Point.

Jay's Treaty of 1794 removed the apprehension of war with the United States, but the friction between Dorchester and Simcoe remained, and as Simcoe considered that he had Dundas's approval of his plans regarding Upper Canada, he requested Dorchester to enable him to carry them out. The latter replied that he considered himself under no obligation to interfere. If he must act, he must be directed by his own judgment or "by distinct and precise orders from those whose station may qualify his obedience." He stated that his intention was, as soon as the evacuation of the principal posts took place, to remove the forces from Upper Canada, with the exception of the Queen's Rangers and some of the Royal Artillery to take charge of the ordnance stores. He would station 100 of the Rangers at the Detroit River opposite Bois Blanc Island, and 100 at Niagara, or



about the same number of troops as were stationed in Upper Canada in 1786, exclusive of Kingston. This clear statement of Dorchester's intentions was particularly disappointing to Simcoe, who replied that he had followed the directions of Secretary Dundas with respect to the site of the capital at London, and he regarded the proposed withdrawal of the troops as most injurious to the province. To these representations Dorchester, however, did not give way.

Simcoe met his second Parliament on the 31st of May, 1793. The sittings were continued until the 9th of July. Eleven bills became law, the more important being the Marriage Act, the Abolition of Slavery Act, an Act to Encourage the Destruction of Wolves and Bears, and a Road Act. A measure imposing a duty on wine and spirits, the revenue from which would go towards meeting the expenses of the Legislature, was not concurred in by the Upper House. In the Militia Act provision was made for the appointment of Lieutenants of Counties, and of Deputy Lieutenants, possessing considerable local military authority. A very interesting Act bearing on our municipal institutions was that concerning the nomination and appointment of parish and town officers,—clerks, assessors, collectors, overseers of the highways, poundkeepers, wardens, high constables, constables, etc. Two of the justices of the peace were to issue their warrant to the constable for the township to assemble the inhabitants for the purpose of electing the officers. An important Act was passed providing for the levying and collecting of assessments and rates; and to provide for the "payment of wages" to the members of the House of Assembly, not exceeding ten shillings a day. The Marriage Bill referred back for careful preparation at the last session of Parliament was passed at this session. It legalized marriages irregularly contracted prior to its passage of persons publicly married before any person in public employment; and for the recording of such marriages a form of oath was prescribed to be taken by the contracting parties before any magistrate of the district in which they resided, and on the magistrate's attestation an entry was to be made by the clerk of the peace in a register kept for the purpose. As to the future, marriages could be solemnized before a justice of the peace in certain circumstances, the form of service of the Church of England to be followed, but if a Church of Eng-

land clergyman resided within eighteen miles of the persons wishing to be married, then a magistrate could not officiate. The Act to prevent the further introduction of slaves, and to limit the terms of servitude, met with much opposition, but was strongly supported by the Lieutenant-Governor. Writing to a friend the year before, he says: "From the moment that I assume the government of Upper Canada, under no modification will I assent to a law that discriminates by dishonest policy between the natives of Africa, America or Europe." There were many slaves at the time in Upper Canada and the scarcity of labor gave their services exceptional value. Hence the opposition, and it required Simcoe's great influence to carry the measure. By it no negro slave could, after its passage into law, be brought into the province; no slave could be bound by a contract extending longer than nine years, and the ownership of slaves and the birth of children of slaves had to be recorded. A Court of Probate and Surrogate Courts were established.

After the prorogation of the second session at Niagara, Simcoe removed his headquarters to Toronto, to which he gave the name of York in honor of the Duke of York, the King's Son.

The Executive Council met at the Garrison in August of 1793. It appeared to the Lieutenant-Governor that the fur traders of the north and west should be encouraged to bring their peltries to York, and in order to open communication between Lake Ontario and Lakes Simcoe and Huron via York, he set out in October, 1793, on a tour of exploration northward. He was accompanied by a party of officers and acquired minute knowledge of the territory, the result being that in January, of 1794, he instructed Augustus Jones to survey a road from York to Lake Simcoe. The construction of the road was carried out by the Queen's Rangers, and, in honor of Sir George Yonge, Secretary of War, in 1791, the road was named Yonge Street.

At the third Parliament, which met on the 2nd of June and continued to the 7th of July, 1794, twelve Acts were passed, including a Militia Act; an amended Road Act; an Act establishing Courts of King's Bench and of Appeal, an Act laying a duty on stills; an Act for Regulating Liquor

Licenses; and one for the selection of jurors. Civil government at this date cost \$24,400.

Both Dorchester and Simcoe believed that although the Treaty of Paris had confined the boundaries of Canada within a given limit, it did not make any cession to the United States of the Indian lands south of that boundary. The Indians themselves claimed that the dividing line should follow the Ohio to the Mississippi, leaving the territory to the north in their possession. The territory in dispute was contained between the Canadian boundary and the Ohio, extending to that river. The settlers entering on this territory from Kentucky, refused to acknowledge this limit, and forcibly took possession of land north of the Ohio, arousing the hostility of the Indians by what they considered a spoliation of their soil. The forts within this territory being still held by British garrisons, Indian agents were present to restrain the Indians as much as possible in the interests of peace. The policy of the British government was to guard against the selling by the Indians of their lands to either Canada or the United States.

In May, of 1794, three commissioners from the United States appeared at Niagara for the purpose of making a treaty of peace with the Indians. They were well received by Simcoe, and they asked the presence of British officers during their negotiations with the Indians. This Simcoe conceded, and Major Smith, Capt. Bunbury and Major Littlehales were accordingly appointed. The Indians desired the presence of the Indian agents, Butler and McKee, and Simcoe accordingly granted them this permission, the duty of the British officers being not to act as mediators, but to explain to the Indians the offer of the United States commissioners, and generally to watch the Indian interests. At this conference, Timothy Pickering, one of the United States commissioners stated, with the authority of the President of the United States, that the United States "claim no lands but what belong to the nations that sold to us. We claim not a foot of the lands of any nation with whom we have yet held no treaty."

The negotiations showed clearly that the views of the Commissioners and of the Indians were diametrically opposed to one another. The confederated Indians submitted that the boundary of the Ohio must be accepted by the United States, and the Commissioners replied that it was not possible



to accept that river as the boundary. On the 13th of August a general council of the Indians was held and a statement drawn up and sent to the Commissioners to the effect that if their demand of the Ohio as the boundary were granted, they would consider this a proof that the United States desired to act justly in the matter, but if this were refused, it were useless for any further meeting to take place. The Commissioners refused and the negotiations thus terminated. Many in the United States charged the failure to British intrigue, the object of which, it was alleged, being to embroil the Indians in war with the United States, and the charge was used to further inflame anti-British feeling in the United States.

In February of 1794 a deputation of the Miamis waited on Lord Dorchester and requested his support in securing for them the territory which they claimed. Dorchester's speech was couched in forcible language against the United States, and having been extensively published, gave umbrage in the United States, and was connected with the failure of the negotiations at Niagara. Dorchester in replying to the Miamis, said in part: "You remind me on your part of what passed at the council fire held at Quebec just before my last departure for England, when I promised to represent their (the Indian deputies) situation and wishes to the King, their Father, and expressed my hope that all the grievances they complained of on the part of the United States, would soon be done away by a just and lasting peace. I remember all very well. I remember that they pointed out to me the line of separation which they wished for between them and the States and with which they would be satisfied to make peace. . . . I have waited long and listened with great attention, but I have not heard one word from them (the States). Since my return I find no appearance of the line remaining, and from the manner in which the people of the States push on and act and talk on this side, and from what I learn of their conduct towards the sea, I shall not be surprised if we were at war with them in the course of the present year, and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors. You ask for a passport to go to New York. A passport is useless in peace. It appears therefore that you expect we shall be at war with the States before your return. You shall have a passport, that whether peace or war, you may be well received by the King's warriors. What



further can I say to you? You are witness that on our part we have acted in the most peaceable manner and borne the language and conduct of the people of the United States with patience, but I believe our patience is almost exhausted."

By the instructions of Dorchester, Simcoe erected a fort at the foot of Miami Rapids about fifty miles from Detroit in territory claimed by the United States as theirs, but disputed by the British. Simcoe left York on this journey in March, 1794, by the Thames route, returning by Lake Erie and Niagara early in May. The United States authorities asserted that the erection of the fort was to encourage the Indians in their opposition to the United States, and to countenance an outbreak on their part, but Simcoe clearly showed that in "re-occupying a fort on the Miami River within the limits of those maintained by the British forces at the peace of 1783 upon the principle of self-defence against the approaches of an army which menaced the King's possessions," there was no invasion of United States territory in intention or in fact.

After Wayne had defeated the Indians he placed himself in the neighborhood of the British fort at Miami as if intending to attack it. The garrison under Major Campbell, of the 24th, was well defended by cannon. Campbell was ordered by Wayne to withdraw, the latter claiming the fort as being within United States territory. Major Campbell promptly refused to abandon the post without instructions from his superior officers.

The Jay Treaty of 1794 having been concluded, it was agreed that the western posts should be surrendered to the United States on the 1st of June, 1796. The residents in the neighborhood were to have the choice of removing with the garrisons to British soil or to become United States citizens. Peace between the United States and the Indians was secured ten months before the posts were given over, as a result of Wayne's victory over the latter.

The retention of the posts had been adhered to by Great Britain on the ground that the treaty was not being carried out in the matter of debts due to English creditors, and that unnecessary and insurmountable impediments were thrown in the way of their collection. The following detachments were present at the several posts at the period of the transfer:

Michillimackinac, 1 officer, 20 men; Detroit, 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 50 men; Niagara, 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 50 men; Oswego, 1 officer, 20 men.

During the winter of 1794-5 Simcoe, who had made his headquarters a year before in the neighborhood of the old Fort at the entrance to the harbor at York, was making arrangements for the erection of public buildings for the accommodation of officials and for the meeting of the Legislature there. He resided for a time in a tent or canvas house which had been used by Captain Cook in his voyage around the world, and in the meantime proceeded with the erection of a residence on the banks of the Don, which he named Castle Frank, after his oldest son and heir, Frank Simcoe. He had been promoted to the rank of Major-General in 1794.

The fourth session of Parliament met on the 6th of July, 1795, and was prorogued on the 19th of August. Five Acts were passed,—one relating to the eligibility of persons for members of Parliament, one adjusting the import duties as between Upper and Lower Canada, one for the registration of deed, one to regulate the practice of medicine, and one amending the statute respecting the Superior Courts.

No person was permitted to practice medicine, as a physician, or to retail medicines unless licensed, and to obtain a license it was necessary that the applicant should pass an examination in medicine before a board of duly qualified doctors, one of whom to be the surgeon of His Majesty's hospital, for the time being. Residence in the province and British citizenship for at least seven years were made conditions of qualification for membership in the House of Assembly.

An agreement was entered into between the commissioners appointed by Upper and Lower Canada that one-eighth of the net proceeds of the taxes collected, should be paid to Upper Canada as the proportion due, and that no duty should be laid upon articles entering Upper Canada. This agreement was to be valid until the last day of December, 1796.

In June, of 1795, the Duke de Rochefoucauld-Liancour paid a visit to Canada, and proceeded by way of Lake Erie and Niagara to visit Simcoe. He was not permitted to descend the St. Lawrence, Dorchester upholding the Alien Act. The Duke was the guest of Simcoe while waiting for Dor-

chester's answer, and his impressions of the place and of Simcoe's household, are now of great interest.

Simcoe, himself, he describes as a man "just, active, brave, frank, possessing the confidence of the country, of the troops, and of all those who were joined with him in the administration of public affairs." Of his gifted consort, a Miss Guillim (after whom the Township of Guillimbury was named), the Duke says that she was then about thirty-six years of age, "she is bashful and speaks little, but is a woman of sense, handsome and amiable, and fulfils all the duties of a mother and wife with the most scrupulous exactness, carrying the latter so far as to act the part of private secretary to her husband, her talent for drawing enabling her to be extremely useful with respect to maps and plans." She left many sketch books of Canadian scenery of value and great interest.

In the month of March, 1796, the Presbyterians of the County of Grenville petitioned the Governor against the Marriage Act, taking exception to the fact that their ministers were not empowered to perform a legal marriage. The petition recites that no one had deserved better of the House of Hanover than the Presbyterians for they had steadily co-operated since 1668 in the establishment of the constitution, but that nevertheless, since that date they had been constantly persecuted by high churchmen. They claimed for themselves and for the ministry of every other denomination, the power to perform the marriage rite.

Simcoe's reception of this petition was somewhat remarkable. He regarded it as an act of disloyalty to the government, and intimated to those interested that he looked upon their <sup>Be thine</sup> petition as the product of a wicked head and disloyal heart. This was taking a very strong Church of England position, and relief was not conceded until 1830 when it became lawful for any clergyman or minister of church, society or religious community, of persons professing to be members of the Church of Scotland, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Independents, Methodists, Tunkers or Moravians, to celebrate marriages. At the same time, all former marriages were confirmed, the prescribed conditions having been observed.

The Parliament of 1796 (the fifth session of the first Parliament of

Upper Canada) was the last held under Simcoe's regime and was opened on the 16th of May, continuing until the 3rd of June.

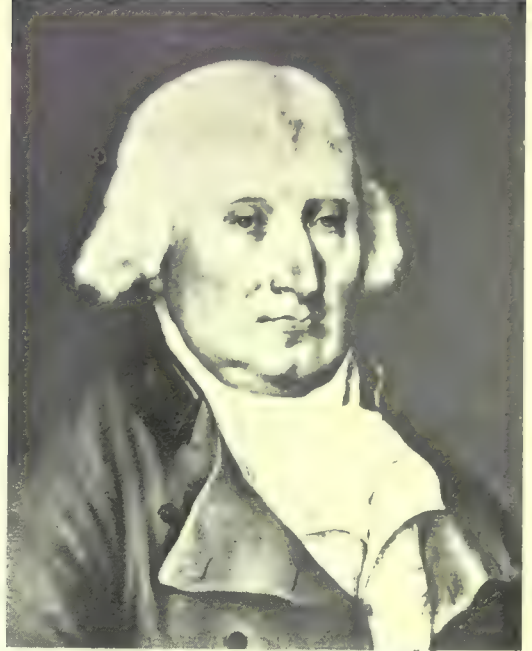
In the opening speech, after referring to the ratification of Jay's Treaty which involved the surrender of the western posts, he drew attention to the fact that the wheat exported went by the St. Lawrence route as the natural channel for the country bordering on the lakes. At this session, seven Acts were passed,—one repealing the Act for the destruction of wolves and bears, the increase of the population evidently rendering its enforcement unnecessary, an Act providing for the times and places for holding Quarter Sessions, an Act appointing Commissioners to act with those of Lower Canada, a license law, imposing a penalty of twenty pounds for illegal sale; an Act limiting and establishing the current value of silver coin, an Act amending the Judicature Act, and an Act providing for the wages of the members of the House of Assembly, and for the levying of local rates.

Simcoe was singularly well qualified for the position he so ably filled. His services in the Revolutionary War brought him in contact with men who as U.E. Loyalists had settled in the province. They knew him and had full confidence in his ability and in his unswerving integrity. His patriotism and public spirit inspired the people, his high character impressed them, and his devotion to their welfare touched their hearts. He was a builder that meant to build well, and brief as was his stay in Upper Canada, frustrated as were his purposes in some things, ere he gave over the administration of affairs he could say that the foundations were "well and truly laid."





GEN. JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE.



HON. PETER RUSSELL.



FRANCIS GORE.



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK.



## CHAPTER XII.

### RUSSELL AND HUNTER—1797-1805.

After the departure of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, Peter Russell acted as Administrator until the arrival of General Hunter as Lieutenant-Governor in August, 1799. During this period he was also President of the Council. His official intercourse with Simcoe was of a very intimate character, and in some things he closely adhered to Simcoe's views in the work under his own administration. He has been charged, even recently, with having been a "land grabber," but an examination of the circumstances fails to establish any wrong doing in this respect on his part. As an official he was entitled to participate in the land grants made to the higher officials by the British government, and the fact that as Administrator he had the conveyance of those lands which had to be made by him as Administrator to himself as the recipient from the British government, doubtless gave rise in later times, to the opinion that he took advantage of his position to unduly take possession of Crown lands. What he added to the government allowance was entirely a matter of private concern, for he stood in that respect in the same position as others at the same time, of investing his own means in the manner calculated to bring him the best returns, and there does not seem to be more than this in his land transactions.

Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe had left instructions with President Russell that the second Parliament of the province should be called together at York, and on Russell's installation as Administrator, he acted on those instructions. Parliament accordingly met at York on the 1st day of June, 1797, and prorogued on the 3rd day of July following. Chief Justice Elmsley objected to the change from Newark to York on the ground that there was no suitable accommodation at York for the legislators and officials, and that those that attended must live in tents or be crowded in huts, and he doubted if he would be able to form a jury there. The Parliament buildings were two one-story frame buildings 40 x 25 feet at the foot of Berkeley

Street. In one building the Assembly met, and in the other the Legislative Council. They were one hundred feet apart.

Seventeen Acts were placed on the statute book, all of them showing the progress made by the province, and its growing requirements. The first made provision for the "better securing the province against the King's enemies," in which aliens were prohibited from residence except under specified conditions. The second was to enable the inhabitants of the Township of York to assemble for the purpose of choosing and nominating parish and town officers. The third dealt with the titles to lands, difficulties having arisen in the matter of the Land Board certificates. The fourth regulated the practice of the Court of King's Bench. The fifth dealt with the regulation of the militia. Others dealt with the proceedings of the District Court and Court of Requests, the question of dower, the enrollment of deeds of bargain and sale, the enlarging of the time between the issuing and opening of commissions of Assize and *nisi prius* for the Home district, the regulation of ferries, the accounting more regularly for the revenues of the province, the appointment of commissioners to co-operate with commissioners of the Province of Lower Canada regarding the imposing of duties on articles coming into Upper Canada, for the better regulating the practice of the law, the arrest of criminals, the regulation of trade between Upper Canada and the United States by land or by inland navigation, and for the better division of the County of Prince Edward into townships.

President Russell continued the attitude adopted by Simcoe towards the Indians, and took steps to protect their interests against attempted encroachments on their rights.

The second session of the second Provincial Parliament met at York on the 5th day of June, 1798, and remained in session until the 5th day of July following. Among the Acts passed was an important measure regarding the boundary lines of the different townships of the province, and one confirming and making valid certain marriages which had been contracted in the province and to provide for the solemnization of marriages in the future, an Act for the better division of the province (as given below), and measures to establish a Superior Court of civil and criminal jurisdiction, to regulate the Court of Appeals, and to alter the method of performing



statute duty on the highways and roads within the province, in which it was provided that every inhabitant householder on the assessment roll of any parish or township rated at not more than 100 pounds would contribute statute labor not exceeding six days; if at more than 100 pounds and not more than 200 pounds, eight days; if at more than 200 pounds and not more than 300 pounds, ten days; if more than 300 pounds, twelve days, which was the maximum imposed.

The third session is stated to have met at Newark on the 12th day of June and to have sat until the 29th day of the same month, 1799, but this is a mistake, as the proceedings of the Assembly and Council are dated from York, and the statutes passed by that session of Parliament are also dated from York, with the exception of those contained in Thompson and McFarlane's Kingston edition of 1831. The legislation adopted at this session deals with the better securing of the province against the King's enemies, the securing of titles to lands, to enable persons holding the office of Registrar to be elected members of the House of Assembly, and an Act concerning the work of the Joint Commission of Upper and Lower Canada regarding the imposition of duties. It is interesting to note that at this session there was also an Act passed to provide for the education and support of orphan children not otherwise supported, making it lawful for the town wardens and justices of the peace to bind the said children as apprentices up to the age of twenty-one years in the case of males and eighteen in the case of females. This was the last session over which Peter Russell presided, Lieutenant-Governor Hunter having then arrived.

Early in Russell's administration, difficulties arose respecting the Indians which caused some anxiety. It was evidently feared that agents employed by Adet, the French emissary, had been among them with the object of arousing discontent, and Russell, to some extent, doubted their loyalty. Although Brant maintained the contrary, Russell still considered that the Caughnawagas and some of the other Canadian Indians were in the French interest. This belief led him to ask Prescott for troops to enable him to establish posts between York and Lake Simcoe as a precautionary measure of defence.

On Nov. 3rd, 1798, Russell writes to Portland that he had submitted his

letter desiring an allotment for de Puisaye before the Council, so as to have arrangements made for the reception of the French Loyalists. He has been informed by de Puisaye himself of his arrival at Quebec accompanied by officers and two ladies, forty in all. Russell suggests to him to remain at Kingston, or to send some of his party to Newark, there being a better prospect of accommodation in these two old settlements than elsewhere.

De Puisaye drew up a plan for an extensive settlement of French immigrants in the southern part of Canada. He proposed that the immigrants should receive sufficient land to provide for their maintenance with all expenses for the first three years advanced by government, to be repaid by one-seventh of their crops yearly till full payment of the advance was made. It was proposed that the work of clearing the land should be done by soldiers, the force to consist of two battalions—200 men to do military service, the rest to clear the land, construct buildings and barracks. Two hundred pounds sterling was to be provided for each farm for building, tools, furniture and clearing the land (20 acres), and it was expected that the immigrants for the first year would not exceed 300 or 400 men. The colonel of the regiment was to be at the head of the colony under the Governor-General.

This plan, whether ever seriously considered or not, did not mature. De Puisaye arrived at Quebec with a party of forty persons. In October, of 1798, he arrived at Montreal, and on the 29th of the same month, at Kingston. Russell reports to the Duke of Portland on the 21st of November, 1798, that he had selected the vacant land with de Puisaye's approbation, between York and Lake Simcoe as a situation equally distant from Lower Canada and the French settlements at the Detroit River, and had directed the surveyor-general to lay out four townships north of Markham, Pickering and Whitby. The district was called Oak Ridges.

The Count, writing from Windham, near York, on the 17th of January, 1799, stated that some progress had been made in the settlement, that the land was every day being cleared of the trees, and that in the course of a month a village had been built which he hoped would become a considerable town, and he wished to name it Hunter in honor of General Hunter.

On the map of 1798 a range of nine lots on each side of Yonge Street

is marked French Royalists, and in one of the letters of Surveyor Jones, a spot is marked as Puisaye's farm. The Count settled on the Niagara River between Queenston and Fort George, and the Mississauga Indians, through Brant, offered to cede an area of 69,120 acres of land, stretching five miles along the lake, on condition that it be granted to de Puisaye and be paid for at one shilling and three pence Halifax currency per acre, but the proposal was not accepted by the government. He bought the land on which the government house at Newark stood, 300 acres of which were salt wells, from which his heirs sold salt during the war at \$10 per barrel.

Writing to General Hunter in 1801 from Niagara, he expressed his intention to leave towards the end of the autumn for England, and stated that until then he would be occupied with the composition of a work of some extent which should be made public,—a work supposed to be a history of the French Royalist party during the revolution. In 1803 he was in England. At that time he expected, in the course of a year, to return to Canada, but there is no trace of him having done so. He was not permitted to return to France during the short peace of 1814, and consequently became naturalized in England, and died in 1827 at Blythe House near Hammersmith, aged 73. His property in Canada went to William Smithers Kent, his brother-in-law (his wife's maiden name being Susanne Smithers), and to another brother-in-law who went to India.

General Hunter, who succeeded Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe and assumed office in 1799, was descended from an old Scottish family, and at an early age entered the army. He saw much active service and fought in the Revolutionary War. As commanding officer of the 60th Rifle Regiment he was stationed at Niagara, and was a member of the Land Board of the District of Nassau, constituted by Lord Dorchester on the 13th of October, 1788. He became Colonel of the 60th Regiment and finally obtained the rank of Lieutenant-General. He held the dual position in Canada of Commander-in-Chief of the forces and Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and his interest in the military condition of the country seems to have been greater than his personal interest in the civil administration of his province. His military duties also necessitated frequent absences from York for the inspection of the forces in garrison, and on account of these absences he



formed a committee consisting of the Chief Justice, the Hon. Peter Russell, and the Hon. Alexander Grant to carry on the administration for him when not personally present at headquarters. This he did for the more expeditious despatch of public business. It has been stated that, having availed himself of the services of this committee, he allowed himself to be guided too much by their views of affairs, which he followed perhaps too readily, but there is no evidence that such was the case, for from the rather meagre records that remain, it is apparent that Hunter was not only active as a soldier, but prompt and resolute in his civil duties.

He arrived at Quebec on the 13th of July and remained until Prescott's departure, not reaching York until the 15th of August when he assumed the government. His services in the Revolutionary War made him a familiar figure with many of the veterans then residing in Upper Canada, and these men determined to accord a worthy reception to him which took the form of a public address by the citizens on his arrival, congratulating him on his safe journey and on his appointment. The manner of the man may be judged from the reply to this address, which was in the following words: "Gentlemen,—Nothing that is within my power shall be wanting to contribute to the welfare of this colony." This brevity was characteristic of the man. He was prompt and indefatigable in the discharge of his duties, and insisted that his subordinates in the military and civil service should also strictly attend and promptly discharge their duties. On this account he probably gave offence to some of those holding public office, and these being at that time an influential element in the community, their murmurings may have given rise to the opinion that he was brusque and tactless in his dealings with men.

Shortly after his arrival at York he visited the garrison at Niagara from where he left by water to Kingston, and after inspecting the garrison there, proceeded to Lower Canada, whence he did not return until the following spring.

On the 2nd day of June, 1800, he met his first Parliament. It was the fourth session of the second Parliament of Upper Canada and met at York, sitting until the 4th day of July. Six Acts were passed during the session, two of them being of considerable importance, viz., that for the more equal



representation of the Commons of Upper Canada in Parliament, and for better defining the qualification of electors. By the first of these Acts provision was made that the Counties of Glengarry and Prescott together should be represented by two members: Stormont and Russell, together, by one member; Dundas, Grenville, Leeds, Frontenac and Prince Edward, each by one member; the incorporated Counties of Lennox and Addington together by one member; Hastings and Northumberland, together, by one member; Durham, the east riding of York and Simcoe, together, by one member; the west riding of York, the first riding of Lincoln and Haldimand, together, by two members; the second, third and fourth ridings of the County of Lincoln, together, by two members; Oxford, Middlesex and Norfolk, together, by one member; Kent, by one member; Essex, by two members. Another Act of general interest was one for making temporary provision for the regulation of trade with the United States by land or inland navigation. This measure made provision for the establishing of ports of entry for the collecting of duties upon articles imported from the United States by land or inland navigation, such as the same would be liable to if imported at Quebec. Before this measure was passed goods from the United States were admitted at a lesser duty than goods from Great Britain, and the effect of the legislation was to equalize the impositions. A measure was passed for the summary conviction of persons selling spirituous liquors by retail without license, one for the regulation of special juries, and an Act for the further introduction of the criminal law of England and a more effective punishment of certain offenders, in which there is the following clause: "Whereas the punishment of burning in the hand when any person is convicted of felony within the benefit of clergy, is often disregarded and ineffectual and sometimes may fix a lasting mark of disgrace and infamy on offenders who might otherwise become good subjects and profitable members of the community, be it therefore enacted that . . . when any person shall be lawfully convicted of any felony within the benefit of clergy for which he or she is liable to be burned or marked in the hand, it shall and may be lawful for the court before which any person shall be so convicted . . . instead of such burning or marking, to impose upon

such offender such a moderate pecuniary fine as, to the court in its discretion, shall seem meet, or otherwise it shall be lawful, instead of such burning or marking in any of the cases aforesaid (except in the case of manslaughter), to order and adjudge that such offender shall be, once or oftener but not more than three times, either publicly or privately, whipt, such private whipping to be inflicted in the presence of not less than two persons besides the offender and the officer who inflicts the same, and in the case of female offenders, in the presence of females only."

The first session of the third Provincial Parliament met at York on the 28th of May, 1801, and prorogued on the 9th of July following. Twelve Acts were passed, among them being one to empower the Commissioners of the Peace for the Midland district to establish and regulate a market for the Town of Kingston and district, where "butcher's meat, butter, eggs, poultry, fish and vegetables shall be exposed for sale, and to appoint such days and hours for that purpose and to make such other orders and regulations relative thereto, as they shall deem expedient." There was also an Act passed to provide revenue to meet the increased civil expenses, by the imposition of duties on imports, peltries being excepted. Authority was given to the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Administrator to appoint inspectors of flour, pot and pearl ashes, and an Act was passed to prevent the sale of "spirituous liquors and strong waters in the tract occupied by the Moravian Indians on the River Thames." The Court of King's Bench was brought into better touch with the progress of the province, and statute labor on roads in the territory occupied by the Huron Indians in the County of Essex, was regulated.

In this year the first ports of entry were established at Cornwall, Johnstown (Brockville), Newcastle, York, Niagara, Queenston, Fort Erie, Turkey Point, Amherstburg and Sandwich. The first collector of customs at York was William Allan who was then prominent in the affairs of the town, holding many public offices in the gift of his fellow-citizens or of the Crown. He acted as returning officer in the general election of 1801, and it is curious at this time of day to recall the wording of the writ issued in that election, which was: "To cause one knight girt with a sword, the most fit and discreet, to be freely and indifferently chosen to represent the aforesaid

counties in Assembly, by those who shall be present on the day of election." The use of the term "knight" did not imply at that time a title of honor. It was but the survival of the old English phraseology.

In 1801 there was an influx of English, Irish and Scottish immigrants, and a large number of immigrants from the United States, those from Ireland being the victims of the "troubles of '98," and in obtaining suitable land for their settlement there was some friction with the earlier settlers whose rights and privileges were of an extensive character. The Mennonites who settled in Waterloo county and in Markham, Vaughan and Whitchurch townships in York county, began also to make their appearance. From these sources, a fine class of settlers was obtained, law abiding, peaceable and industrious, habits which soon brought them prosperity and comfort.

The Parliament of 1802 which sat at York from the 25th of May until the 7th of July, dealt with the question of titles to lands, the administration of justice in the District of Newcastle, and with the establishment of additional ports of entry in the province. The growing trade commanded increasing attention and the question of transportation demanded consideration. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the celebrated explorer, wrote in 1802 drawing attention to the project of connecting Albany with Lake Ontario by canal, and as a counter project, advocating the improvement of the St. Lawrence route by the construction of fourteen miles of canal to parallel the Rapids. General Hunter submitted Mackenzie's proposal to Col. Mann of the Engineers, who does not seem to have given much countenance to the scheme.

In pursuance of a measure passed in 1798 by which the Lieutenant-Governor was authorized to form the counties of Northumberland and Durham into a separate district when the inhabitants numbered one thousand, and that number having been returned in 1802, General Hunter accordingly issued a proclamation creating the separate district which was named the District of Newcastle, and in closing the Legislature he expressed his satisfaction at the erection of this district, as an evidence of the increasing population of the province, and the "happy effect of that plenty and security which, by the blessing of Providence, we at present possess."

The Duke of Kent, who held the position of Commander-in-Chief of the



forces at Halifax, visited Niagara Falls in 1802. During his stay in York he was the guest of Major-General Aeneas Shaw at Oak Hill. He was loyally and warmly received by the people of Upper Canada.

In 1803 Parliament met at York on the 24th day of January and prorogued on the 5th of March, when twelve statutes were passed, mostly dealing with the settlement of lands and the routine of administration—thoroughly practical matters, in keeping with the requirements of the day. An Act that caused some comment afterwards was one authorizing the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Administrator to license practitioners in the law. It was not necessary that such persons should have passed the usual examinations. They were to be selected for their probity, education and condition in life, and, upon procuring a certificate from the Court of King's Bench and licensed by the Governor or his representative, were authorized to practice the profession of the law as fully as any regular barrister or attorney. General Hunter by proclamation, designated Dr. W. W. Baldwin, of York, William Dickson, of Niagara, D'Arcy Boulton, of Augusta, and John Powell, of York, as fit and proper persons to practice the profession of the law and to act as advocates in the courts. In allusion to this special preferment, these gentlemen were afterwards frequently referred to as the "Heaven-descended barristers."

An Act was also passed providing for compensation to the members of the House of Assembly for their attendance. After every prorogation, the member, on receiving from the Speaker of the House of Assembly a warrant signifying the time such member attended his duties in the Assembly, received from the general Quarter Sessions situated in his district, a sum not exceeding ten shillings per day for every day of his attendance, allowance being made for the time occupied in going to and returning from his home, and the Sessions were empowered to collect the money for such expenses by an assessment on the householders of the riding represented by the member.

An interesting event of the year 1803 was the establishment of a public market at York. The population of the town had materially increased, and Hunter issued a proclamation on the 3rd of November in which he states that, with the advice of the Executive Council and to promote the interests,



advantages and accommodation of the town and township of York and other of His Majesty's subjects in the province, he has ordained, established and appointed a public open market to be held on Saturday in each and every week during the year, for exposing publicly for sale, cattle, sheep, poultry and other provisions, goods and merchandise brought by merchants, farmers and others, the first market to be held on a certain piece or plot of land which is fully described in the proclamation, and was five and a half acres in extent lying between Market, New and Church Streets.

At the fourth session of the third Parliament in 1804, an Act was passed to promulgate the provincial statutes, and respecting the printing and distribution of the journals of the House. The construction of public highways and roads received attention, legislation was passed for the working of stills, and an Act was passed appropriating a certain sum of money annually to defray the expenses of erecting certain public buildings for the use of the province. The amount voted for this purpose was £400 a year, and, in transmitting an address of the Legislature to the Home Government asking for aid in the construction of public buildings for Parliament and for the Courts of Justice, to supplement the amount voted, the Lieutenant-Governor characterizes the vote as so inadequately small that it would defeat the object for which it had been made. He describes the accommodation for the carrying on of public business in doleful terms. Private houses had to be hired to be used as offices. The Executive, he said, met in a room in the Clerk's house, where privacy could not be enjoyed for their discussions. He estimated the cost of the new buildings at nearly \$80,000.

In October, 1804, the unfortunate loss of the "Speedy" occurred off Presque Isle.

The opening session of the fourth Parliament took place on the 1st of February, 1805, at York, and passed off with the usual harmony and attention to practical measures. In all, ten statutes were passed, including measures concerning liquor licenses, titles to lands, the trial of controverted elections, provision for the administration of justice, the appointment of municipal officers, relief of insolvent debtors, the regulating of the curing, packing and inspection of beef and pork, and for the encouragement and cultivation of the growth of hemp and its export. The House prorogued on

the 2nd of March. In the succeeding August Lieutenant-Governor Hunter was at Quebec, in pursuance of his military duties, and one of his last public documents, a letter to Lord Camden of the date of August 3rd, 1805, containing an abstract of the grants of land made during 1804, was despatched from there. On the 21st of August he succumbed to an attack of illness and was buried in the English cemetery of the ancient capital.

A tablet on the walls of the English cathedral, placed there by his famous brother, contains his epitaph: "His life was spent in the service of his King and country; of the various stations both civil and military which he filled, he discharged the duties with spotless integrity, unvaried zeal and successful abilities," a tribute which the impartial investigator of the affairs of the times will endorse.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### GRANT, GORE AND BROCK—1805-1812.

It has been pointed out that the death of Hunter left Canada in a position seldom experienced. The province being without a Governor in chief and no General in command, the military authority was assumed by Col. Bowes. In Lower Canada, the Lieutenant-Governor was absent and an Administrator at the head of affairs. There was no Chief Justice in that province, Elmsley having recently died. In Upper Canada there was neither Lieutenant-Governor nor Administrator. The Hon. Peter Russell called a council together and the Hon. Mr. Alexander Grant was chosen Administrator of the province. Mr. Grant had had long experience in the affairs of the province, and, while Russell might have felt disappointed at not being elected to the position, having acted in that capacity previously, yet there was general satisfaction with Grant.

With the removal of Hunter's strong personality, a condition arose which Mr. Grant did not find it easy to control. From the establishment of the province until 1803, certain taxes levied in Upper Canada with the eighth part of the amount of duties collected at Quebec, had been left solely at the disposal of the Legislature, but in 1803, Hunter, without the authority of the House, charged against this sum certain disbursements made in the interest of the province. If any discontent was felt at this proceeding it was not expressed, and the system was continued during 1804 without any expression of want of consent. It was not pretended that the application of the monies was not just and proper. There was no complaint on this score. The grievance was that the expenditure had been made without the consent of the House. The total amount involved was £617 13s. 7d. When Grant met the House on the 4th of February, 1806, he found the question agitating the members and amicably settled it.

Grant's Parliament dealt with the salaries to be paid to sheriffs, and passed a measure to procure certain apparatus for the promotion of

science, which is of more than passing interest. Four hundred pounds were appropriated for this purpose, for illustrating the principles of natural philosophy, and the Administrator was authorized to "deposit the instruments in the hands of some person employed in the education of the youth of the province, in order that they may be as useful as the state of the province will permit." They were committed by Grant to the care of Dr. Strachan, then at the head of the Cornwall Grammar School, and they were brought by him to York and made use of in the district school, from which they were taken to Upper Canada College.

Lieutenant-Governor Hunter was succeeded by Mr. Francis Gore in 1806. Mr. Gore was born at Blackheath in Kent in 1769. His family was a branch of that of the Earl of Arran. It is said that before accepting the Lieutenant-Governorship of Upper Canada, he had become aware of the agitation fomented by Thorpe, Weeks, Wyatt and Willecocks, and was prepared to proceed cautiously in his administration. On his arrival at York on the 23rd of August, 1806, he received an address of welcome from the inhabitants of the district, which was read by William Weeks, the Solicitor-General, one of the malcontents. His brief reply was misconstrued into a studied slight on the inhabitants, and Thorpe, whose previous correspondence with friends in the old country may have led him to expect favorable recognition at the hands of the new Lieutenant-Governor, felt that he and his coterie were not likely to obtain a controlling influence with Gore.

It may be here stated that Thorpe was an Irishman by birth, who enjoyed the favor of Lord Castlereagh. He obtained the appointment of Chief Justice of Prince Edward Island and soon raised difficulties there, which ended in his removal to Upper Canada as a Judge of the King's Bench, taking his seat on the 24th of January, 1805. Immediately he seems to have signalized his presence in the community by a criticism of the government, and pursued the extraordinary course of welcoming addresses and petitions from the people regarding political matters, at the points where he held court throughout the province, while at the same time maintaining a correspondence with his friends in the colonial office in which he promised that his own advancement to real power in Upper Canada would secure his perfect subserviency to the views of the Secretary of State, thus expressing



a willingness to do himself, had he the power, what he condemned when done more independently on the part of the government; but he was an able agitator, and, as immigration and the laborious work of settlement were steadily increasing, it was not difficult to find a constituency ready to listen to his appeals, and he was returned for York, Durham and Simcoe. If the stand taken by Canadians in the War of 1812 was right, Thorpe and his co-agitators, altogether independent of their sordid motives, were wrong; no palliating circumstances exist to excuse their conduct to posterity.

Wyatt, the Surveyor-General, like Thorpe, was a protege of Lord Castlereagh, and felt that he had access to his favor independent of the Lieutenant-Governor. His brother was private secretary to Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, and then Secretary for Ireland. He counted on the support of the Wellesley and Castlereagh influences, on which, however, he miscalculated, for as the agitation became acute, the Lieutenant-Governor was sustained and both Thorpe and Wyatt were recalled. On Wyatt's way to England by New York, he endeavored to persuade the people there by public speech that the people of Upper Canada were on the eve of revolt, a statement which was not forgotten by the United States authorities subsequently.

Willecocks, whose name figures unfavorably at this time, had been a United Irishman in the troubles of '98, and entertained no friendly feelings to any constituted British government, but masking his opinions, he obtained official recognition and was appointed sheriff of the district. With Thorpe and Wyatt he became a violent agitator, and gave endless trouble to the government notwithstanding that he was a subordinate official, and he was consequently removed, in the words of the Lieutenant-Governor for his "general and notorious bad character." In August, 1807, he and his friends began the publication of the second paper published in Upper Canada, which was named the *Upper Canada Guardian or Freeman's Journal*. The paper at first was published in the State of New York and sent across the line, the nominal place of publication being Niagara. The belief was general that this paper was supported by funds from New York, and that the main object of its publication was to create discontent among the people

of Upper Canada, for neither Willcocks nor Thorpe had means of their own. Wyatt had left England, and it was well known that Willcocks was in close relationship with newspaper writers in New York, and he was considered as being practically their agent in connection with the *Guardian*.

Gore's first Parliament was the third session of the fourth Provincial Legislature. It met at York on the 2nd of February and continued until the 10th day of March following. The most of the Acts passed were of local import. One, however, of a specially important character was passed to establish public schools in every district of the province, for the purposes of which the sum of 800 pounds annually was provided, this amount to be raised by authority of Parliament. The sum of 100 pounds was to be paid to the teacher for each school. The public school for the Western district was to be at Sandwich; that for the District of London to be in the Township of Townshend or at such place as the trustees decided upon; for the District of Niagara the school was to be at the Town of Niagara; for the Home district at the Town of York; for the District of Newcastle the trustees were to select a place within the Township of Hamilton; for the Midland district the school was to be at the Town of Kingston; for the District of Johnstown at a place selected by the trustees within the Township of Augusta; and for the Eastern district at the Town of Cornwall. There were to be not less than five "fit and discreet persons" to compose a Board of Trustees for every district. . The nomination of the teacher, who was to be a "fit and discreet person," lay with the Board of Trustees, which was to examine into his moral character, learning and capacity, but the Board's nomination had to be submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor for confirmation or otherwise. The Board had full power and authority, in their discretion, to remove a teacher for any misdemeanor or impropriety of conduct. The trustees had also authority to make such rules and regulations for the good government and management of the school as they considered requisite.

The last session of the fourth Parliament met on the 20th of January, 1808, and owing to the increase of business, did not prorogue until the 16th of March following. One of the important Acts passed had reference to the difficulties which had gradually arisen in connection with the settlement of land, there being many claimants for identical locations. The Act

provided for the appointment of Commissioners to hear and determine claims, and on the evidence taken, patents were to be issued.

Willcocks who had been elected to the Legislature for the constituency including the west riding of York, the first riding of Lincoln and the County of Haldimand, took his seat in this Parliament. It was the signal for sensational discussion. He was admitted on the 26th of January, and on the 30th, one of the members drew attention to a paragraph in the *Guardian* accusing the members of the Legislature of having been bribed, and he moved for a committee to make an investigation. That the case would have gone hard with Willcocks there can be no doubt, as the Assembly was aroused in defence of its honor, but the moderating influence of the Lieutenant-Governor was brought to play and the investigation was not pressed. This forbearance was abused later and he was promptly dealt with.

It must not be forgotten that in these years a strong body of opinion in the United States was unfriendly to Britain, and no Lieutenant-Governor would be alive to his duty who shut his eyes to the possibilities of the situation. Lieutenant-Governor Gore was not ignorant of what was taking place in the United States, and in 1808 he wrote to Lord Castlereagh that he had thought it prudent to employ a confidential agent to obtain information as to the design of the United States government.

The session of 1808 brought the dissolution of the fourth Parliament and a general election took place that year, the provision which had been made for an increase of members, then taking effect, bringing the number up to twenty-four. Mr. Willcocks was re-elected.

The fifth Provincial Parliament met at York on the 2nd day of February, 1809, and at the opening, Lieutenant-Governor Gore congratulated the House on the prosperity of the country. At the same time it can be gathered that the time was not without anxiety. Mr. Samuel Street was elected Speaker. This year there were only nine Acts passed, chiefly dealing with routine business.

An incident marked by extreme cruelty took place in 1809 when a small detachment of regular troops from the United States crossed into Canada in violation of the existing peace. A man named Isaac Underhill deserted from the 6th United States infantry, and some time afterwards



Capt. Bennett, of that Regiment, accompanied by a sergeant and two privates, hearing that the deserter was engaged in keeping school at Elizabethtown near Cornwall, crossed the river in order to arrest him. The party made directly for the school, where none but children were present. The soldiers entered the school house, and having bound their prisoner, forced him on before them by pricking him with their bayonets. On nearing some of the inhabitants, Underhill attempted to escape when he was promptly shot dead. The soldiers then hurried back to the schooner which had conveyed them across the river and made their escape. The act was clearly one of murder and the Canadian magistrates took up the case, addressing a demand to the County of St. Lawrence on the State of New York. An apology was returned, with the statement that the case was not within their jurisdiction, the officer and men belonging to Sackett's Harbor, and referring the Canadian authorities to the general government. The case was then submitted to Lieutenant-Governor Gore, who brought it to the notice of Erskine, the Minister of War at Washington, and of Castlereagh. Correspondence passed between Bennett and the authorities and a trial by court-martial was granted to him, which found him not guilty.

The Parliament of 1810 was engaged chiefly with improving the condition of the communication by roads, the survey and settlement of land, the regulation of salmon fisheries, measures of commercial interest, the preserving of the peace, the cultivation and exportation of hemp, the barring of dower, the military obligations of the Mennonites and Tunkers and the election of town and parish officers.

The legislation of 1811 partook of much the same character as that of previous years, the pushing forward of roads and the building of bridges being a main and important feature, for it can be readily understood that in a sparsely settled country the settlers would feel the want of roads heavily. The process of the district courts was also amended, and provisions respecting rates and assessments improved.

In all this work, the Lieutenant-Governor was indefatigable. He gave personal attention to the duties of his post and was assisted by able advisers. He valued particularly the services of Judge Powell, afterwards the Chief Justice, who was familiar with the affairs of the country from its founda-



tion. It was he who appointed Mr. John Macdonell to be Attorney-General, on the withdrawal, without leave, of Attorney-General Firth. In November, 1812, that appointment was confirmed by the Home authorities, but not until after Macdonell's fall at Queenston. Macdonell was succeeded by John Beverley Robinson, whose long career in the service of Upper Canada will call for further reference. Lieutenant-Governor Gore, desiring to visit England, applied for leave of absence, and leaving York on the 8th of October, 1811, the government was assumed by General Brock on the 9th. Gore did not return to Canada until 1815, the province in the meantime being governed by Administrators.

Sir Isaac Brock, Commander of the Forces, was elected President of the Council, and a few months after assuming the administration, he called the Legislature together on the 3rd of February, 1812.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE WAR OF 1812-1814.

It is quite evident that the main advantage expected by the United States from a war with Great Britain, was the possession of Canada, and that other grievances, real or alleged, were considered of secondary importance. It was first sought to alienate the loyalty of the Canadian people from Britain by insidious means, though not without protest from the peace party in the United States, which included several men of influence. Randolph taunted his opponents in Congress by saying that this was to be a holiday campaign; Canada was to conquer herself; she was to be subdued by the principles of fraternity; the people of that country were first to be seduced from their allegiance and converted into traitors as a preparation to the making them good American citizens. He protested against the subornation of treason. "If they must fall," said he, "let them fall by the valor of our arms, by fair legitimate conquest, not as the victims of treacherous seduction. You abandon all claims for the unparalleled outrages, insults and injuries of the French government. By our own unwise measures, we have so increased the trade and wealth of Montreal and Quebec, that at last we begin to cast a wistful eye on Canada."

At the close of the Pontiac rebellion treaties were entered into between Britain and the Indian tribes of the west. These treaties the red men loyally observed, and they were now a source of strength to the British cause in Canada. Not only did their faith to the treaty obligations influence the Indians on the one hand, but on the other, they were confirmed in their compact by a growing feeling of dislike to the frontiersmen of the United States, who were ruthless in their encroachments and expert with their long knives, for even then the attitude of the average United States pioneer to the Indian was that of justifiable extermination. Now it seemed that the old feeling of friendship so long cherished towards the French, had been

unreservedly transferred to the British, for the Indian had learned that the callous conduct of the early British fur trader when France commanded the support of the Indian tribes with the exception of the Five Nations, did not proceed from Great Britain nor reflect on the true sense of British justice, but from the covetousness and keen rivalry with the French that excited and gave character to the enterprise of the mixed population of the colonies, and now Canada had the advantage of the fairness and friendly consideration which characterized British policy towards the Indians from the conquest of the country onward.

Foremost among the Indians who offered their services in the event of war, was Tecumseh, and his assistance being accepted, he took up a position in the western country with a strong personal following. Tecumseh was a great Indian leader, in nothing short of Pontiac's ability, and in many ways his superior. He was cast in a large mould, dignified in his demeanor, temperate in his habits, usually silent and thoughtful, but possessing remarkable eloquence and command of forcible argument in council, a man of many enlightened ideas and of considerable skill and generalship in war. He gave his life for the Canadian cause and stands as one of the heroes, not of Indian as much as of Canadian history.

General Brock clearly foresaw that war would be declared and proceeded to make preparations for the defence of Upper Canada. The Legislature was called together on the 3rd of February, 1812, when he proposed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus and Militia Supplementary Act, which the Legislature, however, did not pass, not believing war would take place. This mistake it promptly rectified on the outlook becoming clearer to it. Not only did it pass an effective Militia Bill, but granted \$20,000 towards the training of the militia. There were but few troops in Upper Canada. Arms were scarce, and the Governor-General, Sir George Prevost, communicated to Brock the cheerless information that no aid need be expected from Britain for some months, the impression prevailing there still being that war would be avoided.

Prevost's policy in Lower Canada had been conciliatory, and the habitants responded to his appeal for men. Four regiments of militia were embodied, and the Canadian Voltigeurs raised and placed under command

of Major de La Salaberry. When it became known that war was declared, all American citizens were warned to leave the province by the 3rd of July. The Assembly was convened and passed a statute to legalize the issue of one million dollars of army bills, and an annual grant of \$60,000 was made for five years to pay whatever interest might accrue.

On the 6th of July an order was issued requesting the militia to be in readiness for embodiment, and the flank companies of the Montreal militia were organized into battalions. Little delay occurred before hostilities commenced. Capt. Roberts, the commander of the post on the Island of St. Joseph, was instructed by General Brock to capture the fort at Mackinaw, if possible. Roberts mustered an attacking force consisting of 42 regulars, three artillerymen, 162 Canadian voyageurs and 250 Indians. The force was deficiently armed, but being superior in numbers, Lieut. Hancks, commanding at Mackinaw, surrendered on the 17th of July without attempting a defence. The capture of this important post acquired without the loss of blood, had a reassuring effect on the northwest Indian tribes.

On the 12th of July, General Hull, who had spent several months in collecting a force for the invasion of Western Canada, crossed the Detroit River with 2,500 men and unfurled his flag at Sandwich, at the same time issuing a flaming proclamation to the inhabitants. General Brock issued a counter proclamation.

Fort Malden at the Village of Amherstburg, was garrisoned by 300 regular troops under command of Lt.-Col. St. George. The fort itself was in a dilapidated condition, but the surrounding country was unfavorable for marching upon it, and at the mouth of the River Canard, the British sloop of war Queen Charlotte, carrying eighteen guns, protected the garrison from an attack by water. On the 17th Hull marched on Amherstburg. His advance force was driven back by a few troops assisted by Indians lying in ambush at the Canard River. The main body met with no better success in an attempt to force a passage on the following day, and they were equally unsuccessful in a third attempt made on the 20th, twenty-two Indians, indeed, putting two hundred of the enemy to a hurried and disorderly flight.

Hull considered his position precarious. Mackinaw had been taken, the



vessel containing his hospital stores had been captured, he had failed to make an impression on the small garrison at Amherstburg, and now, on the 5th of August, Col. Proctor, who had been despatched by Brock, arrived with a small reinforcement. Proctor crossed the river, defeated 260 of the enemy, seized a convoy of provisions, and cut Hull's communications with Ohio. The Indians came pouring in, the militia rapidly mustering, and Brock himself had left Toronto on the way to the scene of action. Thus circumstanced, Hull considered it prudent to recross the river, which he did, leaving only a small garrison behind him at Sandwich, he took up his quarters at Detroit. An expedition he sent thence to establish his communication with the Ohio, was successful, although the British and Indians escaped with very little loss, but Lieut. Rochelle, in command of boats from the vessels *Queen Charlotte* and *Hunter*, captured a boat convoy from the enemy.

This was the condition of things when Brock arrived at Amherstburg on the 15th. On the following morning he met the Indians in council and agreed upon a line of action. The great chief Tecumseh was present at this council. Despatches which Hull had sent to his government describing his condition as weak and dangerous, fell into the hands of the British in one of the skirmishes before Brock's arrival. From these despatches, and considering the general aspect of affairs, Brock determined to attack Hull before reinforcements should come to his aid, and therefore he constructed a battery opposite Detroit, placed three guns and two howitzers in position upon it, and summoned Hull to surrender. Hull refused and the battery opened fire. On the morning following, Brock drew out his troops numbering 700 regulars and militia, and 600 Indians, and crossed the river three miles below the town. He advanced upon the fort in column, the Indians covering his flanks. Halting to reconnoitre, he observed that the land side of the fort had been left practically without means of defence, and he determined upon an immediate assault upon that quarter. The assault, however, was unnecessary, as, without waiting for an attack, General Hull capitulated, surrendering the fort with a force amounting to 2,500 men to a little more than half their number. The military stores and provisions thus captured were very large. The whole territory of Michigan was sur-

rendered with the fort, Brock consenting that life and property should be respected. The regular troops and officers who had been taken prisoners, over one thousand in number, was sent to Quebec as prisoners of war. The militia were dispersed to their homes.

Brock's energy and skill as a General was now proved by the prompt steps which he had taken, resulting in the capture of Mackinaw and the surrender of Detroit, two exploits which, while reflecting glory on the victorious General, had a depressing effect on the United States. On the day of the surrender of Detroit, Brock issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Michigan, assuring them of full protection and the enforcement of their laws until the pleasure of the Crown should be known.

After making the necessary arrangements consequent on the surrender of Detroit, Brock returned to Toronto with the intention of following up his successes by the reduction of Fort Niagara. The Governor-General, however, overruled him in this, it being the policy of the Home government to adjust the quarrel if possible, and, with this object in view, Prevost had already proposed, in the latter part of July, an armistice to Major General Dearborn in the hope of arranging peace. This armistice had been agreed upon, Hull's army, however, being excepted by Dearborn, fortunately as it turned out for the British. General Armstrong, Secretary of War at Washington, refused to ratify the armistice, and so hostilities continued.

The general plan of attack adopted by the United States was somewhat after that of Amherst in the Conquest of Canada. Hull was to enter at Detroit, Van Rensselaer at the Niagara River and Dearborn by Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. At these points troops had been assembled and military posts had been established along the frontier at places where inroads could be successfully made to harass the inhabitants.

One of these incursions was made against Gananoque, where Captain Forsyth with a party of 150 men took possession of the public stores after defeating a small body of militia. He inflicted loss on the defenceless inhabitants whom he ill-treated, and then retired. Communication between Kingston and Montreal was interrupted from Ogdensburg, where a considerable force had collected under Brigadier Brown. Lt.-Col. Lethbridge, who

commanded at Prescott on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence, attempted to capture Ogdensburg, but was compelled to retire when about mid-channel on account of a disastrous fire upon his boats from the other side.

Two vessels, one an armed brig and another laden with prisoners and furs, were cut out from Fort Erie by the United States troops, and both vessels were drifted down the current of the Niagara River and grounded near the opposite shore, where the crews were taken prisoners. A party of British soldiers from Fort Erie under cover of fog, boarded and dismantled the armed brig. Only a few lives were lost in these actions. Before the winter set in General Harrison, with a large army, prepared to wipe out the disgrace of Hull's surrender at Detroit, and General Van Rensselaer was instructed to establish himself upon Brock's line of defence at Queenston, for which he had an ample force.

His plan was to concentrate his forces below the Falls, convey the regular troops across from Four Mile Creek and attack Fort George from the land side, while his militia would capture Queenston Heights from the Lewiston front. General Smyth, who lay to the south of the Falls, differed from Van Rensselaer as to this plan and therefore held sullenly aloof, the consequence being that the attack on Queenston only was carried out, the troops there being supported by men called in from other places with the regulars from Fort George. The leading body was entrusted to an officer named Sim, who, rowing across in the darkness, landed above the point agreed upon and immediately absconded, when it was found that he had taken in his boat all the oars of the other boats of the expedition, thus preventing the embarkation of the troops as had been intended. Two days later, before dawn on the morning of the 13th, the troops were put in motion. On the evening of the 12th of October, Van Rensselaer had been ready to attack Queenston, and on the following morning, notwithstanding the cold and stormy weather, he embarked his troops in boats and, with the early morning dawn, pushed across the river.

Brock's defensive force, on the other hand, was entirely inadequate, being under two thousand men, for operations on thirty-six miles of frontier, but if small in numbers, they had been trained to a high state of effi-



ciency. Brock never for a moment doubted that their services should be required in the field.

Queenston was defended by about 300 men, including two companies of the 29th Regiment and detachments of the York and Lincoln county militia, a small force of which was watching the landing below the Heights, while the others were on the higher ground though not on the summit of the heights, on which a battery consisting of one eighteen pounder only, had been placed. At Vrooman's Point below Queenston, there was a twenty-four pounder in charge of a small party of militia, that being the nearest support, and lower still along the river at Brown's Point a detachment of the York militia was in charge of a small battery. The headquarters on the Canadian side were at Fort George, a distance of between six and seven miles from Queenston, and here Brock was stationed with his second in command, Major-General Roger Sheaffe.

Col. Van Rensselaer and Col. Christie commanded the United States troops, 300 militiamen being under the command of the former and 300 regulars under the command of the latter. The militiamen having landed, drew up, and while waiting reinforcements, were spiritedly attacked by some of the Grenadiers of the 49th and a party of militia with a three pounder gun, inflicting considerable loss on the enemy, whose commander, Van Rensselaer, was badly wounded. The enemy was reinforced, however, from the opposite side of the river and his ground was maintained.

The firing had been heard at Fort George and brought General Brock with his two aides-de-camp, Lt.-Col. Macdonell and Capt. Glegg, to the scene. Ordering the militia at Brown's Point to follow, he proceeded directly for the gun on the heights, where the light company of the 49th and some of the Canadian militia were stationed. These Brock moved, with the exception of a few men whom he left in charge of the battery, to the aid of the troops fighting at the river below, bringing on the first crisis in the battle, as, when these men descended, Col. Van Rensselaer ordered Capt. Wool and a party of men to ascend a steep path left unguarded, and from behind, capture the battery. Wool's detachment, numbering about sixty men, succeeded, and compelled Brock and the few men with him to retreat down the hill. Brock at the head of about 90 men of the light company,



charged up the hill on the left, retook the gun and drove Wool's men, now 150 in number, to the extreme edge of the bank, where they rallied and held their ground. It was at this moment that Brock, while gallantly fighting, was mortally wounded and died almost immediately. His men were again driven back, and Wool's detachment retook the battery.

Just as Brock fell, his aide-de-camp, Col. Macdonell, with the men of the 49th and the militia to the number of about 200, charged up the hill on the right of the battery and drove the enemy back, but not before they had spiked the gun. Again the effort failed—Macdonell, like his chief, being mortally wounded, and Capt. Williams, who commanded the light company of the 49th, badly hurt. The attacking party were compelled to fall back to the outskirts of Queenston village, leaving the enemy in possession of the heights. It was still early in the morning, only about 10 o'clock, and an interval of some hours occurred which the invaders put to the best advantage in strengthening their position and in drilling out the spiked gun, which could be brought to bear on the troops below. The British, however, still held their ground, and had the aid of the battery of Vrooman's Point.

In the afternoon, a band of Mohawk Indians, who played a considerable part in the battle, came in. They were led by an Indianized Scot named Norton, and immediately began to harass the enemy on the heights, driving in the flanking parties which had been thrown out. During the respite in the morning, Van Rensselaer did his best to induce the United States militia, who remained on the opposite bank, to cross and take part in the battle, but without avail. In the meantime, instructions which had been sent by Brock to General Sheaffe to bring up all available troops from Fort George, were maturing, and the appearance of Sheaffe with a strong detachment of the 41st Regiment estimated at from 300 to 380 men, with about 300 of the militia and some light artillery which formed what was called the "car" brigade, and a party of Indians, changed the aspect of the day. Instead of attacking the enemy from the front, Sheaffe made a detour by a road leading to the Village of St. David's, about a mile and a half distant, leaving only some guns under Capt. Holcroft and a small body of infantry to hold the enemy in check at the crossing. Gaining the high land behind Queenston Heights on the inland side, he joined the Mohawks

under Norton, and was fortunate in receiving just then a detachment from the 41st Regiment and a considerable body of militia, which brought his troops up to about 1,000 men, with two three-pounder guns. Guided by the Indians, he advanced through the woods, and about 3 o'clock in the afternoon came upon the hitherto victorious enemy, and, placed him between his own line and the fire from Holcroft's artillery below. It is held that Sheaffe's arrangements, if cautiously, were very carefully, made, and that he deserves credit for the manner in which he carried out his attack. He was now in an advantageous position to dislodge the enemy, and in the attack which followed, he speedily drove them from their strong position. Many were precipitated over the bank into the river, General Wadsworth was compelled to surrender and before the afternoon was far advanced, between 900 and 1,000 of the enemy were taken prisoners, among them being Col. Winfield Scott, in after years Commander in Chief of the United States army. Victory perched on the British arms, and the aggressors' loss appears to have been far heavier than that of the defenders.

After the battle, Sheaffe agreed upon an armistice, first for three days then indefinitely prolonged, but terminable at thirty hours' notice, and this truce of arms extended along the whole line of the Niagara frontier, giving the enemy time and opportunity of recovering and preparing for a continuation of the attack.

The great calamity of the engagement was the irreparable loss at that time, of a soldier of General Brock's ability and a man of his commanding influence with the Canadian people.

Major General Brock was the eighth son of John Brock and Elizabeth De Lisle and was born in Guernsey in 1769. He was educated in England and Holland, and in his fifteenth year a commission as ensign was purchased for him in the 8th or King's Regiment. In 1790 he became a lieutenant and by the end of that year obtained a captaincy on raising men to complete an independent company, when he was placed on the half-pay list. In 1791 he exchanged to the 49th which he joined at Barbadoes, serving there and in Jamaica until 1793, when he was invalided home. In 1795 he became Major, and in 1797 Lieutenant-Colonel of the 49th Regiment (so famous in the Canadian war). In 1799 he served in Holland under Sir John Moore (in a brigade of Aber-





BROCK'S MONUMENT, QUEENSTON, ONT.



crombie's command), and distinguished himself greatly in this campaign. A fellow officer with him in the 49th was Colonel Sheaffe, his successor in command in Canada. Another man who was with the 49th at this time as a volunteer became noted in Upper Canada as the intrepid and resourceful Colonel James Fitzgibbon, the hero of Beaver Dam, in 1813, and the defender of Toronto in 1837. In 1801, Brock with the 49th took part in the expedition to the Baltic, and at the attack on Copenhagen by Lord Nelson, Brock was second in command of the land forces. In 1802 the 49th was ordered to Canada and Brock followed its fortunes there. Brock was promoted to the full rank of Colonel in 1805. In June, 1811, he was promoted to the rank of Major General, and on the departure of Lieutenant-Governor Gore, on leave, he became President of the Council and Civil Administrator of Upper Canada.

The people of Upper Canada did not fail to realize what they owed to him and after the war had closed—on the 4th of March, 1815, the Parliament of Upper Canada passed an Act which made provision for the erection of a monument to his memory.

Van Rensselaer was succeeded in the command of the United States troops by Brigadier-General Smyth, whose proclamations addressed to the men of New York, have called forth the ridicule of the historians. He was stationed, as we have seen, above Niagara Falls. On the 19th of November he gave the necessary notice to bring the armistice to a close, and by the 26th declared himself ready to cross into Canada with 3,000 men. According to General Porter he had 4,500 effective men, regulars and militia, at Black Rock.

The armistice closed on the 21st of November, and Sheaffe, with the object of holding the United States troops at the lower end of the river, ordered Fort George to open fire on Fort Niagara, knowing that any real attack would be made at the upper end, and that the forces there would be weakened by the necessity of maintaining a garrison at Fort Niagara.

Canada's line of defence began at Fort Erie where Major Ormsby was in command of a small detachment of the 49th and some men of the Newfoundland Regiment, in all about 130 men. Sixteen or seventeen miles distant at Chippewa, Lt.-Col. Cecil Bisshop was stationed, and small detach-

ments occupied positions between that point and Fort Erie along the bank of the river. Two companies of Canadian militia watched the ferry at Black Rock, and two and a half miles from Fort Erie at a place called Red House, there were a few men of the 49th and a few artillerymen with two light guns, and nearby were two single gun batteries. Another detachment of the light company of the 41st was stationed at Frenchmen's Creek. At a longer interval from Fort Erie, was another detachment of militia, and with Col. Bisshop at Chippewa there were a few regulars and militia.

Early in the morning of Nov. 28th, two detachments of the enemy crossed to the Canadian side as an advanced party to clear the way for the main body of troops. These detachments were charged with the duty of clearing out the posts at and near the Red House, of cutting the communications between Fort Erie and Chippewa and destroying the bridge over Frenchmen's Creek. The first detachment caused some damage, but in the darkness and confusion, some of them recrossed to their own side, and about thirty, who with the officer in command remained, were taken prisoners by the British when day broke. The second party failed to destroy the bridge at Frenchman's Creek and retired to the United States shore. In the morning the British troops moved up from Chippewa and were joined by a party of Indians, and another detachment of the enemy which attempted to obtain a footing, was driven back, so that while there were severe losses in killed, wounded and prisoners, amounting to nearly 100, the British posts and guns were retained and the enemy also lost heavily without succeeding in their object.

Smyth paraded his men on the opposite shore in imposing array, with a desire to impress Col. Bisshop with the strength of his force, and then sent a flag of truce with the message that the British commander having seen for himself the strength of the enemy, should surrender Fort Erie and spare the effusion of blood, a proposal which, of course, was rejected. A good deal of demoralization seems to have prevailed in Smyth's camp, for he appears to have been fond of giving orders for the embarkation of his troops and countermanding the same on account of objections on the part of some of his officers and men to cross the river in daylight in sight of the British. Latterly a "committee of patriotic citizens of the western coun-

ties of New York" protested against his vacillating conduct, when he replied that the affair at Queenston was a caution against relying on crowds who came to the banks of Niagara to look at a battle as on a theatrical exhibition. His conduct was such, however, that he was relieved of his command, and with this, the operations on the Niagara frontier ceased for the year.

On Lake Ontario, not much had been accomplished during 1812, although before the close of the season the United States had the advantage in its naval force.

The frontier from St. Regis to the Yamaska River was covered by outposts held by the Voltigeurs and the militia under Major de La Salaberry, and these concentrating at Lacadie, awaited Dearborn's approach, but only a skirmish on the Lacolle River signalized the presence of the opposing armies before they had moved into winter quarters. Thus at every point on land the British more than held their own, while the United States ships on Lake Ontario and on the high seas obtained victories over the British.

Col. Procter was in command of the fort at Detroit and of the territory of Michigan which had been annexed at Hull's capitulation. On the Maumee River were three forts—Fort Wayne, Fort Defiance and at the Miami Rapids, where Fort Meigs was afterwards erected. Procter sent an expedition under Major Muir, of the 41st Regiment, to capture Fort Wayne, which he was unable to accomplish on account of the strength of the fort, and instead of being the aggressor, placed himself in danger of a counter attack from superior numbers. It was part of Brock's plan to secure the line of communication commanded by these forts, but while Prevost was negotiating for an armistice with General Dearborn in conformity with the attitude of the British government, the United States were enabled to strengthen these posts, and hastened to do so on account of the danger to which they were exposed after Hull's surrender, and now, it seems, that Procter's movement to carry out Brock's intentions, was too late to be successful.

The United States authorities took steps for overawing the Indians, driving the British from Detroit and capturing Fort Malden during the winter. General Harrison was in command. Early in January he advanced on the Detroit frontier. His army was arranged in two divisions, one being



on the upper reaches of the Maumee and the other on the Sandusky River, at the lower end of which was Fort Stephenson, 37 miles from which, higher up the river, Harrison fixed his camp. He was supported by General Winchester, who was in command of the division on the Maumee. The two divisions were to join at the Miami Rapids and then march on Detroit. On Winchester's march down the river to carry out this plan, he came to Frenchtown on the northern bank of Riviere aux Raisins, held by a small detachment of Canadian militia and a party of Indians under the command of Major Reynolds. Winchester sent Col. Lewis to capture this post, which he did, compelling the British to retreat to Brownstown. Winchester followed Lewis with the whole of his division and encamped at Frenchtown, thus delaying his juncture with Harrison, who, on the same day, had arrived at the rendezvous at the Rapids.

Procter, who was at Amherstburg, left on the 20th for Brownstown with nearly all his available troops, and uniting with Reynold's party, marched to regain Frenchtown. His force consisted of 1,000 men, about one-half of whom were Indians. He had also three or four small guns. Winchester's army was about the same strength, but all white men. Procter delivered his attack on the 22nd, and after a stubborn and bloody fight, compelled Winchester's army to surrender as prisoners of war at discretion, the prisoners including General Winchester and Col. Lewis and 500 rank and file. The British loss was about 24 white men killed and 158 wounded. Knowing of Harrison's proximity and being encumbered by so many prisoners, Procter retreated without delay, but Harrison, hearing of the defeat and fearing attack, also withdrew, and if Procter had had sufficient men to follow up his success, the operations which followed on the Canadian frontier, would, in all likelihood, never have taken place. Procter was created a Brigadier-General. Harrison reorganized his forces, strengthened his artillery and built Fort Meigs at the Miami Rapids as his headquarters for future operations, a position which Procter now determined to attack. It was in the neighborhood of the present City of Toledo.

On April 23rd, Procter embarked at Amherstburg with about 1,000 white troops, and 1,200 Indians under Tecumseh, joined him at the mouth of the Maumee. He fixed his camp about a mile and a half below Fort



Meigs on an old camping ground. On May 1st he opened fire on the fort. Stiff fighting ensued for several days, when Procter found that his force was not strong enough nor his guns heavy enough to take the fort, and so he withdrew. The total British loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, did not exceed 100. The loss on the United States side is computed at between six and seven times that number.

The next expedition by Procter was against Fort Stephenson at lower Sandusky, within ten miles of Harrison's main force. The position was a strong one, but the garrison was small and was under the command of Major Croghan. Procter's guns were too light to break down the defences, and repeated assaults failed, so that, with casualties of about 100, the British retreated down the river during the night, leaving the defenders masters of the situation.

From Ogdensburg raids were made during the winter on the Canadian posts in the vicinity. Directly opposite was Prescott, in which there was a considerable garrison, and, with the desire of relieving the frontier of continual menace and at the same time gain an advantage over the enemy, Col. Macdonell, who had taken command, asked permission from Prevost to attack Ogdensburg. Prevost consented to a demonstration in front of Ogdensburg, but a regular attack does not seem to have been authorized, and Macdonell, early on the morning of the 22nd of February, 1813, crossed the frozen river about one and one-half miles wide at that point with 500 infantry, comprising men from the 8th Regiment of the line, a detachment of the Glengarries, Newfoundland Regiment and militia, accompanied by three or four guns. He divided this force into two divisions, with the Glengarries and some of the militia on the right, the larger division on the left including the regulars and artillery, being under his own command. The enemy were at least equally strong and held a good position, some on the eastern side of the Oswegatchie River, and those on the opposite shore of the river entrenched in an old French fort. Both sections of the enemy were supported by artillery.

Col. Macdonell's plan was well laid. The Glengarries and the militia were to hold the enemy in check near the fort and prevent their retreat, while he, with the left column, would attack the main position at Ogdens-

burg village. As his troops neared the southern shore of the St. Lawrence, they were met by a sharp fire from the enemy, which, with the deep snow, rendered it somewhat difficult to draw their guns up the bank. In attempting to rush the guns directly opposed to them, the Glengarries were held off, and the officer in command of them was badly wounded. Macdonell pressing on, turned the right of the enemy, captured their guns in a bayonet charge, and cleared the enemy out of the village. He then placed his men on high ground commanding the fort, which he summoned to surrender, without avail. He attacked and captured another battery, silenced the fort, and speedily captured it. Their commander, Forsyth, with his forces, made good their escape into the woods. Macdonell destroyed the barracks and the shipping, consisting of two armed schooners and two gunboats frozen in the ice, and having thus crippled the enemy, he returned with about 70 prisoners and eleven guns, of which two 12 pounders had been captured from Burgoyne's army, his dead and wounded numbering about 60. The exploit was ably carried out and Macdonell's reputation was considerably enhanced. Prevost, writing from Kingston on the 24th of February, the day following the victory, expressed himself as follows: "My dear Sir,—Although you have rather exceeded my orders, I am well pleased with what you have done, and so I have just told you in a General Order which is to announce to the troops in America your achievement."

Chauncey's squadron remained at Sackett's Harbor until near the end of April, when, passing Kingston, which it had been at first his intention to attack, he made for York, conveying a force of about 1,700 men under Dearborn. When Chauncey and Dearborn came up in front of it on the 27th of April, it was almost entirely unprepared for attack. There were about 600 men available, including militia and dockmen, whose number was augmented by the arrival of 180 men of the 8th Regiment, who were passing from Kingston to Fort George, and halted at York on the evening of the 26th. General Sheaffe was present. The enemy first landed a party of riflemen under Forsyth, which was attacked by a small party of Indians, and soon after, the main body was disembarked under the direction of General Pike. About 10 o'clock in the morning the advance on York was commenced, the vessels keeping pace with the troops and directing their fire

on the forts and batteries at the harbor. The British troops encountered the approaching force and severe fighting took place. The 8th Regiment lost half its number, among the fallen being their commander, and the whole body was driven back to the fort under pressure of superior numbers. At the western fort an explosion took place with the loss of 40 men, rendering further retreat necessary and then General Sheaffe resolved to draw off the remaining regulars, who, with the wounded numbered about 180, and march them to Kingston. A new ship on the stocks and a large part of the naval stores, which otherwise would have fallen to the enemy, were burned. This done, he departed from the scene of action by the Kingston Road, leaving the officers of the militia to arrange the best terms of surrender they could obtain. Meantime the advancing enemy drew up near a battery, and just then a large powder magazine blew up, inflicting a loss of 200 men, including General Pike, who was mortally wounded, exciting the enemy to great indignation, as they believed or professed to believe, that the magazine had been designedly blown up by the retreating troops, although there seems to be no reason to doubt that it was purely accidental.

In the course of the afternoon the capture of York was complete, and the terms of capitulation were arranged, Mr. Beverley Robinson, then Attorney-General, and Dr. Strachan assisting the militia officers in this task. Sheaffe was allowed to proceed to Kingston without pursuit, but his withdrawal was construed as indicating a want of the firmness necessary in the Commander in Chief in such times, and he was recalled, his place being filled by General de Rottenburg, who assumed command on June 19th. At the taking of York, the British loss was about 200, mostly regulars, and the prisoners who were put on parole numbered about 300. The enemy lost, chiefly through the explosion of the magazine between 250 and 300 men.

While the articles of capitulation provided that all private property should be protected, looting and plundering ensued without restraint or regard to the conditions of surrender. The Parliament Buildings with the Library and Government papers were burned. The church plate, and books from the town library were carried off, some of which Commodore Chauncey collected and returned. This wanton destruction sunk deeply into the



public mind, and the burning of Washington late in the war, all things considered, must be held as a just reprisal.

Chauncey and Dearborn did not retain possession of York, but returned to Sackett's Harbor from which they moved on Fort George on the Niagara frontier, where there had been a cessation of hostilities from the previous December until the 17th of March, when an unsuccessful attack was made on Fort Erie, defended by Col. Bisshop, resulting in only a small loss. Brigadier-General John Vincent commanded the British forces in the district and his troops, both regulars and militia, did not altogether number 2,500 men, of whom 1,000 regulars and 400 militia of the 8th and 9th Regiments, the Glengarries and the Newfoundland Regiment, were at Fort George. The strength of Dearborn's force has been placed anywhere between 6,000 and 10,000 men, the smaller number being supposed, however, to be nearer the true figure. Fort George was supported by batteries at Mississauga Point and at a point on the shore of the lake about half a mile to the west. The defences of Fort George had been weakened by the fire of Fort Niagara on the opposite shore, and the garrison were insufficiently supplied with ammunition. Dearborn and Chauncey worked in harmony, and the landing of the troops was superintended by Capt. Oliver Perry, who had come down from his command of the naval forces on Lake Erie to assist in this work.

The attack on Fort George was well planned and well carried out, and the garrison could not, at any time during the action, offer serious opposition. From 3,000 to 4,000 men, supported by artillery, were landed, and Vincent drew up his little army in two wings with a reserve, the left under Col. Myers numbering from 600 to 700 men, and the right under command of Col. Harvey, an able and resourceful officer. The enemy was protected by the guns of the ships and the batteries. Vincent's left wing came into action first and suffered severely. Of 320 men of the 8th Regiment, 200 were killed or wounded, Myers, their commander, being disabled by several wounds. Harvey took his place, and, the two wings combining, fell back in the direction of Fort George. The enemy reformed and advanced, and Vincent, finding his communications with Burlington Bay, the rallying place decided upon in case of retreat, threatened, and the hopelessness of resisting



the superior number of the enemy being apparent, evacuated the fort after spiking the guns and destroying the little ammunition that had been left. About noon Dearborn took possession. Vincent sent orders to the commanders above the Falls, from Chippewa to Fort Erie, to join him with all their forces, and, retreating up the Niagara to Queenston, from there marched to Beaver Dam where provisions and ammunition had been collected. The combined force now numbered 1,600 and with this, General Vincent continued his march until he reached Burlington Heights on the 29th. This position was about equally distant from York and Niagara, and in the line of communication with Procter, and accessible to support by Lake Ontario. His retreat had been well managed.

Dearborn's victory is conceded to have been ably won, his forces having been well handled. With his occupation of Fort George and the withdrawal of the British troops to Burlington Heights, the whole of the Niagara frontier was in the hands of the enemy, whose position to all appearances was very advantageous, but nevertheless did not yield adequate results. Dearborn evidently feared a descent by Procter to Vincent's assistance, and he sent a strong force to attack the latter's position on the heights under Generals Chandler and Winder. On the 5th of June this force reached Stony Creek, within seven miles of the British camp. It was 3,000 strong. About 1,000 men were detached from the main body and placed at the mouth of the creek, while the remainder took up their quarters for the night in a good position on the main road. These movements were known to the British, and Harvey, who was acting as Adjutant-General, formed a small force of the light companies of the 8th and 49th with which he reconnoitred the enemy's position, and proposed a night attack. General Vincent consented and accompanied the force, which, however, was under Harvey's command. It numbered about 700, and Harvey and his men came within 300 yards of the enemy without being detected. Then before the line of assault could be formed, some cheering and firing took place on the British side contrary to orders, rendering further surprise impossible. The enemy's camp fires threw a light in front of their position, and Harvey's men were easily picked out by the marksmen, so that it appeared at first as if the attempt might have turned out

badly for the British. Major Plenderleath, who commanded the 49th Regiment, with a few men made a charge through the centre of the enemy's line and rushed the guns which were in position behind the centre and were beginning to open fire, thus saving the situation. The night was unusually dark, and in the hand-to-hand fighting which followed the seizure of the guns, there was no end of confusion, but the result was that the enemy was driven from his camp. The British took 100 prisoners, including Chandler and Winder, the two United States Generals, and four guns. Immediately at daybreak Harvey retreated to Burlington Heights, giving no time to the enemy to rally and recover their position. At the same time the enemy, after destroying some of their stores, began a disordered retreat, meeting reinforcements on the way. In the meantime General Vincent moved his force to the deserted camp and seized what stores had been left behind. The British loss was greater than that of the United States, but the advantage was greatly with the British as it was a turning point in their occupancy of the frontier. To Harvey, General Vincent gave full credit for planning and carrying out the movement.

The enemy lay at Forty Mile Creek. A fleet of boats with stores and baggage was on the lake supporting them. Here, on the morning of the 8th of June they were attacked by Sir James Yeo, who arrived with a British squadron and compelled them to continue their retreat. The vanguard of the British force occupied their camp and took possession of its stores. The fleet also captured many of the boats containing the enemy's stores. Vincent's position was greatly improved, not only by these events, but by reinforcements of between 200 and 300 men from the 8th Regiment, and shortly afterwards by the arrival of the 104th New Brunswick Regiment which had marched from Fredericton to Quebec during the preceding winter. Col. Bisshop commanded the advanced guard at a point a little beyond Twenty Mile Creek and two outposts, one under Major de Haren, of the 104th Regiment, was stationed in the neighborhood of Twelve Mile Creek holding the main road for Fort George, and the other within a mile and a half of Beaver Dam where there was a stone house occupied by De Cou covering the inland road from St. David's to Queenston, and connecting with de Haren's post by a cross road. The outpost near Beaver Dam

consisted of about fifty men under Lieut. Fitzgibbon, of the 49th Regiment, who was a daring and adventurous officer and whose command consisted of kindred spirits, described as "all Irishmen speaking the Irish vernacular as did their countryman, the chief." With Fitzgibbon and his skirmishers, parties of Indians co-operated, among whom was a son of Joseph Brant.

On the evening of the 23rd of June, the enemy determined to dislodge Fitzgibbon, proceeded from Fort George to Queenston where they remained overnight, and before dawn on the 24th, set out for Beaver Dam. The movement was under the command of Col. Boerstler, who had with him about 600 men. This plan was frustrated by the loyalty and intrepidity of a woman, the famous Laura Secord. Fitzgibbon having been warned by her of the intended surprise, was prepared, and as Boerstler advanced he was ambushed by a party of from 450 to 500 Indians. He continued, keeping up a running fight with the Indians, until he came within two miles of Beaver Dam and from three to four miles of De Cou's house. Fitzgibbon in his official report states that he had heard about seven in the morning of the enemy's advance, and shortly afterwards hearing the sound of firing he rode out about two miles towards St. David's where he found the enemy drawing off towards high ground on their left and his right. He occupied a position on high ground to the right which commanded them, and ordering up his detachment, led them across the enemy's front in order to gain the other flank, and "intercept or appear to intercept" the line of retreat towards Queenston and Fort George. He then boldly summoned Boerstler to surrender to Major de Haren, using his name in order to make Boerstler believe that de Haren and his force were present. The enemy had been harassed all morning by the Indians, and now, believing that de Haren was with Fitzgibbon, considered they were surrounded by superior numbers and accordingly surrendered. As a matter of fact de Haren did arrive in time to sign the articles of surrender, and Col. Bisshop also reached Beaver Dam in the course of the day to learn of the capture of 500 men and two guns as the result of Fitzgibbon's strategy. Both Bisshop and Fitzgibbon gave credit to the Indians, Fitzgibbon writing to Capt. William Kerr: "Not a shot was fired on our side by any but the Indians. They beat the American detachment into a state of terror, and the only share I claim is taking



advantage of a favorable moment to offer the enemy protection from the tomahawk and the scalping knife.”

General de Rottenburg arrived in July and took over General Vincent's command. On July 5th a small party, mostly of militia, crossing from Chippewa, surprised and captured Fort Schlosser, taking some prisoners, a gun and a quantity of stores.

On the 11th, about 240 men crossed to Black Rock which they stormed and captured, taking four guns, destroying four others, burned the barracks, blockhouse and a ship lying at the yard, and seizing a quantity of stores. The enemy, recovering from their first panic and being reinforced by regulars from Buffalo and a party of Indians (Senecas), attacked them during their retreat across the river, and among the loss inflicted was the heavy one of the death of Col. Bisshop, a brilliant young soldier who had given excellent service on the frontier.

In reporting a skirmish which had taken place on the 17th of August, General Boyd refers to the “Canadian volunteers under Major Willcocks” who were active. This Willcocks was the same who as a member of the Upper Canada Legislature, displayed marked hostility to Britain, and, becoming an open enemy of his country, took service with the United States and organized a corps of deserters from Canada, probably most of them born in the United States. A reconnaissance in force was made against Fort George on August 24th, but was not followed up. Sickness prevailed in both armies owing partly to which much activity was not displayed on either side.

Early in 1813 a number of naval officers and men were sent out from Britain. Among them were Capt. Barclay, who took command on Lake Erie, and Commodore Sir James Yeo, who assumed command on the waters with headquarters at Kingston. Between Yeo at Kingston and Chauncey at Sackett's Harbor, there was continual rivalry for the ascendancy on Lake Ontario, each watching the other and waiting for an opportunity to attack. On the evening of the 27th of May, the same day on which Fort George was taken by Dearborn and Chauncey, Yeo left Kingston to make a counter attack on Sackett's Harbor. He had on board about 750 troops of the line.



Governor-General Prevost was with the expedition, but the Adjutant-General, Col. Baynes, was given the command. The troops were landed and did good work. A great deal of damage was done, but at the moment when complete victory seemed secured, and the enemy were burning their stores preparatory to stampeding, the British attack was countermanded and the troops re-embarked. This withdrawal when the situation seemed to be completely secured by the British, has been the subject of bitter criticism, and Prevost, who was present, sought to defend the action on the ground that the unfavorable wind prevented the fleet from co-operating, and that it would have been impossible to take the position without the assistance of heavy artillery, but this explanation has not satisfied many of the critics.

Capt. Barclay, on Lake Erie, was confronted by the resourceful Capt. Oliver Perry, both excellent men, but Barclay's command was much the weaker of the two, six little vessels constituting his fleet, the largest being a new half-fitted vessel built at Amherstburg, only measuring 305 tons, but what was more serious than the fewness and size of the vessels, was the fact that there were woefully undermanned, and also were short of stores and guns. The number of British seamen did not exceed 50 and the rest were scratch crews.

On the 10th of September the two fleets came into action between Sandusky and the Detroit River, there being nine vessels under Perry and six under Barclay, and only two ships of fair size on either side. The issue of the engagement was not long in doubt, although the fight was desperate, and good management was shown on both sides, the support given by Capt. Elliott to Perry being the feature of the operations. All the British vessels were taken. The victory of the enemy was complete at every point, and Lake Erie was swept by them from end to end. Barclay had conducted himself in a brave and skilful manner, and, while the odds were against him as well as the fortunes of war, he received full credit for having done the best he could in the circumstances. He was sent home on parole and was most fully and honorably acquitted by the court martial which inquired into the matter and which attributed the disaster to its true cause—the want of a sufficient number of able seamen, and the superiority of the enemy's force.

The result rendered the position of Procter desperate. When he began

his retreat he had about 800 white soldiers, many of whom were not effective. The great Indian Chief Tecumseh accompanied him with his Indians, but the number of his following was diminishing daily. He proceeded for the head of Lake Ontario, going due north to Sandwich and eastward along the shores of Lake St. Clair to the River Thames, until he passed the site of the present Town of Chatham. It is supposed he left Sandwich on Sept. 26th, and on the 2nd of October, Harrison left Sandwich in pursuit with a force which he returned as amounting to 3,500 men. Procter was over-cumbered by baggage and his movement was extremely slow.

Harrison moved with greater celerity. At Chatham he drove off a body of Indians who tried to hold a half-destroyed bridge, and on the 5th he captured two vessels with stores and ammunition, guarded by 150 of Procter's men. He then crossed the river, and about ten miles farther on came up with Procter. Against Harrison's large body of men Procter had fewer than 500 white soldiers, supplemented by a reserve of Indians under Tecumseh. Procter's choice of position was a good one, being protected by bush and the river on his left, and a swamp on his right, necessitating a frontal attack. The Indians were on the right, thrown forward in a marshy ground to play on the enemy's flank and rear. The soldiers of the line were nearly all men of the 41st, and they were drawn up in open file, supported only by one small gun. To guard against the Indians, Harrison placed a strong force of infantry on his left, and then brought his mounted men to the charge. They were received by two volleys, from the first of which the horsemen recoiled, but after the second, they rode down the handful in front of them, who almost immediately surrendered. The Indians fought with their usual bravery and inflicted considerable loss on the enemy, but Tecumseh fell, and his followers were speedily dispersed. Harrison pursued as far as Moraviantown, captured the guns there and, wantonly burning the defenceless settlement to the ground, returned to Sandwich, which, with Detroit, he garrisoned, and then proceeded by water to co-operate with the United States forces on the Niagara frontier.

Procter's defeat was complete. His stores, small arms and even his private papers, were seized by the enemy, and he himself escaped only by the fleetness of his horse, escorted by forty dragoons and a number of mounted

Indians, according to Harrison's account. On Oct. 17 he reported at Ancaster with 246 men, who had escaped from the disastrous battle. He was blamed and severely criticised, and in 1814 was tried by court martial at Montreal charged with delay on the retreat and neglect in taking the necessary precautions to guard his rear. His personal character was sustained, but he was condemned for his want of generalship and was suspended from rank and pay for six months.

The removal of Procter's army from the western peninsula left Vincent's position on Burlington Heights wholly exposed from the west, and Prevost, considering the situation in western Ontario untenable, ordered a retreat on Kingston, but General Vincent, who was in command during de Rottenburg's absence, with the consent of his officers, fortunately ignored the Governor-General's instructions, and held his ground.

Then came the futile expedition of General Wilkinson down the St. Lawrence and De Salaberry's victory at Chateauguay.

Proceeding down the St. Lawrence, Wilkinson passed the fort at Prescott by night and with muffled oars, troops and ammunition having been debarked and sent by land to join the boats below Ogdensburg on the 7th of November. On the afternoon of that day, a body of about 1,200 men was landed on the Canadian side to parallel the boats and protect them from annoyance from the shore. On the day following, a force of mounted men was also landed and joined the first contingent. On the 9th, the whole expedition reached the head of the Long Sault rapids near Chrysler's Farm. At this time a small garrison of militia was stationed at Cornwall under command of Col. Dennis, and, to clear the way and seize this garrison, General Brown landed with a force of from 2,000 to 2,500 men, and he proceeded in the direction of Cornwall. Dennis and his militia broke the bridges in front of Brown's force, and by smart skirmishing, kept it in check long enough to allow the stores at Cornwall to be removed. After Wilkinson had embarked his forces at French Creek on the 5th of November, Chauncey, who had been blockading Kingston, left for the western portion of the lake in pursuit of Yeo. This enabled the Kingston garrison to send some gunboats and batteaux out of Kingston, with detachments from the 89th and 49th Regiments, to follow Wilkinson on the St. Lawrence.



This expedition was under the command of Capt. Mulcaster, who seems to have been a skilful officer, and who gave Wilkinson's rear guard considerable trouble. Mulcaster's force numbered close on 600 men and had with it two six pounder guns. At Prescott the soldiers were landed, and Col. Morrison, with whom was Harvey, then had a force of the Prescott garrison, two companies of the 49th, the men of the 89th, some Canadian Fencibles and Voltigeurs and a small party of Indians, in all numbering over 800 men, with an additional 6 pounder gun. They re-embarked in small boats on the 9th, and landed about thirteen miles below Prescott on the Canadian side, the gunboats under Mulcaster keeping in touch on the river. On the 10th they sighted Wilkinson's rear guard. Morrison and Mulcaster crossed the river to a village named Hamilton, where stores, which had been captured from the British, had been deposited. These they demanded and also some stores belonging to the enemy which had been left there. The leading citizens of the village agreed to return the stores, but the agreement not having been observed, early in the February following a party crossed the river from Cornwall and carried them off during the night.

On the 11th Mulcaster's gunboats opened fire on the enemy and Morrison began to press General Boyd's contingent on land. Wilkinson sent orders to Boyd to turn and attack the British. About noon of the 11th the famous fight at Chrysler's Farm was begun. As we have seen, Morrison was supported by about 800 men. At the commencement of the battle the enemy numbered at least 1,800, but more probably 2,000 men, as may be gathered from Wilkinson's despatches. Boyd's army was arranged in three columns, including a regiment of Dragoons, and, as the fight progressed, his force was further strengthened by an accession of 600 men. The battle was fought in the open, and it is acknowledged that skilful generalship was shown on the British side, while the enemy were also well managed. Morrison's ground had been well selected. His right rested on the river, his left in a pine wood, the open ground between being about 700 yards. Next to the river, three companies of the 89th with one gun were stationed. A little in front, the flank companies of the 49th and some Canadians, also supported by a gun, took position, and on the left at the wood, the rest of the force with the remaining gun, were placed. The



Canadian Voltigeurs and the Indians were detailed for skirmish duty in an endeavor to draw the enemy on to the main British position. The disposition of the British force enabled the several parts to combine in supporting each other at any point where the enemy might be securing an advantage.

The Canadian skirmishers opened the fight and falling back on the British left, were followed by an attack in force on that position. The attack was repelled, and General Boyd made an attempt to outflank and overpower the right wing lying on the river. A party of the 49th made a counter charge and attempted to seize one of the enemy's guns, but retired in order to oppose a cavalry movement which threatened their right flank and rear. The men of the 89th came to their support, the cavalry was repulsed and the gun was then taken. In these movements, the British fought remarkably well. They were evidently well led, and officers and men proved that they knew their business. After this the fighting continued for some time, but the enemy were compelled to retreat, leaving a complete victory to the British. This engagement was fiercely contested, the fighting spirited and determined, and, considering the disparity of numbers, the victors deserve great praise for the manner in which they utilized what advantages came to them from position and opportunity. Their casualties did not amount altogether to 200, while the enemy lost more than 300 in killed and wounded, including Brigadier-General Covington, who was killed, and more than 100 prisoners.

During these operations, there was not much movement on the Niagara frontier. The district suffered very much from marauders, and in order to protect the inhabitants, General Vincent, who with a small force was stationed at Burlington Heights, detailed Col. Murray to move forward with a detachment, as far as Forty Mile Creek. General McClure, of the United States forces, shifted his headquarters from Fort George to Twenty Mile Creek, and as his small bands of raiders were being driven in by Murray, he feared a general attack on his position and retired to Fort George. Even there he did not feel safe, and determining to abandon the fort, he crossed to Fort Niagara. Before doing so, however, an act of destruction was perpetrated by him in the burning of Newark, which aroused the indig-

nation of the British people, and stirred the British forces wherever operating, to a determination to exact retaliation at the earliest opportunity.

On the abandonment of Fort George by McClure, Col. Murray occupied the place and found that a quantity of tents, stores and guns had been left behind, and that the fortifications themselves had been strengthened.

Lt.-General Gordon Drummond assumed the administration of the province on the 13th of December, and he immediately moved to the Niagara frontier, taking over the command from General Vincent. He was accompanied by Major-General Riall, an officer who had seen considerable service in the British army. Drummond found Harvey in possession of Fort George, and the latter at once submitted a plan for the capture of Fort Niagara on the opposite shore. General Drummond approved of the plan, and on the night of the 18th of December, Murray crossed with between 500 and 600 men mostly of the 100th Regiment, and about 4 o'clock in the morning, advanced upon the fort. Surprising the sentries and obtaining the watchword from them, the main body rushed through the main gate and, after a few minutes' fighting, the fort was taken. Sixty-five of the enemy were killed and over 300 prisoners taken, while a rich booty of guns and stores was captured, and a number of non-combatants, who had been seized by McClure's orders and detained as prisoners at the fort, were liberated. The British loss did not exceed about a dozen killed and wounded. This historic fort was kept in possession of the British until the close of the war.

While Murray was thus victoriously engaged, General Riall with a force of about 500 regulars crossed to his assistance, but finding his help unnecessary, he turned southward and marched to Lewiston where arrangements had been made by the enemy to cannonade Queenston. Here two guns with stores and ammunition were taken, Lewiston and some neighboring villages were burned in retaliation for the burning of Newark, and marching on, Fort Schlosser was destroyed and Riall advanced until within ten miles of Buffalo, where a broken bridge intercepting his march, he returned and crossed to the Canadian side at Queenston. McClure had been succeeded by Major-General Hall.

On the 28th of December, Drummond marched up the river and

encamped at Chippewa. On the following night, Riall with 600 men and a party of Indians, crossed the river and landed about two miles below Black Rock. He surprised the picket, seized the bridge on his way to Black Rock and resisted the attacks of the enemy until daylight, when 800 men of the Royal Scots assisted by a detachment of Dragoons, appeared above the fort. In crossing the river, some of the boats grounded, and a heavy loss was inflicted on the British before they reached the shore, but on Riall's resuming his advance from below, the enemy gave way and the position was taken. The British thereupon continued and captured Buffalo, dispersing the enemy and seizing some guns and stores. Black Rock and Buffalo were burned to the ground, as was also three vessels which were found aground at Buffalo Creek, thus clearing out the enemy's forces all along their side of the frontier from Buffalo to Fort Niagara, a just retribution for the burning of Newark. In all these engagements the British lost no more than 100, the loss of the enemy being very much more severe. This closed the campaign of 1813 and Drummond's troops took up their winter quarters at Fort Niagara, St. David's, Burlington Heights and York.

During the winter Drummond was active. He planned an expedition against Detroit overland in the hope of retaking that place and capturing the fleet which lay there, which, if successful, would give him ascendancy on Lake Erie, but he was prevented from proceeding with his expedition on account of the mildness of the season, which, leaving Lake Erie open to the United States shipping, gave the enemy a decided advantage. From the same cause the Canadian shores were exposed to many raiding expeditions by the enemy, one of which became notorious. It was conducted by Col. Campbell, who commanded a force of 500 men. Landing near Long Point on the 14th of May, they, on the following day, plundered and burned the Village of Port Dover and the mills, stores and dwelling houses in the vicinity. Drummond described the conduct of this force as having been "disgraced during their short stay on shore by every act of barbarity, and by illiberal and unjustifiable outrage." Representations were made to the United States authorities against Campbell, and he was tried by court martial, the result being that he was justified in destroying the stores and mills, but found to have erred in burning the dwelling houses.

Parties of the United States troops were also active in marauding along the line of the Thames. At Chatham, a party of them met with a severe reverse at the hands of a number of the Canadian militia who were hastily collected, and who made prisoners of nearly all the raiders. In March a rather serious encounter took place. A mixed body of regulars and militia under Capt. Basden attacked a party of the enemy which had entrenched itself in a position between London and Moraviantown, the attack ending in the repulse of the British with a loss of about 65 men.

Yeo and Drummond, who were in hearty accord with each other, embarked 1,000 troops at Kingston on the 4th of May with the object of capturing Oswego. The force contained six companies of De Watteville's Regiment, the light company of the Glengarries, a battalion of marines and some artillery. It was noon on the 5th, on account of shifting winds, before they arrived off Oswego. The enemy, numbering about 500, sustained a heavy loss. Several large guns fell into the British hands. The fort was dismantled, the barracks burned and, having accomplished their purpose, the British left for Kingston.

On the 29th of May, nineteen boats loaded with guns and stores belonging to the United States and intended for Sackett's Harbor, reached the mouth of the Big Salmon River. They were observed by the British, and on the morning of the 30th, two gunboats accompanied by smaller boats containing about 200 sailors and marines, followed them. In the course of their march they were ambushed by riflemen and Indians, all the men being killed, wounded or taken prisoners.

The United States army was gathering in strength at Buffalo, where General Brown had under his command between 4,000 and 5,000 men available for the invasion of Canada. There was a corps of artillery, two brigades of regular infantry commanded by Brigadiers-General Winfield Scott and Ripley, and a brigade of militia and volunteers commanded by General Porter, with whom there was also a body of Indians from the State of New York. On the Canadian side, Col. Hercules Scott, of the 103rd Regiment, with 400 or 500 men, was in command of the post at Burlington. Drummond, with Harvey as his Deputy Adjutant-General, divided his forces to cover as much ground as possible. Between 700 and 800 men were



at Fort Niagara, about 1,000 at Fort George, 300 at Queenston, 500 at Chippewa and its outposts, 150 at Fort Erie, at or near Long Point on Lake Erie under 300. York was garrisoned by over 1,000 men. The whole was under command of Major-General Riall, Drummond being at Kingston and Riall's headquarters at Fort George.\*.

On the 3rd of July, Scott's brigade crossed the river about a mile below Fort Erie, Ripley's men landing about a mile above the fort which was then invested, a battery having been brought to bear on its works. Drummond had hoped that this fort was sufficiently strong to check the enemy's advance for a few days so that there might be an opportunity for collecting his forces and arranging to meet the enemy's attack, but in this hope he was disappointed, for, on the afternoon of the 3rd, the garrison at Fort Erie surrendered, and the enemy gained an important position in the first day's operations without any loss. On the following morning Scott advanced as far as Streets Creek within two miles of Chippewa, driving back the British reconnoitering force. On the evening of the same day, Scott was followed by all the others with the exception of General Porter's command, and an encampment was made at Streets Creek.

Information reached Riall on the morning of the 3rd that the enemy had crossed into Canada. He sent five companies of the Royal Scots from Queenston and Fort George to assist in holding the position at Chippewa, and on the morning of July 5th, a body of from 400 to 500 men of the 8th or King's Regiment (who had made a winter march from Fredericton, N.B., to Quebec in February) having arrived, he resolved to engage the enemy at once. His force now numbered 1,500 regulars, the 1st or Royal Scots, the 8th and the 100th, a squadron of Dragoons and a detachment of artillery, supported by 300 militia and about the same number of Indians. He estimated the enemy, relying on information from prisoners, at 6,000 with a strong force of artillery, probably an over estimate of a little more than 1,000 men. The British position was on the left bank of the Chippewa River, and the enemy occupied a strong position. The ground was stubbornly contested, but the British were unable to make headway against an enemy which now possessed fighting qualities of no mean order and were

\* Lucas.

supported by well posted artillery, skillfully handled. Riall had to draw off his men, and, under cover of the 8th Regiment, retreated into the lines of Chippewa, leaving 500 men as the casualties of the action. There were few prisoners.

Then began a series of retreats. The enemy, by crossing the Chippewa above the village, turned Riall's position and he fell back on Fort George, abandoning Chippewa and Queenston, and on the 9th of July the enemy encamped at the Village of St. David's. On the 14th, Riall further retreated to Twenty Mile Creek, making a junction with the force from Burlington. Garrisons still maintained Forts George, Mississauga and Niagara, all of them under the command of Lt.-Col. Tucker, of the 41st Regiment. An interval of a fortnight followed, the two forces keeping watch upon each other's movements.

Wilcocks and his guerillas were causing annoyance by harrying the loyal settlers of the district. On the night of the 12th of July, Major Evans of the 8th came to close quarters with a detachment of the enemy, and in the encounter, Brigadier-General Swift was slain. General Porter claimed that Swift had been assassinated by one of the prisoners, who, after begging for and receiving quarter, shot him through the breast, but this statement is not supported by evidence. On the 19th of July the Village of St. David's was burned by Col. Stone, apparently in retaliation for General Swift's death. The village consisted of thirty or forty houses, and one of the principal sufferers was Major David Secord, whose loyalty marked him out for an attack by the enemy. General Brown has been exonerated from any connivance with the burning of St. David's. He disavowed the action and promptly called Col. Stone to account, and, on the same day on which he burned the village, Stone was dismissed by General Brown from the United States army.

Upon learning that the American army had retreated, Drummond immediately changed his plan of operations, Col. Pearson, with the light troops of Riall's division, was sent during the night to seize the high ground at Lundy's Lane. General Riall was in command. The engagement was late in the day. An American regiment turned the British left flank, drove back the battalion of incorporated militia, and took more than 100 prisoners,

among them General Riall. But the British maintained their ground with great tenacity, and several attacks were repelled with loss. The opportune arrival of Col. Scott's column placed them on a more even footing with their antagonists, and after a two hours' struggle they regained the heights, taking two of the enemy's guns, and recovering all but one of their own. By that time the forces engaged on both sides were quite exhausted, a large proportion of the officers, and nearly one-third of the men, killed or wounded. Generals Brown and Scott, of the United States, were disabled, and the command of the American devolved on General Ripley, who collected the remains of his army and retired to his camp beyond the Chippewa, leaving his dead and many wounded on the field.\*

General Ripley, who was acting during General Brown's illness, made a reconnaissance next day, but finding the British forces in possession of the field, retired and destroyed the bridge over the Chippewa to prevent pursuit. Destroying also his stores, he retreated to Fort Erie, the British light troops and Indians keeping in touch with his rear. The battle was the hardest fought in Canada during the war. The British returned 878 as killed, wounded, missing or prisoners, but the number of killed did not exceed 84.

On the 1st of August Drummond moved his headquarters in the direction of Fort Erie with the object of driving the enemy across the river. An expedition under Col. Tucker with 600 men left for the purpose of capturing the stores at Buffalo and attacking Black Rock on the return, but did not succeed. The garrisons on his route having been warned, threw obstacles in his way, and he had to recross with slight loss. Brigadier-General Gaines succeeded Ripley, General Brown being still suffering from his wounds. Drummond was reinforced by the De Watteville Regiment and by the 41st, their places having been taken in garrison by the remnant of the 89th, with the exception of the light company of that regiment. Capt. Dobbs, of the Royal Navy, who was in charge of the vessel lying off Fort George, joined Drummond with 70 sailors and marines with the object of capturing three schooners which were anchored off Fort Erie and were of considerable assistance to the enemy. Capt. Dobbs' sailors carried the gig

\* Cruikshank.

of his ship from Queenston to Frenchmen's Creek above the Falls, and, with five other boats, a portage was made through the woods to Lake Erie, where they were launched on the night of August 12th, and attacked the three ships. Two were boarded and easily captured, but the third, managing to cut the cables of the attacking boats, escaped.

With this as a successful beginning, Drummond directed his batteries on Fort Erie and began a general assault early on the 15th of August. During the occupancy of the fort, by the United States troops, it was greatly strengthened and well manned. Drummond's attack was made in three columns at three separate points delivered during the night, but the enemy was on the alert and was not taken by surprise. Notwithstanding his repulse, before Fort Erie, Drummond still occupied his ground and proceeded to place batteries nearer the fort than before. He was strengthened by the 82nd and 6th Regiments, veterans from the Peninsular army, but he was still weak in stores, guns and ammunition. In the course of skirmishing between Drummond's and Brown's troops, Willcocks, the Canadian deserter, was killed.

Brown resumed command at the beginning of September and proceeded at once to collect an army. Drummond's men suffered very seriously from the wet season, and sickness and scarcity of supplies were felt so much that he was considering the advisability of abandoning the siege of Fort Erie and falling back on Chippewa, but just then Brown ordered a sortie against the British batteries. These were about a mile and a half nearer the fort than the main British camp, and only about 500 yards distant from the enemy's lines. There were three batteries and they were manned by the De Watteville Regiment and some men of the 8th. The enemy advanced in two columns and General Porter, making a circuit through the woods, obtained a position on the British right. He attacked the battery on that side in flank and rear, and, the second column coming to his assistance, the battery and adjoining blockhouse were taken and the guns destroyed. The centre battery and blockhouse were then attacked and taken and the remaining battery seemed to be in their hands, when the British reserves arrived from the camp and drove the enemy back to the fort at the point of the bayonet, and re-established the line. The British loss, however, amounted to 600



men. The enemy also had heavy casualties, and General Ripley was among the wounded. A few days later the 97th Regiment arrived to Drummond's assistance, and on the evening of Sept. 21st, he broke up his encampment and retreated to the Falls of Niagara where he took up his quarters on the 24th, distributing his troops, however, along the river line from the vicinity of Fort Erie to Lake Ontario, the main point of concentration being Chippewa.

In the meantime General Izard arrived from the east and took command of the United States troops, which with the accession of Izard's command, now were greatly superior in numbers to the British. Drummond, fully alive to his danger, called out the militia, and Yeo making a successful trip with provisions, Drummond felt considerably reassured. On the 13th of October Izard marched down on the Canadian side of the river with 6,000 men, encamping on the night of the 14th within two miles of Chippewa. Next day, a reconnaissance disclosed the British entrenchments to be strong, and, deciding that he could not win in a general action, he brought the campaign to a close and distributed his troops in winter quarters. Before doing so, however, he sent a brigade to Cook's Mills about twelve miles inland from Chippewa, for the purpose, if possible, of turning the British right. This movement brought on a heavy skirmish on the 19th of October, in which the Glengarries distinguished themselves. Izard abandoned Fort Erie, blowing up the fortifications, and moved his entire forces to the opposite side of the river. With this action on the part of General Izard, the war on the Niagara frontier ended, and the approach of winter found the Canadian side of the river freed from the presence of the invaders.

While the two armies were confronting each other on the Niagara frontier, numerous raids were made by detachments of the enemy on western Ontario. On the 16th of August, 1814, Talbot's settlement was surprised and pillaged by a party of 100 men disguised as Indians. During September the same settlement was again visited, the mills burned and the sheep and cattle destroyed. On the 22nd of October, 700 mounted Kentuckians and Ohio frontiersmen left Detroit under the command of Brigadier-General McArthur with the object of devastating the country from Sandwich to the head of Lake Ontario. McArthur aimed chiefly at destroying the

mills, and had in view also, the possibility of an attack on Burlington Heights. He advanced eastward and reached Moraviantown on the 30th of October. From there he continued onwards until he reached the Oxford settlement, from which place he went to Burford. The Grand River was in flood and difficult to cross, and hearing that Fort Erie had been abandoned and that Burlington had been strengthened, he retreated by way of the Talbot Road, first engaging in a brisk skirmish with a body of Canadian militia at Malcolm's Mills. He reached Detroit on the 17th of November. His course was marked by destruction, and he himself admits in his report that there were "some partial abuses produced by the unfortunate examples presented by the Indians, whose customs in war compelled them to plunder after victory." Prevost, however, characterizes the inroad as having been made by a "horde of mounted Kentuckians, whose course was marked by wanton plunder, devastation and indiscriminate pillage."

One of the interesting events of the year 1814 was the affair at Michilimackinac. Here the British had remained undisturbed until after Barclay's defeat on Lake Erie. After Procter's defeat, Harrison had in view the capture of the post at Michilimackinac, but it was not until the summer of 1814 that an expedition was sent with that object in view. In the meantime it had been reported to Prevost that there was a scarcity of provisions in the garrison, and supplies and reinforcements were despatched in the month of April in charge of Col. McDouall, of the Glengarry Regiment, who was accompanied by about 90 soldiers, mostly from the Newfoundland Regiment. The little expedition went by York to the Georgian Bay by the Nottawasaga River, at the mouth of which a small post had been established. McDouall reached Michilimackinac on the 18th of May, and shortly afterwards considered his position to be safe enough to detach a party to make an attack on a fort named Prairie des Chiens on the upper Mississippi, which had been established by a party from St. Louis. The detachment sent by McDouall was commanded by an officer named McKay, and, reaching its destination on July 17th, captured the post, although it was supported by a gunboat on the river. In McKay's absence the garrison at Michilimackinac was attacked by the expedition sent up from Detroit, consisting of 5 ships and 700 troops commanded by Croghan, who has been already mentioned in

connection with Fort Stephenson. Croghan sent a detachment to St. Joseph's Island to burn the houses there, and a detachment to raid the settlement at Sault Ste. Marie, the defenders of which had joined McDouall. The settlement was thoroughly pillaged. Before the end of July, the vessels landed the attacking force at the rear of Fort Michilimackinac. The garrison numbered less than 200 men, including Indians, but McDouall did not hesitate to attack the invaders and was highly successful, the enemy being driven off and compelled, under the fire of their ships, to re-embark, which, having done, they sailed away proceeding to the blockhouse at Nottawasaga where they found a schooner, and burned it and the blockhouse. Lieut. Worsley, who was in charge of the post, escaped with his men and went to Michilimackinac. Two of the United States ships were left in the vicinity of the Nottawasaga River to interrupt the line of communication from York to Michilimackinac, and the others returned to Detroit. The ships left behind were the Tigress and Scorpion and they took up their position in the vicinity of St. Joseph's Island. A party from Michilimackinac led by Worsley, captured the Tigress on the night of Sept. 3rd, and with the captured vessel, three days later, took the Scorpion. Thus the upper lakes were freed of the enemy and the post at Michilimackinac effectually relieved.

Prevost's expedition to Plattsburg, with 10,000 to 11,000 men, was not successful, but so far as Canada was concerned was the last engagement of the war. The treaty of peace had been signed on the 24th of December, 1814, more than a fortnight before the battle of New Orleans was fought, and was ratified by Madison on the 18th of February following. It is known as the Treaty of Ghent, because the negotiations between the British and United States commissioners, which began on the 8th of August, 1814, were conducted there. Taken as a whole the treaty seems to have been greatly in favor of the United States.

## CHAPTER XV.

### LEGISLATION DURING THE WAR—GORE'S RETURN.

As the officer in command, Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe, assumed the administration of the government on Brock's death as President of the Executive Council. Sheaffe was born in Boston in 1763, and, entering the British army as an ensign in the 5th Fusiliers, his promotion was steady and his services distinguished. He met the House on the 25th day of February, 1813. Of the eleven Acts passed, among the most important were one to provide for the maintenance of persons disabled, and the widows and children of such persons as might be killed in His Majesty's service; the militia laws were amended to give the Lieutenant-Governor authority to accept the voluntary services of militiamen, to appoint officers and to form regiments or incorporated militia to serve during the war; also authorizing the Lieutenant-Governor to prohibit the export of grain, and its consumption for distillation; and recognizing the army bills as a legal tender. The Act dealing with the use of the revenue, practically placed the whole at the Lieutenant-Governor's disposal owing to the war. The House also adopted an address to the Prince Regent on behalf of the family of Brock, to whom it was suggested some of the waste lands of the province should be granted so that the name of Brock should be preserved in Upper Canada.

On account of the victory at Queenston, Sheaffe received the honor of a baronetcy. He acted as Administrator until June, of 1813, when he was succeeded in the military command and in the administration by Major-General Baron Francis De Rottenburg, who continued in that position until the 12th of December, 1813, and afterwards commanded the left division of the army in Canada until 1815, when he returned to England. His son, Col. Baron De Rottenburg was Adjutant-General of the militia in Upper Canada from 1855 to 1858, when he became Lt.-Col. of the 100th or Prince of Wales Royal Canada Regiment.



De Rottenburg was succeeded by Sir Gordon Drummond, a member of the ancient family of the Drummonds of Concraig and Megginch, Perthshire. He was born in 1771 at Quebec, his father, Sir Colin Drummond, being at that time Paymaster-General of the forces at Quebec. Entering the army in youth he rose rapidly and distinguished himself in the field in the continental wars and in Egypt, rising to the rank of Lt.-General in 1811. Early in 1812 he was appointed to a command in Ireland, and in 1813 while still retaining his Irish command, was sent to Canada as second to Sir George Prevost, arriving on the 3rd of November, 1813. He assumed command in Upper Canada, and on the 15th of February, 1814, called the Parliament together. Three of the members were prisoners of war,—Alexander Macdonell, Ralph Clench and John McGregor. Two were reported as having deserted to the enemy, viz., Abraham Marele and John Willcocks, and their seats declared vacant. A great deal of public business was transacted, much of it of a routine character, such as extending of the Acts already in force, and dealing with the revenues. Twenty-four thousand dollars was voted for the repairing and maintenance of roads and bridges; the Militia Act was amended to suit the changing circumstances of the times; provision was made for the establishment and regulating of a market for the Town of York by the Commissioners of the Peace for the Home district; and a liberal amount was appropriated for defence.

The next Parliament met at York on the 1st day of February, 1815, presided over by Sir Gordon Drummond. Part of the legislation enacted concerned the administration of law in the counties; the admission of law students; a measure to remove doubts with respect to the authority under which the courts of general Quarter Sessions of the Peace and other courts had been erected and held; an Act granting money for the uses of the incorporated militia; and an Act providing for the erection of a monument in memory of the late President, General Sir Isaac Brock, in which is recited the legislators' high estimate of his services. The sum of £1,000 was granted for the purpose. The commissioners under whose direction the monument was to be erected were Thomas Dickson, Thomas Clark and Robert Nichol. An Act was also passed at this session to incorporate the Midland District

School Society, for which funds had been collected in Britain and in Kingston, Ontario.

Shortly after the prorogation of Parliament, Sir Gordon Drummond succeeded Prevost as Administrator-in-Chief of Canada to which office he was sworn in at Quebec on the 4th of April, and on the 24th of the same month Sir George Murray assumed the administration of Upper Canada. He desired to be known as Provisional Lieutenant-Governor instead of President, but as Francis Gore was still Lieutenant-Governor, though then absent in London, it does not seem that Murray was entitled to the designation he desired. Sir George Murray was one of the most distinguished British generals of his day. He was the second son of Sir William Murray, Bart., and Lady Augusta Mackenzie, daughter of the third Earl of Cromarty, and was born at Ochtertyre, Perthshire, in 1772.

In 1828 he was made a Privy Councillor and became Secretary of State for the colonies in the Duke of Wellington's administration. He became a General in 1841 and died in 1846. He has been described as a successful soldier, an able Minister and a skilful and fluent debater, and was the recipient of the gold cross with five clasps for the Peninsula, the Orders of Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, and Austrian, Russian, Portuguese and Turkish Orders. Besides works of lesser note, he published the "Letters and despatches of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, from 1702 to 1712. He was succeeded in the administration of Upper Canada by Sir Frederick Phipps Robinson, Commander-in-Chief of the forces on the Canada station, who took over the administration on the 1st of July, 1815, continuing for a few months until the return of Francis Gore. Sir Frederick was the son of Col. Beverley Robinson, of New York. He was a United Empire Loyalist and a relative of Sir John Beverley Robinson who, at a later period, was Chief Justice of Upper Canada.

Lieutenant-Governor Gore returned on the 25th of September, 1815, and was cordially welcomed by the inhabitants of York, who presented him with a very flattering address. While Gore was still in London, representations were made to the Home government in favor of changing the capital from York to Kingston. The proposal was strenuously opposed by Bishop Strachan, Chief Justice Scott, Mr. John Beverley Robinson and by Murray,



LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GORDON DRUMMOND.



SIR GEORGE MURRAY, G.C.B.



MAJOR-GENERAL FREDERICK ROBINSON, G.C.B.



HON. SAMUEL SMITH.





the Administrator, and Gore, to whom the matter was referred, advising against it, the project was abandoned. At the same time, medals were struck to be given to officers who had participated in the taking of Detroit, the battles of Chateauguay and Chrysler's. General Sheaffe pressed for similar recognition to the officers who had been present at Queenston, Frenchtown, Vincent and Stoney Creek, but his request was not granted. An interesting incident connected with Gore when he was on leave of absence in London was his activity in collecting subscriptions for the relief of those who had been wounded in the war and for the wives and children of those killed. The Duke of Kent and the Duke of Northumberland gave their patronage, each subscribing one hundred guineas, Gore himself giving a subscription of equal amount. There was also executed under his superintendence, a medal in gold and silver intended to be conferred by the Loyal and Patriotic Society, for distinguished service rendered to the country during the war. A difficulty arose as to who should be the recipients, and by resolution of the Society the medals were not distributed, but were converted into bullion, the value of which amounted to nearly £400, which was given as a contribution with other moneys at the credit of the Society, towards the erection of the general hospital at York, then having a population of about 500 inhabitants and the whole province some 50,000.

Gore drew up a report on the state of the country which is of particular interest as showing the conditions immediately after the close of the war. His tone is hopeful. General prosperity was beginning to prevail over the injuries inflicted by the invading forces and the strain which the hostilities had placed upon the people, while there was a feeling of security among the inhabitants. There was considerable dissatisfaction that only 50 acres of land were to be allowed for militia services as against the 200 acres which had been granted in former years. The Lieutenant-Governor strongly advocated an increase to 100 acres.

On meeting the Legislature on the 6th of February, 1816, Gore was able to congratulate them on the bright prospects, and naturally his gratification was expressed at the gallant defence made by the Canadian militia during the late war. Useful and necessary legislation was passed, of the thirty-nine Acts the more important being the constituting of the Counties of Prescott

and Russell into a separate district under the name of Ottawa. The Gore district was also established out of the Home and Niagara districts. The legislative library was begun by the sum of £800 being voted for the purchase of books for the use of members of the Legislature and of the Council. A salary of \$800 per annum was attached to the office of Speaker of each House. \$4,000 was granted for the encouragement of the cultivation of hemp, and \$10,000 for the expenses of the civil list. A provisional Act regulated the trade with the United States, the amount of the duties to be determined by the Lieutenant-Governor, who, however, was not permitted to prohibit the admission of wheat, flour, peas, beans, oats, barley, corn and all provisions, or travellers' baggage. The sum of \$21,000 was voted for the maintenance of highways and bridges, and an Act was passed for the relief of persons holding or possessing lands in the District of Niagara, whose deeds, wills, etc., had been destroyed when the enemy burned the town, commissioners in the case to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor to enquire into and settle their claims. But of more interest than any of those enumerated, was the Act passed at this session establishing common schools "as conducive to the happiness of the inhabitants and general prosperity of the province," towards which object £6,000 was provided to be expended chiefly in the payment of teachers' salaries and purchasing books, allocated as follows: Home district, £600; Newcastle district, £400; Midland district, £1,000; Johnstown district, £600; Eastern district, £800; District of London, £600; District of Gore, £600; Niagara district, £600; Western district, £600; District of Ottawa, £200. The inhabitants were to meet together for the purpose of making arrangements for the instituting of common schools, and as soon as a competent number of persons united and built or provided a school house, engaged to furnish twenty scholars or more, and in part provided for the payment of a teacher, then these inhabitants or a majority of them were to meet and elect three school trustees who were to appoint the teacher and regulate the school. No person could be appointed a teacher unless a natural born subject, or if naturalized, had taken the oath of allegiance. The Act also made provision for the appointment of not more than five persons to compose a Board of Education in each district, three to be a quorum, with power to superintend

the schools within their district and report annually to the Governor. The teacher, in certain cases, had an appeal from the local trustees to this Board. The trustees reported once a year to the Board of Education, and the Board of Education once a year to the Lieutenant-Governor, who laid the same before the Legislature. Each district Board had power to apply money from the government grant, to an amount not exceeding £100, for the purchase of books for the use of the schools. The Act was to remain in force for at least four years.

The good feeling entertained by the Legislature for the Lieutenant-Governor, found expression in an address to the Prince Regent asking his sanction to a bill unanimously passed appropriating the sum of \$3,000 to enable Mr. Gore to purchase a service of plate commemorative of their gratitude, a proceeding which might naturally be accepted as an augury of future pleasant relations between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Legislature, which, however, were not destined to be realized. The close of the session of 1816 brought the sixth Parliament to an end and a general election on the province, as a result of which new blood was introduced.

The first session of the seventh Parliament met on the 4th of February, 1817, and it immediately became noticeable that a new spirit pervaded the House. The statutes passed included measures adjusting the bounds of constituencies; establishing police in the Towns of York, Sandwich and Amherstburg; a market in the Town of Niagara and certain other measures of purely local interest. An address was also passed to the Imperial Parliament praying for the regulation of the commercial intercourse between Upper and Lower Canada, obstacles in the regulating of which had occurred, causing a shortage in the payments made to Upper Canada of a total, estimated at that time, of about £12,365. During this session, Chief Justice Scott resigned the Speakership, and Gore recommended Judge Powell as his successor with an allowance of £400 for the session to pay the expenses of the table. The orders which had been issued from the Colonial Office prohibiting settlement from the United States in January, 1815, but had been left in abeyance by the Administrators during Gore's absence, were applied by the Lieutenant-Governor, a proceeding which caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among those who held land for sale and looked for pur-



chasers to newcomers of means from the United States or Britain. The orders were considered as an unwarrantable interference on the part of the Home authorities.

The legislation for the session having been disposed of, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of the province, a departure evidencing the presence of the new element furnished by the general election. The committee considered the restriction on immigration from the United States, the insufficiency of postal facilities, the interference with the more complete settlement of the country caused by the Crown and clergy reserve lands and the delay in the granting of lands to the embodied militia and volunteers who had served during the war. The Lieutenant-Governor considered these proceedings as a reflection on his administration and decided to dismiss the House immediately. Accordingly on the re-assembling of the House and before the minutes of the preceding session were read, the members were summoned to the Bar of the Legislative Council, the Lieutenant-Governor prorogued the House in terms not evidencing his usual tact and courtesy. This summary proceeding was the commencement of a struggle between a section of the House and the government, which continued for many succeeding years. During the excitement thus caused, Robert Gourlay arrived in Upper Canada from Scotland. His sketches of Upper Canada contain valuable statistics. He came to Canada with large schemes of immigration and settlement, and on account of the aggressive manner in which he sought to carry out his plans, suffered much at the hands of the authorities and was subjected to arrest and imprisonment. Barnabas Bidwell with whom he was on friendly terms, had been at one time Attorney-General of Massachusetts, treasurer of the County of Berkshire and a Member of Congress. He was returned as a member of the Legislature for Lennox and Addington, but was declared disqualified on account of not having resided long enough in Canada. His son was Marshall Spring Bidwell, who, at a later period, figured prominently in the affairs of the province.

About a month after the close of the session of 1817, so abruptly brought to an end, Lieutenant-Governor Gore went to Britain to report on the conditions of the province and to justify his action. He did not



return. His name was perpetuated in the old Gore district, but more prominently was that of his wife in the town, now the city, of Belleville. Her name was "Arabella," her husband's abbreviation of which was "Belle," and on the Governor's suggestion the "ville" was added, and the compound word Belleville was given to the county town of Hastings.

Hon. Samuel Smith became Administrator. He was born at Long Island in 1756 of English descent, and on the outbreak of the Revolutionary War joined the army on the British side, obtaining an ensigncy in the Queen's Rangers, where he became intimate with General Simcoe, and afterwards followed him to Canada, settling at Niagara in 1793. He had extensive lands in the neighborhood of Burlington Bay, and a homestead in Etobicoke township in the County of York. A half sister named Annie became the wife of the Hon. Alexander Macdonell, of York, a member of the Legislative Council, and descendants of the Hon. Mr. Smith are still to be found among the citizens of Toronto. The Parliament of 1818 was opened by Mr. Smith on the 5th of February. In his address he stated that an extended scheme of immigration had been organized, and he recommended for consideration the expediency of assisting the immigrants by providing means to defray the expense of the grant of land. A ten per cent. tariff on imports from the United States, including flour and potash, was passed by the Assembly, and brought on a conflict between it and the Legislative Council, the latter body claiming that the measure was opposed to the instructions of the Colonial Office, and consequently they amended it. The action of the Legislative Council was regarded as a breach of the privilege of the Commons, the House possessing the exclusive right of raising and appropriating money. In the controversy which followed the Assembly addressed the Prince Regent in a memorial containing the following significant passage: "It very strongly marks, in a national and constitutional point of view, the evil that must result from the legislative and executive functions being materially vested in the same persons, as is unfortunately the case in this province where His Majesty's Executive Council is almost wholly composed of the Legislative body, and consisting only of the Deputy Superintendent-General of the Indian department, the Receiver-General and the Inspector-General, the Chief Justice, the Speaker of the Legislative

Council and the Hon. and Rev. Chaplain of that House." Mr. Smith declined to transmit the address and prorogued the House on the 1st of April.

A personage second to none in the early days of the province was Colonel Thomas Talbot, the soldier, secretary and colonizer, who founded the Talbot settlement on the northern shore of Lake Erie. He was of the Talbots of Malahide, Ireland, the Irish branch dating from 1172. At Malahide Castle, in 1771, Thomas Talbot was born. With the powerful influence of his family he obtained a commission in the army when only eleven years of age and was almost immediately retired on half pay. While still a stripling he was appointed aide-de-camp to the Marquis of Buckingham, a relative, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His brother aide was Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington. In 1790 Talbot joined the 24th Regiment at Quebec. Here he met Simcoe on his arrival as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. During the winter both passed at Quebec, the young Lieutenant of the 24th, was attracted to Simcoe, and at the age of 20 or 21 became his private and confidential secretary, and accompanied him to Niagara. He accompanied Simcoe on his famous tour overland from Niagara to Detroit, and acquired a personal knowledge of the character of the country inland. He returned to England, and taking up his military duties won merited approval, and rapid promotion, becoming Lieut.-Colonel of the 2nd battalion of the 5th Foot. He was on terms of intimacy with the Duke of Kent (Queen Victoria's father), and the Duke of Cumberland, and entered into the full gaiety of the Court circles at the beginning of the 19th century. Suddenly the life of a gay young officer favored by Royalty, and supported by the influence of powerful family connections, with an inviting military career before him, was abandoned, and in 1801 he is to be found on the shores of Lake Erie, as he writes to the Duke of Cumberland, "out every morning at sunrise in my smock frock and burning the forest to form a farm." He had been promised five thousand acres of land by Simcoe, the same quantity as had been given to field officers settling in Upper Canada, free of all expenses. But Simcoe not having issued his warrant, in Talbot's case, before leaving Upper Canada, Talbot found, on returning in 1801, that conditions of settlement had changed and



CHIEF JUSTICE OSGOODE.



COLONEL TALBOT.



EARL SELKIRK.  
An early colonizer of Canada.





he had a difficulty in obtaining the land. He therefore returned to London and with the strong advocacy of Simcoe, instructions were given to Lieutenant-Governor Hunter to make a grant of five thousand acres in Yarmouth township to him, and also to enter into an arrangement by which he could settle lands adjoining on emigrants, the conditions being, that for each settler a lot of 200 acres would be set apart, of which Talbot was to retain 150 acres for himself, in consideration of his having procured the settler, and that the latter should receive the remaining 50 acres. The lands in the Township of Yarmouth not being available, Talbot took up his grant in that of Dunwich, and proceeded, forthwith, to rear his dwelling house, which, after the ancestral home in Ireland, he named Malahide. His first settlers were drawn from the United States, very few arriving for the first ten years, but from 1816, onwards, settlement proceeded rapidly with a splendid class of Highland Scotch emigrants very largely from Argyleshire, among them being such names as Macgregor, Ford, Stewart, Dewar, Forbes, Gillies, MacKellar, MacDougall, MacEwen, MacDiarmid, MacNaughton, MacKay, MacCall, Campbell, Haggart, Rider, and McGugan. Associated with Talbot in the work of settlement was Col. Burwell, a native of New Jersey, and the magnitude of their operations may be judged from the fact the 28 townships were settled under the Colonel's superintendence. Talbot was for many years a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada and he commanded the militia of the district in the War of 1812.

In connection with the settlement of the Highlanders in the County of Glengarry there were two clergymen each named Alexander Macdonell, one of whom, in after years, impressed his personality deeply on the country. Alexander Macdonell, of the Scotos family, left for Canada in 1786, with about 500 Highlanders principally from the wildly romantic parish of Knoydart, co-terminus with the District of Glengarry, and arriving in Quebec, in the month of September of that year, proceeded westward, and settled in Glengarry. Mr. Macdonell was born about the year 1750, was educated in France, and ordained in Paris in 1778. He was the founder of the parish of St. Raphael's, the first Roman Catholic congregation in Upper Canada. He built the church known as the Blue Chapel. He died in 1803. The other Alexander Macdonell (who became Bishop), was born at Inshlaggan

in 1762, and was educated in Paris and at Valladolid. On being ordained in 1787 he became missionary in the Braes of Lochaber, at a time when the consolidation of small farms produced distress to the dispossessed tenants. The missionary conducted 700 or 800 of his homeless countrymen to Glasgow and its neighborhood, and obtained employment for them in the factories there. A depression of trade taking place shortly afterwards they were thrown out of employment and became a problem on the priest's hands once more. Then, by his efforts, he obtained permission from the King to form them into a Highland regiment, of which he became the chaplain, and thereby continued the friend, philosopher and guide of his people. This was the first Roman Catholic regiment embodied in the British dominions since the Reformation. In 1798 the regiment was stationed in Ireland, and gave good service there. In 1802, during the Peace of Amiens the regiment was disbanded, and once more the men were turned adrift, without an occupation. Then Mr. Macdonell thought of emigration as the proper plan to follow. He interested Mr. Addington, the Prime Minister, in their condition, who strongly urged them to settle in Trinidad, where the prospects were very promising. On account of the climate of that island not being considered by Mr. Macdonell to be favorable, he declined this offer, and at length succeeded, in 1803, in obtaining for every one of the late Glengarry regiment, who chose to emigrate, a grant of 200 acres of land. His difficulties had, however, but really begun, for no sooner was it known that they were to emigrate in a body, than a number of Highland landlords took alarm at the example which their departure would set, and they represented to the government that the Highlands were in danger of being depopled. The interest of the Prince of Wales was enlisted in their retention, and he offered lands in the County of Cornwall, England, but these were declined, and Mr. Macdonell, in conjunction with Major Archibald Campbell, prepared a plan of organizing a military emigration, to be composed of the soldiers of the Scottish Fencible regiments, just then disbanded, and sending them to Upper Canada, for the double purpose of forming a colonial defense and settling the country. This scheme was being matured and promised to succeed, when Mr. Addington resigned the premiership, and Pitt returned to office, soon after which the war was renewed, and opposi-

tion to emigration was vigorously continued. A bill was brought into Parliament placing an embargo on all emigrant vessels in British harbors. But the Glengarry Fencibles embarked just in time, before the Act came into operation. The emigrants were mostly Macdonells, disbanded soldiers of the Glengarry Fencibles, with their families and immediate connections. They were strongly recommended by the Secretary for the Colonies to Lieut.-Gen. Hunter, who was authorized to grant lands in any part of the province, in the proportion of 1,200 to Mr. Macdonell and 200 to every family he might introduce into the colony. The men located mostly in the County of Glengarry, and Mr. Macdonell became priest of St. Raphael. In the year of 1812 his activity in connection with raising the Glengarry corps was signally successful. Powerful of frame, inured to fatigue, indefatigable in his efforts on behalf of church and state, he became a power in the province, and in the course of time he was appointed a member of Legislative Council. He was made Bishop of Kingston, his consecration taking place, in Montreal, in 1826. He established a Highland Society in Upper Canada, of which he was the President and of which the celebrated John A. Macdonald, then a young barrister, was the first secretary. While on a visit to Scotland, in 1839, having in view the formulating of a large and systematic scheme of emigration from the Highlands, he attended the great Northern Meeting at Inverness and was regarded with much interest and was very hospitably received. Early in the year following while resting at Dumfries he expired suddenly in the 80th year of his age. His remains were removed in 1861 for interment at Kingston, Ontario.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### MAITLAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sir Peregrine Maitland succeeded Gore as Lieutenant-Governor. He was born in Hampshire, England, of Scotch descent, in 1777, and at the early age of fifteen entered the army, in which he had a successful career. At the battle of Waterloo he commanded the first British brigade of the first division, and his brilliant military record was recognized by the bestowal of the orders and honors then granted only for high military service. He married Lady Sarah Lennox, daughter of the Duke of Richmond, under somewhat romantic circumstances. The Duke of Richmond having been appointed Governor-General of the Canadas in 1818, the position of Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada was offered to Sir Peregrine. It may here be stated that, returning from a visit to his daughter at York in 1819, the Duke on his arrival at the village of Richmond was bitten by a pet fox, and after a few hours of intense suffering from hydrophobia, died on the 19th of August, 1819. Maitland arrived in August, 1818, to find the province in a condition of excitement following the Gourlay episode and the battle which had begun between the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council. Considerable discontent prevailed, and the movement which, with varying success, was persisted in until, after the legislative union, responsible government was conceded, was in progress of distinct development.

Parliament met on the 12th of October, 1818, at York. A committee of the House reported six resolutions to the effect that the House of Assembly was the only true representative of the people, that the election of delegates to debate on matters of public concern was unconstitutional and subversive of the peace of the province, that the allegiance of the people was above suspicion and that legislative action should be taken to prevent designing persons from organizing discontent and degrading the character of the province. This was going very far, but in accordance with the extreme position thus taken, an Act was passed declaring such public meet-



ings as above described as illegal and constituting a misdemeanor. The right of petition was, however, admitted. This repressive Act remained in force for two years when it was abolished. At this session an Act was passed for vesting in commissioners the estates of certain traitors, having reference to settlers from the United States who had gone over to the enemy in the War of 1812 and consequently had forfeited their property; and also the estates of persons declared aliens; and to adjust lawful debts and claims arising from losses during the war. The forfeited estates, real and personal, were vested in the commissioners who were clothed with extensive powers in the discharge of their duties.

In 1819 Parliament was called for the 7th of June, when the legislation passed did not include measures of unusual importance, but dealt largely with the details of public business. It is interesting to note that one of the Acts passed authorized the appropriation of a sum of money to defray the expenses of procuring plans and elevations of public buildings, and for copies of the journals which had been destroyed by the enemy in the late war. A measure of importance also passed was that by which all wild lands held in fee were taxed one penny in the pound, a principle conceded to popular demand. The claims of the militia for consideration on account of their services in the war had been allowed to remain in an unsettled condition, a cause of discontent and agrievance. The Home government had now taken action, and gave the provincial government authority to bestow grants on those who had been present in the field. In his message to the House, Maitland communicated this welcome fact, but followed it by the unwarrantable statement: "I do not consider myself justified in extending this mark of approbation to any of the inhabitants who composed the late convention of delegates" (referring to a convention held at York through Gourlay's efforts), "the proceedings of which were properly the subject of your very severe animadversion." The House prorogued on the 12th of July.

The inhabitants of Kingston who had previously petitioned for authority to establish a provincial bank with a capital of £100,000, renewed their petition and obtained their Act of incorporation on the 12th of July, 1819. In the same session the inhabitants of the Home district petitioned for the

incorporation of the Upper Canada Banking Company at York. The charter passed the House but was reserved for the Royal assent, and in 1821 the proclamation of its incorporation was issued, the capital named being £200,000, in shares of 12 pounds 10 shillings each, of which £50,000 was to be subscribed and £20,000 to be paid in specie before the bank commenced business. Next year the amount of specie required was reduced to £10,000, and in 1823 the stock was reduced to £100,000. The government subscribed for 2,000 shares, one-quarter of the whole stock, and was authorized to appoint four of the fifteen directors. Thus launched, the bank went on for upwards of forty years enjoying prosperity and giving excellent service to the public. It closed its doors in 1862, the stockholders losing all the money they had invested.

In connection with the progress of the province in these years, a very interesting account is to be found in a series of letters concerning the Perth settlement of 1816, from the Rev. William Bell who had been sent from Scotland as pastor of the settlement. In 1814 the British government, in order to divert the stream of emigration from Britain to the United States and to direct it to Canada, offered a free passage to those who were disposed to emigrate to that colony, 100 acres of land to each family upon their arrival, together with implements and rations for a limited period of time. Heads of families were to deposit in the hands of the government agent, as a security for performing the conditions, sixteen pounds for the husband and two guineas for the wife, the money to be repaid to them two years after they had settled upon their land. All children under sixteen years of age were to be carried out free and on their attaining the age of twenty-one, to have each 100 acres of land. Attracted by these inducements, about 700 persons, men, women and children, embarked from Greenock in June, of 1815, and sailed in four transports for Canada. It was the intention of the Governor of Lower Canada to settle them near Drummondville, but as they had free choice, they proceeded to the Upper province, a few, however, remaining at Montreal and at Cornwall. The remainder proceeded by the St. Lawrence as far as Brockville, where they remained during winter, and early in the spring of 1816 settled on the banks of the Tay in the Townships of Bathurst, Drummond and Beckwith, the centre of the settlement

being about forty-two miles north from the St. Lawrence, where the government had laid out a town plot and established a depot.

At this time two remarkable men became prominent on the political stage. One was the Rev. John Strachan, Toronto; the other, Sir John Beverley Robinson, the able Attorney-General of Upper Canada. John Strachan was born in Aberdeen on the 12th of April, 1778, and was educated at the famous Grammar school and University of that city, taking his theological course at St. Andrew. He was engaged in teaching in the little village of Kingskettle in 1797. At this time the Hon. Richard Cartwright and the Hon. Robert Hamilton made overtures to the celebrated Thomas Chalmers, then studying at St. Andrew, with a view to his coming to Upper Canada to establish a college or university there, in furtherance of Simcoe's scheme of higher education for the province. Chalmers declined the offer, but recommended Mr. Strachan, who accepted it, and who accordingly arrived at Kingston in 1799. By this time the idea of a university had been departed from, and Mr. Strachan, instead of organizing a university, as he had expected, with the assistance of the Government, was thrown on his own resources. Without hesitation, he opened a school of his own at Kingston, and soon was engaged in the important work of teaching, remaining in Kingston for three years. In the meantime he left the Presbyterian Church, for the Church of England, and removing to Cornwall, opened a grammar school there, and attracted to his classes young men from the best families of the province, who afterwards became conspicuous in its affairs, one of them being John Beverley Robinson, whose name has just been referred to. His success as a teacher was exceptional, but a wider sphere awaited him. In 1807 St. Andrew conferred the degree of LL.D. on him. In 1812 he was at York, and was associated with the commissioners in arranging the terms of surrender of the town to Commodore Chauncey. His removal to the centre of public activities brought him into daily contact with the Government, into whose councils he was deeply admitted. In 1818 he was appointed an Executive Councillor, by royal warrant, and also took his seat in the Legislative Council, from that time to be one of the very ablest as well as one of the staunchest supporters of the Government.



In 1825 he was appointed Archdeacon of York. In 1836 he resigned his seat in the Executive Council. In 1839 he was created Bishop of the Diocese of Toronto. In 1840 he resigned his place as a member of the Legislative Council. During his career he uncompromisingly upheld the claims of the Church of England in Canada, and on the broadening of the basis of Toronto University, by marvellous exertions, he established Trinity University, Toronto, which still remains a monument to his unconquerable pertinacity and strength of purpose.

In his own day Sir John Beverley Robinson was regarded as one of the ablest men, if not altogether the ablest, in Upper Canada; and time has confirmed contemporary opinion. He was the son of Christopher Robinson, a British officer, who served in the Revolutionary War, and afterwards resided in New Brunswick. John Beverley Robinson was born in Lower Canada in 1791, his father having accompanied Simcoe to Canada, on the close of the war. He attended Dr. Strachan's grammar school at Cornwall, and entering on the study of law, served as clerk of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada for one session. On the fall of Attorney-General Macdonell at Queenston Heights, he acted as Attorney-General at the early age of 21, until the release from a French prison of the Hon. D'Arcy Boulton in 1815. The latter had been appointed Attorney-General, and on assuming office Mr. Robinson was appointed Solicitor-General. In 1818 Mr. Boulton became a judge, and Mr. Robinson then succeeded him as Attorney-General. In 1829 he resigned the office of Attorney-General and accepted that of Chief Justice, succeeding Sir Wm. Campbell. At the same time Mr. H. J. Boulton became Attorney-General, Mr. Hagerman, Solicitor-General, and Mr. J. B. Macaulay, a High Court Judge. He was a volunteer in the War of 1812, and accompanied Brock to Detroit. He was a pronounced Loyalist, a firm upholder of the Government, and on account of his position at Attorney-General figured conspicuously in the political persecutions connected with the agitation for legislative reform. As an advocate he was forcible and convincing, and as a judge his impartiality was never successfully impugned. He was deeply read in the law, was of a studious temperament, and an able author of works on legal subjects. He received the honor of a baronetcy, having previously refused to accept a knighthood. Two of his



sons occupied prominent positions in Ontario—one as Lieutenant-Governor of the province and the other, Mr. Christopher Robinson, K.C., as one of the most eminent counsel of Ontario.

Early in 1820 the Earl of Dalhousie who, while Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia had been appointed to succeed the Duke of Richmond as Governor-General, but who did not consider it in the public interest to depart from Nova Scotia at once, requested Maitland to proceed to Quebec and assume the administration temporarily as his substitute. Maitland considered his presence in Upper Canada at this time, on account of the excited state of political feeling, to be necessary at the sitting of the Legislature, and, therefore, while complying with Dalhousie's request, he made his visit to the Province of Quebec as brief as he possibly could, remaining there only one day, but long enough to establish Chief Justice Monk as Administrator. During this brief absence, the Hon. Samuel Smith acted as Administrator of Upper Canada. Parliament met at York on the 21st day of February and prorogued on the 7th of March following, during which time some important legislation was passed, particularly two measures, one repealing the statute which had been passed two years previously for the suppression of public meetings. This step was taken in pursuance of instructions from the British government. The second important measure related to the increasing of the representation in the House of Assembly. The Act cites that the rapid increase of the population (it being then deemed to amount to 125,000) rendered an increase in the representation desirable, and therefore provided that counties containing 1,000 inhabitants were to be represented by one member, and when the population of such county or counties reached 4,000, by two members; and at every town in which a Quarter Sessions for the district was held having a population of 1,000 inhabitants, one member. The population of each constituency thus formed was to be ascertained by the returns of the municipal clerks. It also provided that whenever a university should be established in the province it should be represented by one member, the electors to be those having the general qualification of electors and who were also entitled to vote in the convocation of the said university. Provision was made that the application of the Act should not lessen the number of members then

returned for any county or district. Counties containing less than 1,000 inhabitants were to be attached to the next adjoining county having the smallest number of inhabitants. A vote for qualification in the town could not be given for qualification in the county, and the number of inhabitants in a town which elected a member could not be considered for electoral purposes, a part of the population of the county. A measure was also passed in further support and regulation of the common schools of the province, and one regulating trade with the United States. Before the close of the session the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor was directed to the unsatisfactory condition of the post office, overcharges in postage being complained of and the general service being considered inadequate. The day after the prorogation of Parliament, Maitland appointed Smith Administrator and left for Quebec to assume the duties of Governor-in-Chief until the arrival of Lord Dalhousie, which took place on the 18th of June, 1820, and on the 29th Maitland arrived at York and relieved Smith of the government.

At the general election for the eighth Parliament, thirty-eight members were returned, an addition of thirteen to the number in the last Parliament. The House opened at York on the 31st day of January, 1821. The session was brief, closing on the 14th day of February following. Mr. Livius Sherwood was appointed Speaker. Among the measures passed was one for the establishment of a uniform currency, also an Act to make provision for the improvement of the internal navigation of the province, in which arrangement was made for the appointment of five commissioners to explore, survey and level the most practicable routes for canals between Lake Erie and the eastern extremity of the province, for which services a sum of £2,000 was provided. Under this Act, the route of the Welland Canal was surveyed, an undertaking fraught with good results to the trade and commerce of the country. A small amount was granted to aid in opening the road from Ottawa through Richmond and Perth to Kingston, a fact pointing to the growing settlement in that section. Another measure provided punishment for the illegal solemnization of marriage.

Parliament held another meeting that year, convening on the 21st of November and continuing until the 17th day of January, 1822. The unsatisfactory relations with Lower Canada in connection with the proportion of

arrears of duties on imports payable to Upper Canada, formed the subject of consideration. An Act was passed disqualifying citizens of the United States for a seat in the Legislature. The management of the provincial post office was made the subject of enquiry, Dr. Baldwin being the mover in the matter.

In 1822 the failure of the Bank of Kingston under circumstances reflecting on those concerned, took place; and a project was considered looking to the union of the Canadas. In Upper Canada the union was not favorably regarded. The people were desirous of managing their own affairs in the smaller territory; and the official class were suspicious that encroachments on British institutions would follow French-Canadian dominance. The strongest argument in favor of the project lay in the fact that the route of commerce from the seaboard inland was solely in the hands of the Lower province, in which the interests of the Upper province were vitally involved. The scheme of union was abandoned, but some of the provisions of a proposed bill became law under the Canadian Trade Acts, securing for Upper Canada power with Lower Canada in the matter of legislation affecting trade common to both provinces. It was here that Lord Durham in 1836 found the plan of legislative union which he incorporated in his Report.

An important point was raised in the Parliament of 1823 which met at York on the 15th of January, on a petition from the electors of Lennox and Addington, connected with the expulsion of Bidwell. The difficulty in meeting the claims for compensation for losses sustained during the War of 1812 requiring solution, and as the revenue greatly depended upon the duties levied on goods entering by Quebec, Lower Canada was asked to join in imposing an additional duty on wines, sugar, etc., with an increase *ad valorem* on merchandise, but the request was formally refused.

The next session of Parliament did not meet until the 11th of November, 1823. The modification of the alien law opened the way for the younger Bidwell to enter the Assembly at the next general election. The House gave attention also to the claims of the Presbyterians connected with the Church of Scotland to participate in the clergy reserves, and an address to the Imperial Parliament sustaining the claim, was adopted; the House



having no power within itself to legislate in the matter. The solemnization of marriage was still in an unsatisfactory state, and the Assembly passed an Act to permit Methodist ministers to perform the ceremony. The Legislative Council rejected this measure, an action which caused a great deal of dissatisfaction and opposition to the government at the general elections which were impending. An effort was made at this session to obtain a law prohibiting Orange processions. The first Orange lodge in Canada had been formed at Brockville by Wexford and Wicklow men under the auspices of Ogle R. Gowan, afterwards a member of Parliament of independent leanings. It was shown by the Orangemen that their processions on the 12th of July and their church parades were conducted in an orderly manner, and the House declined to pass repressive measures. Parliament prorogued on the 19th day of January, 1824.

The foundation stone of Brock's monument was laid on Queenston Heights on the 13th of October, 1824, with Masonic honors. Into the glass bottle containing the publications and coins of the day, Mackenzie had managed to have placed a copy of the first number of the *Colonial Advocate* in which there were extremely bitter articles against the Lieutenant-Governor. On the fact being discovered, the foundation stone was opened and the objectionable paper removed, but whatever may be thought of Mackenzie's surreptitious act, the importance given to it by the government appeared excessive, and created favorable publicity for Mackenzie and his paper. Wm. Lyon Mackenzie arrived first in Canada in 1820. He was a native of Dundee, where he was born in 1795, and was reputed a favorite pupil of his teacher. When about 17 years of age he was engaged in business at Alyth, in Forfarshire, where he conducted a small circulating library. He afterwards was employed as a clerk in England, by Lord Lonsdale, and also spent some time in France before leaving for Canada. A fellow traveler on the passage out, was one of the well-known Lesslies of Upper Canada, whose father Mackenzie had known in Scotland; and not long after his settlement at York he entered into partnership with Mr. John Lesslie, in the book and drug trade. The partnership, after a successful term, was dissolved in 1823, Mackenzie then entering the political arena, and soon after-



wards began the publication of the *Colonial Advocate*, at first issued at Niagara.

During the summer of this year the general election was held with results of importance to the Legislature and country on account of the number of able men with reform tendencies who were returned, among them being Marshall Spring Bidwell, Dr. Rolph, Capt. Matthews and Peter Perry. Dr. Rolph was then thirty-one years old, having been born in Gloucestershire in 1793, the son of a physician who had immigrated to Canada before the War of 1812. Dr. Rolph was called to the Bar in 1821, and having studied medicine, also practised as a doctor. He was returned for Middlesex. Matthews was a retired officer of the Royal Artillery who settled in the County of Middlesex, and in the political agitation and excitement of the day drew upon himself the hostility of the government and was made to suffer severely. He was a man of considerable education and was popular among the settlers among whom he resided. Perry was the son of a U. E. Loyalist and was born at Ernestown in 1793. A forcible speaker, he took a prominent part in the politics of his day.

The Legislature met on the 11th of January, 1825. One of the Acts passed was to incorporate certain persons under the style and title of the Welland Canal Company, a most important measure. Mr. John Wilson, one of the members for Wentworth, was elected Speaker, the nominee of the Reformers. The Parliament buildings having been damaged by fire a few days before the sitting of Parliament, the meeting of the House was held at the Hospital. The northern wing and the main body of the buildings were entirely destroyed and many important Parliamentary papers were burned, but by great exertions, the Library was saved. Legislation was scanty, and the supply bill sent up by the Assembly not being in accord with the estimates sent down by the Governor, was thrown out by the Legislative Council. The House adjourned on the 13th of April.

The second session of Parliament opened on the 7th of November, 1825, and sat until the 13th of January, 1826. An Act was passed in accordance with instructions from the Home authorities making more liberal provision for the naturalization of foreigners. A grant of £1,000 was made by statute to relieve the sufferers in New Brunswick by the late fires, also an Act for

the regulation of British silver and copper coinage in the province; one incorporating the Desjardins Canal Company; one authorizing the government to borrow money on debentures to be loaned to the Welland Canal Company; one granting a sum of money for the encouragement of manufacturing paper in the province; one granting a sum not exceeding £7,000 for the purpose of erecting buildings for the Legislature; one granting £600 to complete the Brock monument. Altogether thirty-one Acts passed by the Legislature received the assent of the Council, and eighteen were thrown out, among the latter being one repealing the Sedition Act under which proceedings had been taken against Gourlay. The expenses for the year amounted to £30,353, the revenue to £35,300. Fothergill's case attracted attention during this session. In 1821 he became the proprietor of the *Upper Canada Gazette*, in connection with which he published the *Weekly Register*. He was a member of the Assembly and had been nominated King's printer. He was the publisher of the early York almanacs and Royal calendars from 1823 to 1826. His criticisms brought about his dismissal from the position of King's printer.

In the month of June of this year, 1826, Mackenzie's printing office was wrecked by a party of young men. The office was broken into, the type destroyed, a portion of it thrown into the bay and the effects of the office generally demolished. Mackenzie's publication had brought on financial embarrassment and its probable abandonment, but this outrage by those opposed to him gave him not merely widespread sympathy, but heavy damages, which enabled him to carry on the publication of his paper and continue his opposition to the government with increased vigor.

The next meeting of Parliament took place on the 5th of December, 1826, and ran into February of 1827, being prorogued on the 17th day of that month. It was at this session that an Act was passed giving authority to explore a route for the proposed Rideau canal. The progress in the Welland canal was also furthered, and the general attention given to the question of transportation may be noted from the incorporation at this session of the Cataraqui Bridge Company with a capital stock of £6,000. Provision was made for the construction of a harbor at the mouth of Kettle Creek and for the survey of the works done at the Burlington Bay canal. A measure

brought forward by Bidwell, extending the status of British subjects to all residents of the province, to possessors of grants of land and to such as held public offices and to their descendants who, after seven years' domicile in any part of the King's dominions, had taken the oath of allegiance, and to all youths of nineteen who had dwelt seven years in the province, and provided that no person of the age of sixteen on the 20th of May, 1826, could be debarred from the inheritance of property owing to being an alien, was passed by the Assembly, but the Lieutenant-Governor informed the House that he must report to the Colonial Secretary that this bill was identical with the measure that had been already rejected. This statement brought on a discussion resulting in the passage of eight resolutions in which the reasons for the rejection of the Alien Bill in the former session, were recited.

The case of Forsyth, the tavern keeper at Niagara, occurred in the month of May, 1827. Having broken the law by enclosing a portion of a public road in front of his hotel thereby cutting off the view of the Falls unless visitors passed through his premises, the Lieutenant-Governor had the obstruction removed by force without the ordinary process of law. Forsyth instituted legal process for redress, but, though he failed in his action, the course pursued by the Lieutenant-Governor was considered high-handed and arbitrary, and in the subsequent investigation by the Assembly during the session of 1828, which opened on the 15th day of January, further fuel was cast upon the flame by Sir Peregrine refusing permission to Col. Coffin, the Adjutant-General of Militia, and Col. Givins, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to attend before the committee of the House to give evidence in the case, a course which was officially condemned. Under a resolution of the House, these officers were placed in the common jail, in charge of the sheriff, in the 22nd of March, but the Lieutenant-Governor thereupon prorogued the House on the 25th, thereby relieving them from jail after three days' imprisonment. The officers entered an action for damages against the Speaker for false imprisonment, but the right of the House to imprison for contempt was fully upheld. Before the matter was finally settled between Sir Peregrine and the Home government, he was appointed to be Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.

On the 20th of June, 1828, Mr. Justice Willis was removed from his

judgeship by Lieutenant-Governor Maitland. He arrived in Canada on the 17th of September, 1827, and although admitted by all to possess ability, and standing in his profession, he does not seem to have had the good sense or the tact with which to avoid embarrassing difficulties in his new position. His case was attended with much heart burning personalities and bitterness of no particular public consequence except in so far as his aggressiveness and partiality drew attention to the weak spots in the system of government prevailing. Maitland's power to dismiss him was upheld by the Privy Council, although it was found that he should have had an opportunity to make a defence. Among those who sympathized with him were Dr. Baldwin and Mr. John Galt. The general elections took place during the summer of 1828, resulting in a majority against the Executive.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR JOHN COLBORNE.

On the 14th of August, 1828, Sir John Colborne, subsequently Lord Seaton, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and on the 3rd of November of the same year he arrived at York and assumed his government. John Colborne was born in 1776, and was educated at Christ's Hospital and Winchester. At the age of eighteen he entered the army and saw continuous service until the close of the war in 1815, commanding, at Waterloo, the 52nd Regiment. He had had more than a usually brilliant career, and had also proved his ability as civil administrator before coming to Upper Canada, in the government of Guernsey, a feature of which was his interest in education. On his arrival at York he was presented with an address from a number of the inhabitants, in which the popular grievances were recited. The Lieutenant-Governor's reputation for fairness and liberal views had preceded him, and there is no doubt there was a willingness on his part to pursue as friendly a course as he reasonably could with the Reformers in the course of his administration, nor can there be doubt that his desire in taking up the difficult task which had been assigned to him by the British Government, was to bring about harmony and increasing prosperity to the disturbed province. It was unfortunate for the cause of reform that Willis and Collins should have been put forward as martyrs and leaders. They were extremists, and while there is a place, sometimes a necessary place, for the extremist in political agitation, that place is in the ranks rather than in control of the situation. A large number of the people who had no sympathy with the government of the day, and who were in favor of radical changes in the constitution, including responsible government, could not be expected to put forth their strength behind such men as Willis and Collins; as well expect the average passenger to feel safe in a railway train in charge of a delirious engine driver.

The first session of the new Parliament assembled on the 8th of January, 1829, and passed a considerable number of Acts of a useful character, reflecting the growing importance of the trade and commerce of the province. Marshall Spring Bidwell was elected Speaker. The evidence of Quakers, Mennonites, Tunkers and Moravians was admitted in criminal cases. Some of the Indian tribes on the River Credit were protected in their exclusive right of fishing and hunting. The Act passed during Lieutenant-Governor Hunter's return against sedition was repealed. Power was given to the Welland Canal Company to raise additional funds. The construction of several harbors was authorized, township boundaries adjusted, the Dundas and Waterloo Turnpike Company incorporated and an Act passed incorporating certain persons for the purpose of holding lands for a Free Church at Dundas in the Gore district. The revenues were buoyant, and without a vote from the House, were sufficient to meet the expenses of the civil government from the sources under the control of the Crown.

The Assembly summoned a Mr. Gurnet to the Bar of the House to answer for a statement which he had published in his paper, the *Gore Gazette*, to the effect that a conspiracy had been formed to release Collins by force. Gurnet, when questioned, refused to answer on the ground that he might implicate himself. In connection with the case Mr. H. J. Boulton, Solicitor-General, and Mr. Allan MacNab, were summoned to give evidence before the committee of enquiry. They both refused to answer the questions put to them, and MacNab was imprisoned for breach of privilege. He was kept in custody for ten days, when, on appealing by letter to the House, he was set at liberty. The offence of the Solicitor-General was considered more serious on account of his position, and realizing that he had committed a mistake in going so far as to violate the privileges of the House, he apologized, and was discharged after receiving an admonition and paying the fees of the sergeant-at-arms.

In this session the famous thirty-one grievances and resolutions by Mr. Mackenzie were introduced, the chief of which were the absence of responsible government, the institution of criminal prosecutions for political libels at the instance of the Crown, the want of independent judges holding office during pleasure only, the selection of juries by sheriffs who were office

holders at pleasure, the patronage exercised by the Crown and the Lieutenant-Governor being uncontrolled by the Legislature, the unpaid war losses (1812) or their being charged to the Provincial instead of the Imperial government, and the absence of a protective system in the trade of the province. Twenty-one bills passed by the Assembly were thrown out by the Legislative Council. The position of the House may be gathered from the reply to the address from the Throne: "We, His Majesty's faithful Commons, confiding in the candor of Your Excellency and in your readiness to recognize us as constitutional advisers of the Crown, do humbly pray Your Excellency against the injurious policy hitherto pursued by the provincial administration, and although we at present see Your Excellency unhappily surrounded by the same advisers as have so deeply wounded the feelings and injured the best interests of the country, yet in the interval of any necessary change, we entertain an anxious belief that under the auspices of Your Excellency, the administration of justice will rise above suspicion, the wishes and interests of the people be properly respected, the revenue of the colony be hereafter devoted to objects of public importance after making provision for the public service on a basis of economy suited to the exigencies of the country." In reporting to the Home government Colborne expressed the opinion that the constitution as it stood was not satisfactory. As to the main grievances contained in the resolutions passed by the House, the most of them arose from the limitations of the constitution and not from the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor. The Constitutional Act was an Imperial measure and could only be amended by the Imperial Parliament. The Lieutenant-Governor was appointed to administer it as it stood, not as it perhaps ought to have been, and it seems reasonable to suppose that a good deal of bitterness and ill-feeling would have been avoided had the reforms considered necessary been formulated and brought directly to the notice of the Home government where the colonies never lacked influential friends, as had been done when Mr. Mackenzie proceeded to London. It seems somewhat inconsistent that a party of reform would put forward as an evil the absence of a protective system, protection being generally associated with the Conservative party. The fact, however, shows that a fiscal question is a

business one to be dealt with as the business requirements of the community may dictate from time to time.

In closing the session the Lieutenant-Governor expressed his regret that the House had not done more for the improvement of public schools, and for the means of communication by construction of more roads and bridges throughout the province. Colborne was deeply interested in the education of the people: He looked forward to that source for relief from the unsatisfactory political situation existing, and it is worth quoting a portion of his speech to the Legislature on this matter. "Measures will be adopted I hope," he says, "to reform the Royal Grammar school and to incorporate it with the university recently endowed by His Majesty, and to introduce a system in that seminary that will open to the youth of the province the means of receiving a liberal and extensive course of instruction. Unceasing exertions should be made to attract able masters to this country"—then comes an important sentence which discloses the sweep of his view—"whose population bears no proportion to the number of offices and employments that must necessarily be held by men of education and acquirements disposed to support the laws and your free institutions."

Shortly after the close of the session the Lieutenant-Governor took steps to carry his ideas into effect to the extent of advertising for tenders for the erection of a college. This was the beginning of Upper Canada College.

In 1829 Attorney-General Robinson, who was elevated to the Bench, was made Chief Justice, and the following year was made Speaker of the Legislative Council. His elevation to the Bench caused a vacancy in the Town of York for which Mr. Robert Baldwin was returned. The election was voided on petition on account of an irregularity of the writ. A second writ was issued and Baldwin was again returned, taking his seat at the following session. He did not participate to any extent in the debates of the House that session, but gave close attention to the routine of its work, and from the outset was regarded as one of the leaders of the Reformers. Robert Baldwin will always remain in the political history of the province as one of its most eminent men. Able, conscientious and public-spirited, he was well fitted for leadership, nor did he lack a keen sense of the limitations



of the constitution then pressing themselves upon the attention of the people.

He was descended from the Baldwins of Summerhill, County Cork, Ireland, his father being the well-known Dr. W. W. Baldwin, who settled in the Township of Clark, Upper Canada, in 1798, subsequently removing to York where in 1804 Robert Baldwin was born. His father took up the practice of law, and, becoming noticeable in the political discussions of the day, was returned for the County of Norfolk to the House of Assembly. He was afterwards called to the Legislative Council, but only enjoyed his seat for six months when, in 1844, he died, highly respected by political friend and foe. Robert Baldwin, who now appears on the public stage, was in every way worthy of his esteemed father, and even those who differed from him most in his public views, never hesitated to give him credit for sincerity of purpose and disinterested motives. He was of a mild, retiring disposition, not fond of the plaudits of the populace, and singularly devoid of the undesirable methods sometimes resorted to by the professional politician. He lost no strength by adopting a tone of moderation in support of constitutional reform on the one hand and opposition to an Executive not responsible to Parliament, on the other. Responsible government, the feature of which would be an Executive Council controlled by the majority in the Legislative Assembly, was, broadly speaking, his platform. After his first election he sat only through one session, that of 1830—having been defeated in the general election of the following year and remaining without a seat until 1835.

Before the close of 1829 the date being the 13th of November, the first number of the *Christian Guardian* appeared, an event worthy of note in our annals. It at once became a power in the political arena, exercising a wide influence also on the social and religious life of the community as it has worthily continued to do since, showing still the vigor of its robust youth. Its editor was the celebrated Dr. Ryerson, the son of a United Empire Loyalist officer, who settled first in New Brunswick and afterwards moved to the County of Norfolk, Upper Canada, where the family soon occupied a position of influence among the inhabitants. Young Ryerson, who was born in 1803, became a minister of the Methodist Church at the

age of twenty-three and very soon demonstrated his ability as a preacher and public speaker, and as a redoubtable controversialist. For the first few years of its existence, Ryerson and the *Christian Guardian* supported Mackenzie, the Methodist body, which both may be said to have represented, being then excluded from the privileges enjoyed by the clergy of the Church of England and to some extent by that of the Church of Scotland, for even before Ryerson's day the question of the clergy reserves had been raised.

The question of the Clergy Reserves which so long and fiercely agitated Upper Canada, arose from the provision made in the Act of 1791 for the "support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy." One-seventh of the Crown lands to be settled were reserved for this purpose, and provision was made in the Act by which the Lieutenant-Governor could "erect within every township or parish one or more parsonage or rectory according to the establishment of the Church of England . . . and to endow such personage or rectory with so much or such a part of the lands so allotted and appropriated . . . and it shall be lawful for the person administering the government to present to every such parsonage or rectory an incumbent or minister of the Church of England, who shall have been duly ordained according to the rites of the said Church." The rights, profits, duties, and emoluments of the incumbents so appointed were to be similar as those of an incumbent of a parsonage or rectory in England, and every such presentee was to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Church of England Bishop of Nova Scotia. In Upper Canada 2,400,000 acres of land were set aside under the provisions of this Act, and were known as the Clergy Reserves. A controversy arose over the meaning which the British Parliament intended should be applied to the words "Protestant clergy," and while the face of the statute points clearly to all but a Church of England application being given, it was felt that the interpretation should not and would not be strict to the letter. This was practically acknowledged by Lord Bathurst in the case of an application by Scottish Presbyterians at Niagara for a grant of £100 from the Clergy Reserve Fund to aid in rebuilding their Church, which had been burnt in 1819. The non-Church of England members quoted Lord Grenville's explanation to Lord Sandon during the debate on the bill, that the clauses "meant to provide for any

clergy that was not Roman Catholic." In 1823 the Assembly on the motion of William Morris, Perth, passed a resolution declaring that the Church of Scotland in Upper Canada was on an equality with the Church of England with respect to the Clergy Reserves, and while the resolution did not carry in the Legislative Council, Lord Bathurst upheld the interpretation of the Assembly. The agitation gained strength as the population of the province, including a large number of non-Anglican Protestants, increased. In 1826 the British government recognized the claims of the Church of Scotland, and provision was accordingly made for a payment to that religious body of £750 a year. The question remained in the domain of practical politics a source of contention and a problem until 1854, when the MacNab administration brought about the secularization of the reserves, which was the final disposition of the property, accrued life interests being protected.

Parliament met on the 8th of January, 1830. The legislation which was placed on the statute book during this session included an Act to encourage the establishment of agricultural societies in the several districts of the province. The sum of \$25,000 was granted in aid of the funds of the Welland Canal and conditions were laid down as to the operating of the new waterway. There was also an Act passed for the relief of the sufferers who sustained loss during the late war with the United States, the amount of £57,412 10 shillings being voted for the purpose to be raised from duties on the importation of salt and whiskey. This was conditional on the Imperial government paying an equal sum. Colborne announced a surplus in the treasury after meeting the expenses of the civil list. The House again expressed its desire for constitutional changes, the chief objection being to the position occupied by the Executive Council, and it is to be noted that Mr. Mackenzie proposed that the House should send a commissioner to London to represent its views direct, an evidence that the Reformers were beginning to realize that the Home government must be first convinced of the wisdom of their demands before they could hope for redress. The House prorogued on the 6th of March.

On the 26th of June, 1830, George the Fourth died, and in accordance with custom a general election was held. A strong anti-reform majority

was returned. Mr. Archibald MacLean was elected Speaker. Of the Reformers, MacKenzie, Bidwell and Perry, were the leaders. Mr. Allan Napier MacNab entered the House for the first time, as one of the members for Wentworth. The views advocated by some of the Reformers, no doubt alarmed many of the people who held moderate views, and caused them to vote for government candidates; yet the more moderate of the Reformers such as the Baldwins, were not elected. During the session of 1831 an Act was passed granting £6,500 in perpetuity to the government to be expended on the salaries of the Lieutenant-Governor, the three judges, the Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, and the five Executive Councillors, in return for the Crown giving Parliament control of the Imperial duties, amounting annually to about £1,900 Sterling. The arrangement did not satisfy the extreme wing of the Reformers, but was endorsed by the large body of moderate politicians on both sides, as a liberal concession on the part of the Crown. Mackenzie's activity during the session was constant. He obtained a committee to enquire into the state of the legislative representation in the province. An attempt by Bidwell and Perry to carry a resolution that judges should not be competent to sit, either in the Executive or Legislative Councils, was defeated. Mackenzie's aggressiveness brought reprisals and a committee of the House was appointed to enquire into a charge against him, of a breach of the privileges of the House, in his having circulated some extracts from the journals of the House during the general elections. It appears that Mackenzie had done so, giving the division list in order that the electors might learn how the members had voted. The Attorney-General devolved the conduct of the enquiry on Mr. Allan MacNab, one of the new members; and, on the ground that the extracts published by Mackenzie were part of the Appendix to the Proceedings of the House, which Appendix, not having been published by the House, was not public property, the committee found against him. Upon the report of the committee being presented to the House, it was moved that Mr. Mackenzie, who had been employed as a contractor to print the journals, had abused his trust by publishing portions of them not intended by the House to be published, and distributing these unauthorized portions for political purposes; and had thereby committed a breach of privilege. The committee's



decision seems to have been based on a inadequate and slender foundation. Mr. Mackenzie's defence was ably made, and the ordeal as a matter of course, raised him in the estimation of his public. An attempt then was made to formulate a charge against him of having libelled the Assembly, but the prorogation of the House prevented proceedings then. At this session (1831) an Act was passed making it lawful for any clergyman or minister of any Church, society, congregation or religious community of persons professing to be members of the Church of Scotland, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Independents, Methodists, Mennonites, Tunkers or Moravians to solemnize the ceremony of marriage, the clergymen so described to be regularly ordained and *bonâ fide* ministers of the congregation or religious community. The Tay Navigation Company organized for the purpose chiefly of improving and rendering navigable the Rivers Tay and Goodwood, was incorporated with a capital stock of £4,000. The number of commercial companies incorporated this year shows the development of commerce which was rapidly taking place in the province.

On the 17th of November of the same year (1831), Parliament met again and took cognizance of certain articles which had appeared in Mackenzie's paper. A motion describing two specified articles as libels and expelling Mackenzie from the House, carried on a division of 24 to 15. The whole proceeding appears to be an abuse of its power by the government majority, and more than one writer has considered that it was a case in which the Lieutenant-Governor could have well intervened, but, on the other hand, had he done so, there is no doubt he would have exposed himself to the charge of going beyond his constitutional power and of disregarding the advice of his Executive Councillors.

Mackenzie's expulsion necessitated a new election for York which took place on the 2nd of January, 1832, the House being still in session. The verdict of the constituency was emphatic, there being only one vote recorded in favor of Mr. Street, his opponent. Enthusiasm was at its height and Mackenzie was presented with a gold medal valued at £60. On waiting below the Bar to be sworn in the question of his previous expulsion was raised, and the House resolved to proceed with the orders of the day. The government came to the conclusion that the previous libels did

not create disability, and as it was then an easy matter to find articles in the *Colonial Advocate* breathing hostility to the authorities, one of that character which appeared in the issue of the 5th of January was seized upon as the basis of a new charge of libel. Mr. Mackenzie conducted his defence with force of argument and vigor, but the House found the charge proven and a motion was carried on the 6th of January by 27 to 19 expelling Mackenzie for the second time, and in addition to expulsion, disqualifying him from sitting in that Parliament, thereby imposing a disability upon him contrary to law or precedent. The vacancy caused by his second expulsion brought out three candidates—Mackenzie, Mr. Small and Mr. Washburn, the last mentioned being the anti-reform candidate, and Mr. Small in the character of a moderate reformer. The state of feeling may be judged from the fact that 23 votes were cast for Mr. Washburn, 96 for Mr. Small and 628 for Mr. Mackenzie, but two days previously the prorogation of the House had taken place. In the course of the session the Lieutenant-Governor delivered a message which had been received from the Home authorities, recognizing the right of the Church of Scotland to participate in the clergy reserves, but no action was then taken in the matter.

During the recess, the agitation proceeded apace. Meetings and counter meetings had stirred up such a violent feeling and the aspect of affairs became so serious that Mackenzie decided to withdraw from the scene for a time and proceed to Britain, personally to make known the grievances under which the province was laboring, intending to be absent but a short time, but his visit was prolonged for a year and a half, during which time his activity on behalf of the principles he advocated, was unceasing. He was well received by Lord Goderich, Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Joseph Hume, who was then on good terms with the British Ministry, gave him every possible assistance. He found that his representations could not be received officially, although the facts contained in his papers were made known informally, the official routine being that petitions concerning public affairs should come through the Lieutenant-Governor. The anti-Reformers at this time, knowing of Mackenzie's activity in London, sent counter petitions in which confidence in the Lieutenant-Governor was expressed as also satisfaction with the existing order of things. Notwithstanding the difficul-

ties which the red tape of office cast around Mackenzie in his London mission, he seems to have materially furthered the cause of reform and succeeded in eliciting a despatch of some consequence from the Colonial Secretary to Sir John Colborne on the condition of affairs in the province. In his absence Mr. Mackenzie was again elected for York.

The House met on the 31st of October, 1832, and continued until the 13th day of February, 1833. The Lieutenant-Governor expressed his satisfaction with the great increase of the population through the large bodies of desirable immigrants which were then, every year, arriving. The completion of the Rideau Canal was announced by which water communication for steamboat traffic was opened from Lake Ontario to Montreal. In this session an Act was passed regulating the prescribed oaths of office and rendering it unnecessary to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a qualification of office or for other temporal purposes. The election laws were amended and £70,000 were authorized to be raised by debenture for the improvement of the navigation of the River St. Lawrence. An Act was passed incorporating the British America Fire and Life Insurance Company, a company which has continued until the present, and is now the oldest of the fire companies doing business in the province on an Upper Canada charter. It is interesting to reproduce the names of the incorporators as set forth in the statute, many of whom will be recognized as leading business men of the time: William Maxwell, James Meyers, John G. Culverwell, David Browne, Richard Northcote, Richard Crispin, William Ware, Alexander Dixon, Thomas Wallis, Richard H. Oates, William Stennett, Alexander Erskine, George Monro, William Proudfoot, James King, Alexander Wood, John Strachan, Thomas Mercer Jones, James Cull, R. B. Sullivan, J. W. Hart, Gamble and Birchall, Christopher A. Hagerman, William B. Jarvis, John Rolph, R. A. Parker, Samuel P. Jarvis, Watkins and Harris, R. C. Ferrier, S. Washburn, John Ross, J. Baby, J. M. Strange, John Kitson, S. Cockburn, S. P. Hurd, J. G. Chewett, B. W. Bonnycastle, G. W. Haughton, Thomas Bell, M. McNamara, James Such, George A. Barber, John H. Dunn, Alexander Hamilton, Peter Diehl, John Bishop, sr., Henry J. Boulton, C. J. Baldwin and John Elmsley. The capital stock was 8,000 shares of £12 10s. each.



A measure was passed at this session for the protection of the white fish fisheries in the Straits or Rivers Niagara, Detroit and St. Clair, and one incorporating the Commercial Bank of the Midland district. The sum of £3,500 was granted for completing the Parliament Buildings. Provision was made for the relief of sick and destitute immigrants, and an Act provided for the sum of £4,158 to liquidate expenses which had been incurred during the recent prevalence of Asiatic cholera. Substantial sums were voted for the construction and improvement of roads and bridges. Such were the more important matters of legislation dealt with by the House. Mackenzie was still absent in Britain, but immediately on the opening of the session a motion was passed to the effect that Mackenzie, having been twice expelled had no right to sit and vote in the House. This constituted the third expulsion; Mackenzie was elected by acclamation. The want of direct water communication with the seaboard was a great hindrance to Upper Canada trade, and a proposal was submitted to the House to annex the Island of Montreal and the County of Vaudreuil to Upper Canada, and while having the strong support of the government members did not receive the countenance of the opposition, and the subject, being surrounded with many difficulties was abandoned.

The Lieutenant-Governor communicated to the House the despatch from the Colonial Secretary regarding the grievances represented to him by Mr. Mackenzie, to which reference has been made. The Colonial Secretary expressed the readiness of the Home government to place town members on the same footing as county members with respect to the payment of indemnity for attendance at the House, and give relief to such religious bodies as from conscientious scruples refused to take the oath, and who in consequence had hitherto been excluded from exercising the franchise, and a willingness that a law should be passed limiting the number of members of the Assembly who held public offices at the pleasure of the government, but both the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly were anti-reform and in reply to this despatch resolutions were passed by both bodies declaring that no necessity existed for the passage of such legislation as had been suggested. The connection of the officers of the Crown with Mackenzie's expulsion brought about their dismissal from office



on the 6th of March, 1833, the Lieutenant-Governor being informed that the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General had taken a part directly opposed to the policy of His Majesty's government, that while they were free as members of the Legislature to express their own views, they were not free to do so and continue to hold their offices when these views differed from those of the government, and in order that they might be at full liberty, they were relieved from their duties.

Mr. Hagerman, the Solicitor-General, was in London when he heard of his dismissal, and in the meantime, a change of Colonial Secretaries having taken place, Hagerman's explanations secured his restoration. Boulton then visited England on his own behalf, but while he did not succeed he was promised that he would be kept in view for another appointment, and shortly afterwards was made Chief Justice of Newfoundland, a position he occupied until 1838. The vacancy caused by his dismissal was filled by the appointment of Mr. Robert Sympson Jameson, husband of the celebrated Anna Jameson. In 1837 Jameson was appointed the first Chancellor of Upper Canada.

In August of 1833 Mackenzie returned and endeavored to take his seat when Parliament opened on the 19th of October, 1833, but was again prevented. A new writ was accordingly ordered and on the 16th of December he was again re-elected. The Speaker refused the administration of the oath and decided that Mackenzie was not entitled to remain within the precincts of the House. On the day following, a motion was carried declaring Mackenzie as unworthy of a seat in the House and expelling him accordingly, being the fourth time he was expelled.

The day after this motion was carried, Mackenzie petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor praying that he be allowed to take the oath before him. The petition was referred to the Attorney-General who reported in Mackenzie's favor, and the Lieutenant-Governor directed Mr. Beikie, the Clerk of the Executive Council, accordingly. After taking the oath before the Lieutenant-Governor, Mackenzie took his seat in the House, his friends occupying the galleries. He had not been long seated when the sergeant-at-arms requested him to withdraw. A motion by Mr. Perry at this juncture, that Mr. Mackenzie was under no legal disqualification and had a right to

sit and vote in the House, was lost by a vote of 21 to 15. Mackenzie was not permitted to take his seat and he did not again attempt to do so, but no writ was issued for York, both sides concurring, the Reformers on the ground that Mackenzie had not been legally expelled and therefore there was no vacancy, and the House was not being anxious to declare the constituency open, Mackenzie's return in such a case being assured.

Some important legislation was passed during the session, one of the measures being an Act providing that judges should hold their offices during good behavior and at the pleasure of the Crown, thus placing them beyond the interference or influence of the Executive. Further relief was granted to the Mennonites, Tunkers and Quakers at this session also. The day of corporations had arrived and many Acts incorporating companies were passed, the object in most cases being the construction of public works, manufacturing and transportation.

On the 6th of March, 1834, an Act was passed extending the limits of the Town of York and erecting the town into a city, incorporating it under the name of the City of Toronto. The new city was divided into five wards named St. George, St. Patrick, St. Andrew, St. David and St. Lawrence, representing the English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh and Canadian nationalities. For each ward two aldermen and two common councillors were to be elected, the majority of whom were to elect a mayor from among the aldermen. The city was empowered to levy taxes not to exceed in any one year four pence in the pound, and had power to borrow money on the credit of the city to pay off outstanding debts. The 27th day of March, 1834, was appointed for the first municipal elections under the Act. Among the aldermen elected were Mackenzie for St. David's ward and Rolph for St. Patrick's ward. A contest between Mackenzie and Rolph for mayor ensued. Most of the Reformers favored Rolph, but on account of Mackenzie's expulsions and activity in the political field, his claims were recognized and he was elected mayor, being the first mayor of the capital of the province. Mackenzie entered upon the duties of his new office with characteristic energy, and proceeded with the work of organizing the municipality. He began with a debt of £9,000 for market buildings recently erected for which, or for any other purpose, there was only an empty treasury. A rate of three pence on the pound to

raise the necessary funds was strongly opposed by the citizens. The credit of the city was not sufficient to satisfy the Bank of Upper Canada, and the necessities of the day were met by a loan advanced by another bank on the joint personal security of members of the corporation. The scourge of cholera visited the city in the year of its birth, causing an excessive death rate, every twentieth inhabitant taking the disease. Mayor Mackenzie was indefatigable in his attentions to the sick and drew praise from all by his humane exertions. Indeed, he was fearless in his attentions to the sick and fell a victim to the disease, though not in a very serious form.

It was unfortunate for him that at this period he published a letter in the *Colonial Advocate*, which he had received from Mr. Joseph Hume, in which the English radical states: "Your triumphant election on the 16th and ejection from the Assembly on the 17th, must hasten the crisis which is fast approaching in the affairs of Canada and which will terminate in independence and freedom from the baneful domination of the Mother Country and the tyrannical conduct of a small and despicable faction in the colony. . . . Go on therefore I beseech you, and success, glorious success, must crown your joint efforts." Of Ryerson, who was not then supporting Mackenzie, Humes writes: "I never knew a more worthless hypocrite or so base a man as Mr. Ryerson has proved himself to be. I feel pity for him for the sake of our common nature to think that such human depravity should exist in an enlightened society, and I feel the pangs of a guilty and self-condemning conscience must make his venal and corrupt breast a second hell, and ere long render his existence truly miserable." \* The publication of such views at a time when reform was making steady if not rapid progress and the silver lining was being distinctly discerned, was, to say the least, most unwise. It cost Mr. Mackenzie the support of some of the strongest men who had hitherto been identified with him. A meeting held in Toronto in the spring of 1834 attended by fifty-five delegates, at which a vote was carried offering the sincere and unanimous thanks of the convention to Mr. Papineau and his colleagues in Lower Canada for their efforts in that province, and another that supplies should be refused by the Assembly unless the absolute control of the revenue was

\* Lindsey, Vol. I., pp. 300-1.

conceded to them, the Legislative Council made elective and the Executive responsible to the Assembly, to some extent widened the breach, as Papineau by this time had gone to extremes, and it was believed that his ultimate object was the founding of a French-Canadian republic in Lower Canada.

That Mackenzie was becoming influenced by Papineau is evident from the fact that he visited him in Quebec, in the following year, with the object of effecting an alliance between the parties in Upper and Lower Canada, who were carrying on the agitation against the Government; in the case of Lower Canada a revolution, in that of Upper Canada, a reform. Robert Baldwin had strong misgivings as to Mackenzie's method, and, possibly, as to his objects. Bidwell, while more friendly, did not consider that the course pursued by Mackenzie was helpful to their cause; while it has been suspected, perhaps not without reason, that Rolph supported Mackenzie expecting to benefit personally at his expense. Rolph was, in many respects, a remarkable man. About this time he relinquished the practice of law, and devoted himself to medicine, in which his ability was undoubted. Removing to Toronto, he gathered about him a number of students whom he trained in medicine, there being no medical school in the province; and his success as a lecturer was immediately established. The Lieutenant-Governor recognizing his attainments, saw an opportunity of serving the country by the establishment of a Medical School; and notwithstanding the misconception which might be placed on his action in approaching a man so prominent in opposition to the Government, as Rolph was, he offered him the charge of a Medical College to be liberally supported by the Government, an offer which was declined, Dr. Rolph having in the meantime been prevailed upon to re-enter the political field. The general elections were held in October of 1834, resulting in a working majority for the Reformers, in a House of 58 members. Mackenzie was elected for one of the ridings of York. Bidwell, Perry, Duncombe, Samuel Lount, Dr. Morrison, David Gibson, and other strong Reformers, were also elected, but the two Baldwins and Rolph did not seek election. In November the *Colonial Advocate* felt the defection of the moderate liberals to such an extent that it ceased publication. In the month of December the Canadian Alliance Society was



formed at Toronto, Mr. Mackenzie, the moving spirit in its organization, being appointed corresponding secretary. It at once put forward a political platform corresponding generally to that advocated by the Reformers; demanding, also, a written constitution, and the continued separation of Upper and Lower Canada.

The new Parliament convened on the 15th day of January, 1835. Bidwell was elected Speaker. A cleavage showed itself among the anti-reformers, a number of whom had taken the name of "Conservative," but held themselves to be independent of the Government of the day, and who might be expected to be influenced by the merits of the measures offered to the House. Shortly after the opening of the session a committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr. Mackenzie, to enquire into the political grievances afflicting the province. The committee consisted of Mr. Mackenzie, as Chairman, Dr. Morrison, David Gibson and Charles Waters. It brought forth the famous "Seventh Grievance Report," which may be regarded as the brief for reform. The report was presented on the 10th of April and was found to be as fair a statement, and as moderately expressed, of the situation as could be expected. The Appendix to the Report was voluminous, and contained an exhaustive array of statistics. Responsible government was placed in the forefront, buttressed by the arguments which had become familiar in the long-standing controversy. The irresponsible position of the Executive Council was pointed out; that its duties were exclusively ministerial; that the Lieutenant-Governor was not obliged to accept its advice, he being responsible only to the British Government; that were the Executive Council responsible to the Legislative Assembly, and the Lieutenant-Governor, to the Executive Council, an improvement would soon manifest itself in the government of the province. It was claimed that the Legislative Council was used as a buffer to protect the Lieutenant-Governor and the Executive, to remedy which it ought to be made an elective body; that the dual position of legislator and judge was incompatible with the proper discharge of the judicial function. The report was received by the House, but not formally adopted at that session, although copies were printed for distribution. Mr. Mackenzie was complimented on the report, the real value of which was very considerable.

In the month of March of that year (1835), he was appointed a director of the Welland Canal Company, by virtue of the stock held by the province. He issued a statement regarding its affairs which brought upon him an action of libel by Mr. Merritt, the President of the company. The verdict went against Mackenzie, but only with nominal damages. During the investigation of which the statement complained of was the outcome, Mackenzie remained several months at St. Catharines, the headquarters of the company, and for his time and services there, the Assembly of 1836 granted him an allowance of \$1,000, which, on account of the supplies not being granted, was not then paid to him; nor was it paid over until 1851. Among the Acts passed by the Parliament of 1835 was one incorporating the Erie and Ontario Railroad Company, the incorporators being residents of the District of Niagara and one enabling the Mechanics' Institute of Toronto and Kingston to procure apparatus for the teaching of science.

Mackenzie's "Seventh Grievance Report" received a good deal of attention in London, and a change of attitude was decided upon to conciliate the Reformers, but it was not meant that any concession made should be as substantial as it might, skilfully handled, be made to appear, and as Sir John Colborne could not be expected to deviate from his instructions to the extent of diplomatically duping the Reformers, it was resolved that he should be replaced by a new Lieutenant-Governor who might find it easier to introduce the conceded reforms gradually. This Sir John gave an opportunity to the Colonial Secretary to do, by requesting permission to retire from the Upper Canada government. Yet in Lord Glenelg's despatch, in acknowledgment of the Report, he said: "A very considerable part of the report is devoted to the statement and illustration of the fact that the Executive Government of Upper Canada is virtually irresponsible. Experience would seem to prove that the administration of public affairs in Upper Canada is by no means exempt from the control of a practical responsibility. To His Majesty and to Parliament the Government of Upper Canada is at all times most fully responsible for its official acts. This responsibility is not merely nominal. It is the duty of the Lieutenant-Governor to vindicate to the King and Parliament (Imperial) every act of his administration."

Before relinquishing the government Sir John Colborne endowed a number of Church of England rectories from the Clergy Reserves, in accordance with instructions contained in a despatch from Lord Goderich dated the 5th of April, 1832, which was as follows: "I am happy to find that your practical views, founded upon personal knowledge and experience, are so co-incident with those, which upon a more speculative view, I have been led to entertain. I quite concur with you in thinking that the greatest benefit to the Church of England would be derived from applying a portion, at least, of the funds under the control of the Local Government to the building of rectories and churches, and I would add, in preparing as far as may be for profitable occupation, that moderate portion of land which you propose to assign in each township and parish for insuring the comfort, if not the complete maintenance, of the rectors. With this view, it appears to me that it would be most desirable to make a beginning in this salutary work." This act of the Lieutenant-Governor has been subjected to much criticism, as having been done at the eleventh hour, on the eve of his departure, and contrary to the spirit of the policy followed by the British government; but his instructions were definite, and no reason existed which would have justified him in disregarding them. If fault there was, it lay with the Colonial Secretary, but the legality of the action was beyond question, as afterwards appeared, and it cannot be successfully argued that the endowment was not in full accord with the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitutional Act of 1791. If a new element entered into the case, it was that the claim of the Church of Scotland to participate in the endowment had now been recognized.

Acting on the suggestion of the Colonial Office, Sir John did not announce his impending departure, but met the House on the 15th of January, 1836. In the meantime Sir Francis Bond Head had been appointed to succeed him, as Lieutenant-Governor, the first information of which was received in Upper Canada, on Sir Francis's arrival in New York, on his way to assume the government.

Sir John Colborne left Toronto on the 26th of January, and was the recipient of many tokens of the good will of the people as he travelled on to

Montreal, where he arrived on the 1st of February. He remained for some time in Montreal and was proceeding by New York to Britain in the month of May when he was intercepted by despatches from Lord Hill, the Commander-in-Chief, appointing him commander of the forces in Upper and Lower Canada, a command he assumed on the 1st of July, 1836.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD.

Sir Francis Bond Head arrived in Toronto on the 23rd of January, 1836, and on the 25th was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor. He remained but a short time in the position to which he was appointed, having been superseded in March, 1838.

Before referring to the proceedings of the House which he found in session, on his arrival, a few personal notes may be desirable. Head has been generally considered to have been entirely incompetent and impracticable, but while there may not be much difference of opinion as to his inability to reconcile the policy pursued at this time by the Colonial Office, with his own instructions (obedience to which was a cardinal duty), a feat requiring an aptitude in political craft which Sir Francis would be the last to pretend to, the impartial reader of the records of the time, which is a different thing from some of the histories of the period, will not fail to find an explanation if not an excuse for some of his "blunders." Like his predecessors, Sir Francis had a military training. He was present at Waterloo and in the campaign preceding it, under Wellington, where he won a high character as a military engineer. Canada had been the grave of so many high reputations that the Government, in either province, could not have been considered a prize by a first-class man, and Head's selection may be regarded as that of a successful official, possessing military and civil experience, and of a rank not too high to be above the uncertain instructions of his superiors.

Hume strongly approved of Head's appointment, and wrote to Mackenzie that a suitable man had, at last, been sent out as Lieutenant-Governor. The Reformers were jubilant; the other side depressed. The former published eulogiums on the coming Governor, and displayed placards of welcome with the legend: "Sir Francis Head, a tried Reformer." Head, in narrating this curious welcome, states that he was no more connected with human politics than the horses that were drawing him along—as he had

never joined any political party, had never attended a political discussion, and had never even voted at an election, or taken any part in one. He had, however, on accepting his appointment, conferred with Lord Glenelg and with Mr. Stephen, the permanent Under-Secretary, on the condition of affairs in Canada and from the latter, especially, obtained the key to the points raised in Mackenzie's "Seventh Grievance Report." He received Bidwell, the Speaker of the House, soon after his arrival, and the latter believing he was dealing with a Governor friendly to his cause, unbosomed himself unguardedly. He told the Governor that the Report was incomplete, that the Reformers looked beyond it for further changes of a more radical character. Later on Mr. Mackenzie called bringing a letter of introduction from Hume—a letter containing much good counsel. When asked to discuss the grievances set forth in the Report, he declined, but spoke of others which the committee, he claimed, had not ventured to enumerate. Head believed the British Government had been deluded into supposing the case had been fully stated in the Report. Another interview with each of these gentlemen followed, and while the Governor formed a high estimate of Bidwell's personal character, he became confirmed in his former impression that he held strong republican principles, and, therefore, came to the conclusion that the proper course for him to pursue was not to attempt to conciliate either party, but to act so as to appeal to the good sense of the people. He reported to Lord Glenelg that his preliminary enquiries had convinced him good feeling pervaded a majority of the people; party feeling and struggle for office had, however, produced excitement, added to which strong republican principles had leaked into the country from the United States. The conflicts and strife in the Assembly he believed misrepresented the general feeling and interests of the inhabitants who ardently desired peace, tranquillity and continued exemption from taxation. All that was good and estimable remained at the bottom, however, while the surface was agitated by factious discussions. From what he could judge the republican element was then and would continue to be implacable; no concession would satisfy it. This was not an unfair casting up of the situation so far as it went; and if it did not give the other side, it must be remembered that it was not Head's duty, nor was it expected of him to run counter to his

instructions in which the policy of the Colonial Office was set forth as being opposed to constitutional changes.

Parliament had been opened by Sir John Colborne on the 15th of January, on the 27th, the day after Colborne's departure from Toronto, Sir Francis Bond Head announced his arrival and assumption of office, to the House, personally. Having assembled the members he stated that he had instructions from the Colonial Secretary to himself which he would send to them in the form of a message. On the 30th of January the message was laid before the House—consisting of Lord Glenelg's instructions to him in full. This is set down as his first obvious "blunder," and from more than one point of view it was so, but from one point of view, at least, Head's position is tenable. The misfortune of the Colonial Office was that its diplomacy lacked candor. There was no honesty in the policy of trying by indefinite utterances to create the belief that concessions were to be made to the Reformers, while the instructions to the Lieutenant-Governors, at the same time, were definite against any important change in the constitution. But the issue raised by the Reformers was responsible government. Was it or was it not right to let the country know the truth? That was the question before Sir Francis. He turned on the searchlight. He permitted the House and the country to know the real views of His Majesty's Government, and this course can scarcely be objected to on the ground that the country had no right to the knowledge. Nor can it be shown that the Lieutenant-Governor went beyond his power in imparting it. In any case the latter point was one to be settled, not between the Lieutenant-Governor and the province, but between him and the Colonial Office. In his despatch to Lord Glenelg, reporting what he had done, Sir Francis makes it plain that his action was not hurriedly taken. In the few days since his arrival his intercourse had been mostly with Bidwell and Mackenzie and he believed he saw through the designs of the "Republicans" as he calls them, and came to the conclusion that he would not trust either of the opposing political parties, but the people whom he judged were loyal. He tells of the difficulty he had in deciding whether to present his instructions and the appendix to them in full, or merely to give the substance. Was this action that of a tactless

man, or that of a tactician? If the leaders of the opposing parties were playing a political game, the latter.

The House and what was important, the country, now had the truth, and needless to say the Reformers in the House were disappointed. They had expected much, they received but little. The instructions did not lack definiteness. Sir Francis was requested to adhere to the instructions issued to Sir John Colborne, by Lord Goderich, dated the 8th of November, 1832, from which he was not to deviate; the powers of the Lieutenant-Governor and of the Executive Council were to remain unchanged, the Legislative Council was to remain non-elective and no additional powers were conferred on the Assembly. In short there was to be no constitutional change; but concessions were made on minor matters, such as appointments to office, and the redressing of ascertained grievances. The instructions set forth that the Lieutenant-Governor was responsible to the King and Imperial Parliament for all his actions and that the responsibility of the Executive Council was not to the Legislative Assembly, but to the Parliament of Great Britain. Thus was the veil drawn aside, and the province, and both parties, knew the real sentiments of the British Government. The House, taken aback, did not, in the first shock, rise above the tactics of a lawyer in lodging a technical objection to the form of an indictment. It challenged the right of the Lieutenant-Governor to address them, the opening address having been already delivered, and charged that he therefore had committed a breach of privilege—a frivolous objection which deservedly failed. The Reformers had a great question before them, that of responsible government, and they cannot be excused for clouding it, as they, or their leaders often did, to its obvious detriment, with petty issues, and personal interests. But a still worse thing happened. The Speaker, Mr. Bidwell, fully justified the Lieutenant-Governor's belief that he was steeped in republicanism, by sending a copy of the instructions to Papineau as added fuel to the flame he was industriously fanning among the French Canadians, the aim of which was not concealed. Shortly afterwards the Executive Council brought to the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor, that the Executive was not at its proper strength, there being only three members instead



of six in office. Sir Francis considered that he ought to appoint three Reformers, as the three already in office were Conservatives, or constitutionalists, expecting that by giving each party an equal share, he would act fairly. He sought out the best material possible, selecting Robert Baldwin first, and from the high opinion he had of him, asking him to select the other two. Baldwin was wary, and did not easily consent, but when he did so he submitted the names of Dr. Rolph and Mr. Bidwell as his colleagues. Sir Francis entertained no doubt of Bidwell's republicanism, and in consequence the name of Mr. Dunn was substituted. Before taking office Baldwin made it a condition of acceptance that the Executive should be subject to the vote of the Assembly. This was an impossible demand and was not persisted in, but another was put forward, not worthy of Baldwin, viz., that the three members then in office: Hon. Peter Robinson, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Hon. G. H. Markland, Inspector-General; and Hon. Joseph Wells, Bursar of King's College, should be dismissed. This incident shows how deeply the desire for public office—political patronage—had entered into the strife then waged. Sir Francis Bond Head successfully resisted this demand also, the new councillors took office and their appointment gave satisfaction. The Lieutenant-Governor made two appointments to office without consulting the Executive. He withheld his assent to a bill which had passed the House and Legislative Council, also on his own responsibility. The Executive Council objected; he asked them to put their objection in writing. He made an elaborate reply, drawn up with ability and skill, in which the constitutional relations of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Executive Council were pointed out; and that the attitude assumed by the Councillors was clearly unconstitutional, as they were responsible neither to the Canadian nor to the British Parliament, but to him. It was not within his power, he stated, to invest them with a responsibility for his acts. If the Executive could not conscientiously continue to act in office under the existing constitutional limitations he begged them not to remain on his account. Whether the Executive regarded this as a dismissal or not all the members resigned. This action proved that the Lieutenant-Governor was free of party domination, and the Conservatives made common cause with the Reformers in passing a resolution in the House on the 14th of

March censuring his Excellency for dismissing the Executive, declaring for the principle of responsible government, and asking for all the papers in the case. In a House of fifty-three, fifty-one supported the resolution. To this remonstrance Sir Francis replied: "Had they (the Council) chosen to have verbally submitted to me in Council that the responsibility and consequently the power and patronage of the Lieutenant-Governor ought henceforth to be transferred from him to them; had they even in the usual form of a written petition, recommended to my attention as a new theory that the Council, instead of the Governor, was to be responsible to the people, I should have raised no objection whatever to the proceeding, however in opinion I might have opposed it; but when they simultaneously declared, not that such ought not to be, but that such was actually the law of the land, and concluded their statement by praying that a Council sworn in secrecy to assist me might be permitted, in case I disapproved of their opinion, to communicate with the public, I felt it my duty to inform them that they could not retain such principles together with my confidence, and to this opinion I continue steadfastly to adhere." The new Councillors, appointed by Head were men of good standing in the province and not objectionable as partisans, they were: Robert Baldwin Sullivan, at one time a Reformer, and the second Mayor of Toronto, a man of outstanding ability; John Elmsley, Augustus Baldwin, a retired naval officer and uncle of Robert Baldwin, and William Allan. The House of Assembly found fault with the appointments and requested that the appointees be removed from office. Forms of petition were circulated in the constituencies for signatures against the Lieutenant-Governor's action. A particularly stormy public meeting was held in Toronto, and much excitement was stirred up. But in the matter of political agitation Sir Francis was apt, though his position ought to have restrained him from fighting the Reformers with their own weapons, to them permissible, to him prohibited. The papers in connection with the resignation of the six Executive Councillors received from his Excellency by the House were referred to a committee which reported against the Lieutenant-Governor as was to have been expected, but what was not looked for, nor reasonable, recommended the stoppage of supplies, so far as they concerned the civil service, granting the general budget, such

as the appropriation for schools, roads, navigation, etc. But Sir Francis was not to be thus forced. If the Assembly had so much power he had more, and unwisely or wisely, considering the extreme action of the Assembly probably wisely, he used it and rejected the whole bill. Smarting under this rebuff the Assembly voted an address to the King, stating that Head's conduct had been derogative to the honor of the King and demoralizing to the community. He was charged with tyranny and deceit. The British Parliament was also informed in a memorial that the Lieutenant-Governor was guilty of "misrepresentation and deviations from candour and truth." The documents bore Bidwell's signature as Speaker, a circumstance, which though unavoidable, gave offence to the Lieutenant-Governor, as it was generally supposed the memorials were composed, as well as signed, by Bidwell. But the Legislature of Upper Canada was not the only one that could pass angry resolutions against the ruling powers. That of Lower Canada was also active and passed on the initiative of Papineau a series of resolutions in reply to a certain statement made by Colborne when opening the Upper Canada Parliament of 1836. Copies of the resolutions were ordered to be sent to the Assemblies of the other British America provinces. In transmitting them to Bidwell, Papineau wrote a letter in which he spoke of the "naked deformity of the colonial system." The Royal Commissioners enquiring into the condition of Lower Canada he described as "these deceitful agents," further saying "that the state of society all over continental America requires that the forms of its government should approximate nearer to that selected, under propitious circumstances, and after mature consideration, by the wise statesmen in the neighboring union, than to those into which chance and past ages have moulded European societies." This letter Mr. Bidwell had received a month previously, but kept back until the last day of the session, when, before prorogation on the 20th of April, 1836, he read it to the House. Its effect was, naturally enough, enormous. Bidwell's action cost him his seat, a seat on the Bench and practically ended his Canadian career. It opened the eyes of the country and contributed largely to the defeat of the Reform party in the general elections to be held in the summer. During this eventful session the land laws were slightly amended. The railroad era was dawning and during



the session the following companies were incorporated: The City of Toronto and Lake Huron Railroad Co., the Niagara and Detroit Rivers Railroad Co., and the Burlington Bay and Lake Huron Railroad Co. An Act was passed providing for the erection of a suspension bridge over the Niagara River at Queenston. Steps were taken to preserve the fisheries and an Act to authorize the establishment of mutual insurance companies in the several districts of the province was passed. An Act was also passed to allow persons indicted for felony a full defence by counsel (assent withheld by the Lieutenant-Governor, but the Royal assent promulgated by proclamation on the 29th of September, 1836).

Political agitation continued with unabated strength, and it was evident that the constitutional party was making headway. Sir Francis Bond Head took an active part in the discussion of affairs and drew upon himself the anger of those whose opinions differed from his, or who were made the subjects of his attacks. A dissolution of Parliament was expected on account of no supplies having been assented to, and campaigning was in full flood in the month of May. Moderate Reformers drew apart from the Mackenzie-Rolph leading and a society named the Canadian Alliance Society affected by the extremists was changed to the Constitutional Reform Society, a more moderate body, to offset the violence of the radicals on the one hand, and the pretension to exclusive loyalty of the British Constitutional Society, on the other. It is to be noticed that Robert Baldwin was president, and Francis Hincks, secretary, of the organized constitutional reformers.

Parliament was dissolved on the 28th of May and the general elections were held on the 20th of June, 1836. The contest was fierce and the result decisive, the government being sustained by a majority of 44 to 18. The Conservatives gained notably in the number of strong men, among them being a real acquisition in Mr. W. H. Draper, afterwards Solicitor-General and Chief Justice. The Reformers lost the redoubtable Perry and Bidwell and Mackenzie.

Charges were made by some of the defeated candidates that the Lieutenant-Governor had used undue influence in the elections and that corruption prevailed. In support of the charges, Dr. Duncombe, who had been re-elected for Oxford, proceeded to London to lay the matter before the



Colonial Secretary. Lord Glenelg in conveying his decision in the matter to Sir Francis stated: "The refutation of Dr. Duncombe's charges is entirely satisfactory. It has been in the highest degree gratifying to me to be able to report to His Majesty that, after a minute and vigorous enquiry during which every facility was given to the petitioner to substantiate his accusation, your conduct in reference to the elections has been proved to be governed by a strict adherence to the principles of the constitution." It was following this vindication, combined with the fact that it was felt he was doing his best in a trying position, that the British Government decided to confer a baronetcy on him. It was at this time that Sir Francis made an extensive tour of the province, a graphic account of which he gave to the world in 1846 under the title of "The Emigrant." It is apparent that a feature of the Lieutenant-Governor's character which did not conduce to his own comfort, was his independence. He eschewed the influence of party politicians on the one hand, and on the other did not take kindly to the views sometimes pressed upon him by the Colonial Office. He was not an office-seeker himself and did not wish to continue as Lieutenant-Governor unless his opinions could be given effect to with the full approval of the British Ministry to which he was responsible. Twice he had suggested his withdrawal from a difficult position, and as he saw a crisis approaching in the affairs of the province, became more firmly resolved to carry on his administration in accord with his own convictions.

At one of the meetings of the Constitutional Reform Society said to have been attended by Dr. Baldwin, George Ridout and James E. Small, all occupying judicial positions—the two latter in addition were Colonels of militia regiments—they had indulged in extreme language regarding the Lieutenant-Governor, Ridout, it was reported, going so far as to express the pleasure it would give him to subject Sir Francis to being tarred and feathered—the Lieutenant-Governor immediately dismissed the three from their offices, the chief reason given being that they were members of the Society which had issued intemperate manifestos to the people, the personal allusions to the Lieutenant-Governor not being mentioned in the letter of dismissal. Ridout made an ingenious defence and appealed to the Colonial Secretary against the action of the Lieutenant-Governor. He claimed that he was

not a member of the Society, but had opposed its formation, a statement which impressed Lord Glenelg and led him to believe that he had been unjustly treated. He ordered his re-instatement. The Lieutenant-Governor replying to Lord Glenelg, showed that Ridout had been a member of the Canadian Alliance Society, an association whose extreme proceedings Robert Baldwin and other moderate Reformers would not endorse, but as a political organization was deemed necessary to the cause of reform, they proposed that the Society should be reorganized on a more moderate basis and named the Constitutional Reform Society. It was against this proposal that George Ridout protested on the ground that it would be colorless, but being overborne and the new Society having been formed, he attended its meetings and participated in its deliberations though he did not accept its membership. In addition to this explanation, Sir Francis transmitted to Lord Glenelg other instances showing Ridout's extreme views, and occasions on which he had offered him personal insult.

Lord Glenelg, believing that if a few of the more noisy Reformers were placed in office and some concessions made to the people the agitation would quickly pass away, insisted on Ridout's re-instatement, whereupon Sir Francis again forwarded his resignation. In pursuance of the same policy, Lord Glenelg requested that ex-Speaker Bidwell be promoted to the Bench. This the Lieutenant-Governor declined to do, and after a passage of despatches, convinced the Colonial Secretary that his refusal was justifiable. On receiving Sir Francis Bond Head's resignation, Lord Glenelg entered with him into a long explanation of the course he had considered it judicious to pursue, and paid high compliment to Sir Francis' services, although not agreeing with him on some points. Notwithstanding the differences of opinion between him and Lord Glenelg, the latter is both sincere and generous in the expression of his appreciation of Sir Francis' services. On the 8th of September he writes that his "foresight, energy and moral courage had obtained the approbation of the King, and it was gratifying to him personally to bear this high and honorable testimony to this favorable acceptance of his services."

The last session not having voted the supplies it was desirable that the new Parliament should assemble with as little delay as possible, and it

accordingly convened on the 8th of November, 1836 (continuing until the 4th of March, 1837). Mr. Archibald McLean was elected Speaker, on a vote of 36 to 21, the House being strongly pro-government. In his speech from the Throne, the Lieutenant-Governor referred to the rest from agitation which the province was enjoying as one of the beneficial results of the general election, but it must not be supposed that he was unaware of the aggressive element which the turn of a general election could not be expected for a moment to suppress. The supply bill was passed and a resolution carried in favor of realizing on the clergy reserves and applying the money derived from them to the religious and moral instruction of the people. Had this passed into law, while it would not likely have proved a final settlement, no doubt the vexatious question would have been removed from the arena for some time. Many of the inhabitants objected to the lands being held in reserve as breaking up the townships and interfering with settlement, and if these reserves had been sold, and the land settled, the grievance, so far, would have abated—which would not have suited the purposes of the political agitators, and therefore Rolph opposed the measure in one of the strongest and ablest speeches he ever delivered in the Assembly. The question was not discussed in the Legislative Council during this session, and subsequent events may, to some extent, explain why the measure was not persevered in. A petition by Mackenzie against the return of the member for the second riding of York, who had defeated him, was debarred on a technicality. The severe economy of former Legislatures and the cutting off of supplies at the last Parliament, had seriously interfered with public works and the development of the province, inducing the large appropriation of \$4,000,000 at this session.

One of the important Acts of the session was the establishment of a Court of Chancery for the province which was to be held at the seat of government. Acts were also passed for the further amendment of the law and the better advancement of justice, to enable the person administering the government of the province to commute the sentence of death in certain cases, to regulate private banks, and amending the charter of King's College, the chief points in which were: That Judges of the King's Bench should be visitors at the College, that the President on any future vacancy



need not be an incumbent of any ecclesiastical office, that no member of the College Council or professor of the university need be a member of the Church of England, that no religious test should be required of students and that Upper Canada College should be incorporated with the University of King's College. An Act of considerable political importance was passed to prevent the dissolution of the Parliament of the province in the event of a demise of the Crown. The members of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly were accorded the free use of the post office during the session of the Legislature, a privilege taken full advantage of for the distribution of political circulars by the contending parties. The Bank of British North America and the Bank of Montreal were given provincial privileges. An Act was passed incorporating the Roman Catholic College at Kingston by the name of the College of Regiopoli. The session was prolific of practical, useful legislation, one of the best evidences of the gradual development of the province in the matters of public works, roads, bridges, harbors, navigation, commercial enterprises and education, while the benevolent disposition was manifested to the poor and distressed and to hospitals by small grants of money. In all, one hundred and thirteen Acts which passed the Legislature, became law.

To the new Court of Chancery established, Mr. Jameson, the Attorney-General, was appointed Vice-Chancellor. The Hon. Archibald McLean, the Speaker, and Mr. Jonas Jones were elevated to the Bench. Mr. Hagerman, the Solicitor-General, was nominated for the office of Attorney-General, and Mr. W. H. Draper to that of Solicitor-General. It was in connection with these vacancies that Bidwell's name was suggested by Lord Glenelg and refused by the Lieutenant-Governor.

The financial upheaval in the United States alarmed the banks of Upper Canada and the Lieutenant-Governor, to prevent a crisis, summoned a special session of Parliament which met at Toronto on the 19th day of June and prorogued on the 11th day of July. Mr. Allan Napier MacNab was elected Speaker, Mr. Archibald McLean having been promoted to the Bench. An Act was passed to afford relief to the banks and at the same time to protect the interests of persons holding bank notes, provision being made for the appointment of commissioners to settle the affairs of persons



engaged in the business of banking contrary to the Act of the last session. Associations had been formed before the passing of the Act of the previous session to carry on banking, and continued doing so claiming that they did not come within the provisions of the Act regulating private banks then passed. An Act was passed authorizing the chartered banks of the province to suspend the redemption of their notes with specie under certain regulations and for a limited time, if necessary, in order to continue operations. An Act was also passed to continue the expiring laws to the end of the next session of Parliament, and one to facilitate the negotiation of loans of money required for the completion of macadamized roads and for the issue of debentures for the portions of monies which had been granted for keeping the Welland Canal in repair and for discharging debts due on account of work thereon.

The third session of the thirteenth Parliament met at Toronto on the 28th day of December, 1837. The first Act passed was to authorize the apprehending and detention of persons suspected of high treason and treasonable practices, and recites in the preamble that a traitorous conspiracy had been formed for the purpose of overthrowing, by means of insurrection, the government, laws and constitution of the province and the happy connection thereof with the Mother Country, and that therefore the Act was passed to enable the Executive to deal with the situation. There was also an Act passed on the 12th of January to protect the inhabitants against lawless aggressions by subjects of foreign countries at peace with Her Majesty, pointing to the support given to the rebellion by citizens of the United States. Acts for the more speedy attainder of persons indicted for high treason who had fled from the province or remained in hiding therein, and for the extending of the condition of pardon in certain cases to persons who had been concerned in the insurrection, were passed, and on account of the military training and exercising in arms which had been practised by the revolutionists, an Act was passed forbidding meetings of persons for the purpose of being drilled in the use of arms and practising military evolutions and exercises, also an Act for indemnifying persons who, since the 2nd of December, 1837, had acted in apprehending, imprisoning or detaining in custody persons suspected of high

treason or treasonable practices and in the suppression of unlawful assemblies, and an Act authorizing the appointment of commissioners to investigate the claims of those who sustained losses during the rebellion. An Act was also passed to provide pensions for the widows and children of militiamen killed during the rebellion, or who might die of wounds or disease contracted on service. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The Act authorizing the chartered banks of the province to suspend the redemption of their notes in specie for a limited time, was repealed. This year an Act was passed incorporating the Town of Kingston under the name of the mayor and common council of the Town of Kingston—passed on the 6th of March.



SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND, K.C.B.



LORD SEATON.



SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD, K.C.H.



SIR GEORGE ARTHUR, K.C.H.





## CHAPTER XIX.

### REBELLION AND INVASION—1837-38.

During the summer of 1837 the rebellion was fairly embarked. A trusted messenger, one Jesse Lloyd, was selected to carry letters between the leaders in the Upper and Lower provinces. The first definite step in the insurrection was made at a small village named Lloydtown, north of Toronto, at a secret meeting on the 30th of June. At this meeting a resolution prepared by Mackenzie was carried declaring that it was the duty of every reformer to arm himself in defence of his own rights and those of his fellow-countrymen. This resolution was sent to trusted friends at various places and endorsed at secret meetings.

On the 28th of July the famous meeting at Doel's brewery, Toronto, took place, at which a plan for uniting, organizing and registering the reformers of Upper Canada as a political union, was adopted, providing for a network of societies to be spread over the country. In explaining this plan Mr. Mackenzie said: "A plan such as I have suggested could be easily transferred, without change of its structure, to military purposes. The secretary of each subordinate society of twelve might easily be transformed into a sergeant or corporal, the delegate of five societies to a township committee into a captain with 60 men under his command, and the delegate of ten township committees to a district committee into a colonel at the head of a battalion of 600 men."

A committee consisting of Messrs. James Harvey Price, — — O'Beirne, John Edward Tims, John Doel, John McIntosh, James Armstrong, T. J. O'Neill and Mr. Mackenzie, with power to add to their number was appointed to prepare a platform for the party. A meeting at which the platform was adopted was held at Doel's brewery on the 31st of July, and a permanent vigilance committee was then appointed, of which Mr. Mackenzie acted as agent and corresponding secretary, his duties being to organize and address meetings in different parts of the county as Papineau was

doing in the Lower province. Mackenzie attended a great many meetings between the launching of this platform and the end of November at which vigilance committees, in accordance with the plan of organization, were formed. Many efforts have been made to explain Mackenzie's present conduct, and even that last resort of a desperate advocate, temporary insanity, has been advanced by a reputable historian. We need not go far afield. Mackenzie believed in his cause and in himself, and, not without justification, in the United States, and his act of rebellion was deliberate.

Sir Francis Bond Head did not miscalculate the unstable character of the support Mackenzie relied upon. He, therefore, allowed the regular troops to be removed to assist Sir John Colborne in Lower Canada. Sir Francis in his despatch, stated that he had purposely done this in order that no part should be taken by British troops in suppressing the rising, but that it should be put down by the Canadian militia.

An understanding had been come to at the Doel meeting that a convention of delegates should be held in Toronto in the spring of 1838, and that friends in favor of armed intervention, should enter the city quietly as delegates to the convention. At this convention a draft of the constitution for the government of the province was to be adopted, and the Lieutenant-Governor requested to sanction it. If he should refuse he and the Executive Council were to be seized and a provincial government to be declared. Pending the convention and during Mackenzie's campaign in the country, bodies of men under the direction of the local organizations were trained in military exercises. Arms of various descriptions were collected, rural blacksmiths were engaged in making pike-heads, but it is questionable whether many of those doing these things, expected that more was meant by the leaders than the making of a determined demonstration which would frighten the government into submission without the necessity of the shedding of blood.

In October or early in November of 1837, Mackenzie met his friends once more secretly at Doel's brewery and there it was decided to capture Toronto, his plan being that the Lieutenant-Governor should be seized and conveyed to the city hall, that he and his friends should take possession of the arms and ammunition stored therein, proclaim a provisional govern-

ment, seize the fort at the western limit of the city, and, if the Lieutenant-Governor refused to concede responsible government, to declare the independence of the province without delay. The carrying out of this scheme was blocked by Dr. Morrison, who regarded it as too extreme. After this, Mr. Mackenzie seems to have acted without counsel from any of the leading Reformers except Dr. Rolph, who still secretly countenanced, probably inspired, his actions. Mr. Mackenzie stated to his son-in-law and biographer, Mr. Lindsey, that on the 18th of November a second secret meeting was held in Toronto when it was agreed to proceed to violence, and that the friends of the movement should be assembled to the north of Toronto in the vicinity of the city on the 7th of December, and effect its capture. The control of the undertaking was committed to Rolph, with Mackenzie responsible for completing the details. Montgomery's tavern was fixed upon as headquarters, and upwards of 4,000 adherents were expected. It is stated that Rolph, with his usual caution, declined to head the movement openly, but that Mr. Mackenzie convinced him that he was to be strongly supported and that the overthrow of the government was assured, while at the worst, the United States afforded an asylum. It is also stated that Rolph brought over Morrison to this view. After this, negotiations proceeded between Rolph, Morrison, Mackenzie and Lloyd, the agent employed between Papineau and Mackenzie, and Mackenzie was authorized to assemble his friends. He held a meeting at East Gwillimbury attended by Lount, Matthews, Fletcher, Goreham, Jesse Lloyd and others, when it was agreed that the insurgents should meet on the 7th of December, and that night capture Toronto. Dr. Rolph was apprised of this decision. On Mackenzie's return to Toronto he reported that at least 4,000 men had pledged themselves to obey the summons to meet at Montgomery's tavern on the date agreed upon. They would be under the command of Lount, Anthony Anderson and Col. Van Egmond, an officer who had served under Napoleon and had been present at Waterloo, but then a settler at Seaforth, Upper Canada.

Col. Fitzgibbon, whose brilliant services in the War of 1812 stamped him as a man of action, had organized a rifle company which he regularly drilled, and this small body of young men was the only force in the city

that had any training. After Mackenzie's departure to collect his men Fitzgibbon became anxious and was disappointed in not being permitted by the Lieutenant-Governor to arm his company, but he placed a volunteer guard of some twenty men to watch the city hall in which the arms and ammunition of the city were stored, and which was threatened as the point of attack by Mackenzie. By the beginning of December news arrived in the city that a considerable body of men in the Home district were arming, and a meeting of the council was held to discuss the situation. Some of the judges, the Speaker of the House, the Attorney-General, Solicitor-General and others attended. Fitzgibbon reported that pikes had been manufactured, that drilling had been taking place and that there was much excitement in the neighborhood of the city. It was resolved that Mackenzie should be arrested and that two regiments of militia should be called out. Fitzgibbon was appointed acting Adjutant-General and thus obtained control of the preparations for defence.

Rolph, who had not been suspected by the government party, heard of these proceedings, and his apprehensions as to the result of Mackenzie's effort were awakened. Accordingly he changed the date of attack from the 7th to the 4th of December to allow less time for the government's defensive measures to mature. On account of the change of date only 100 men met Lount at Montgomery's on the 4th. There were no arms or ammunition to be given out to them, and the food consisted of dry bread, biscuits, cheese and whiskey. On the 4th Rolph, Mackenzie and Gibson conferred at the house of Harvey Price. Rolph expressed the opinion to his confreres that the recent defeat of the Lower Canada insurgents at St. Charles completely changed the situation, and would render a successful rebellion impossible. He advocated immediate action or the abandonment of the revolution as a whole. This Mackenzie vigorously opposed, and as they could not agree, the decision was left to Lount, who in the meantime had arrived with his men, the same day as Fitzgibbon had assumed command of the militia in Toronto.

The march of Lount and his men alarmed the inhabitants, and some of them hastily met at the house of a Col. Moodie near Richmond Hill, when a messenger named Drew was sent to Toronto with the news of the outbreak. He was captured by the insurgents, and Col. Moodie accompanied by two



friends, Capt. Stewart, a naval officer, and a Mr. Brooke, resolved to carry the tidings themselves. They were stopped by Mackenzie's pickets, but resolved to gallop through. Moodie fired his pistol and the guards fired their guns, wounding Moodie so seriously that he survived but two hours. Brooke succeeded in forcing his way through the guard and rode rapidly towards the city. Mackenzie and a small party evidently not knowing of the direction taken by Brooke, proceeded to the city to learn the conditions there. As they reached Gallows' Hill they met Alderman Powell and a Mr. Macdonald, scouts sent out by Fitzgibbon. They were captured and placed in the custody of Anderson and Shepherd, who rode back with them to Montgomery's tavern. As they were being escorted northward, a horseman approached and was challenged by Anderson, who demanded his name. The man replied "Thompson," although it was Brooke, who had reached the road after having made a detour. Powell then spoke, and Brooke knowing his voice, informed him that the rebels were gathered in force at Montgomery's preparing to advance on the city, and that Col. Moodie had been shot. Powell manœuvred his horse so as to get behind Anderson, whose prisoner he was, and shot him dead on the spot. Macdonald, who was unarmed, took advantage of Powell's movement to escape also, so that Brooke, Powell and Macdonald were now on their way with tidings to the city. On his way Powell passed Mackenzie, who warned him not to proceed, and Powell paying no attention to the summons, Mackenzie fired at him, but the shot missed. Macdonald, however, was seized and sent back again under guard to Montgomery's. Powell reached Government house and gave the alarm. The Lieutenant-Governor repaired to the city hall where about 300 men were then assembled, including the leading men of the city. Messengers were sent to Speaker MacNab at Hamilton to bring down the militia of the Gore district, and to the commanders of the militia in the Midland and Newcastle districts.

At the insurgents' camp Mackenzie assumed chief command in the absence of Van Egmond, and he favored an immediate descent on the city, but the men had had long marching and had not been fed or rested, and it was decided to make the attack early next day, the 5th of December, with

Lount in command. During the night reinforcements continued to arrive, and in the morning about 800 men were assembled. About noon the men were drawn up in two bodies, one under the command of Lount, to proceed by Yonge Street, the other under the command of Mackenzie, to proceed by College Avenue, both to join at Osgoode Hall at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Col. Fitzgibbon's company of riflemen, though not large, had been thoroughly trained, and now formed the centre of a resolute and well armed body of volunteers. In the meantime a picket of 30 men under Judge Jones was posted to the north of the city to guard against surprise by the enemy. Fitzgibbon, Capt. Halkett and four volunteers rode northward to ascertain, if possible, whether the insurgents were fortifying themselves as reported. He found them entirely unprepared, and having 500 men in the city and a six pounder he urged immediate attack as the rebels could be easily dispersed, but the suggestion was made to the Lieutenant-Governor that another opportunity should be given to the insurgents to consider the seriousness of their movement and to withdraw before aggravating the crime they had already committed. With this object in view, Sheriff Jarvis was asked to proceed to the rebels with a flag of truce and to arrange for a conference with Mr. Mackenzie. Jarvis arranged with Baldwin and Rolph to do so. Accordingly Baldwin, Rolph and a man named Carmichael rode out as far as Gallows' Hill where Mackenzie with a body of men had established himself. To him or to Lount, it is uncertain which, they communicated the message from the Lieutenant-Governor to the effect that an amnesty would be granted if the insurgents would disperse and return to their homes. Mackenzie returned the answer that what was wanted was not an amnesty, but independence, and a convention to arrange details. In the course of Lount's trial he swore that when the flag of truce arrived Rolph drew him aside, "when he requested me not to heed the message, but to go on with the proceeding." The Lieutenant-Governor would hold no further parley, a decision communicated by Baldwin and Rolph to Mackenzie, who with his men had now reached Bloor Street. Rolph on this occasion had a private conference with Lount and Mackenzie in which, according to Mackenzie, he advised the insurgents to wait until 6 o'clock and enter the city after dark, while others stated that Rolph's advice to

Mackenzie was to enter the city as soon as possible. The total number of Mackenzie's force is placed at 750 men, the thousands which he announced he expected not having materialized.

A man named Horne, the assistant cashier of the Bank of Upper Canada, resided in the vicinity of Mackenzie's position on Yonge Street to the north of Bloor Street. He was suspected of spying on the movements of the insurgents, a communication from him having been sent by a Miss De Grassi to the effect that the number of the rebels instead of being thousands could be counted by the hundreds and that there was therefore no real cause of alarm in view of the city's defence. Horne's house was searched in the hope of finding papers, and by Mackenzie's orders was burned to the ground. At 6 o'clock Mackenzie moved on the city with about 700 men. Some of the riflemen were in front supported by those armed with pikes. These were followed by the men armed with muskets and shotguns, and these again by a motley crowd of men carrying heavy cudgels. Lount headed the procession. Mackenzie, riding a dark bay horse, marched by its side. They proceeded quietly until they came to a house about half way between Bloor Street and Queen Street, at which one of Fitzgibbon's pickets was posted, commanded by Sheriff Jarvis, and there the first skirmish took place. Like the famous battle of Sheriffmuir, it was a case of

“There is some say that we wan and some say they wan,  
And some say that nane wan at a', man;  
But one thing I'm sure that at Sherra muir  
A battle there was, that I saw, man.  
And we ran and they ran, and they ran and we ran,  
But Florence ran fastest of a', man.”

Jarvis ordered his picket to fire on the rebels. They did so and then the whole company, numbering 27, turned and fled. Jarvis tried to rally them, but finding himself alone could do nothing but follow. Their fire killed one man and wounded some others seriously. The riflemen in front of the attacking force returned the fire at random and then threw themselves on the ground to allow those in the rear to fire, but these, imagining that the prostrate riflemen in front had been shot by the enemy, took alarm, broke

order and fled northward, followed by the remainder of the force, in the utmost confusion. When they reached the tollgate an attempt was made by the leaders to rally the men and explain the situation, but no height of eloquence or stretch of argument could persuade them to make another attempt in the dark, and they decided that they must remain there until daylight. Thus the 5th passed without the attack being delivered. The citizens' force was augmented by the arrival of a small body of armed militia from East York, and at 11 o'clock at night Allan MacNab arrived with 60 men from the Gore district. Rolph and Morrison, within the city, were aware of the growing strength of the defenders and despatched a messenger to Mackenzie informing him of the arrival of the militia, and advising him to give up the whole project. But the leaders therefore determined to hold the men together either to fight, or as a means by which they might secure more favorable terms of surrender. At least 150 men deserted that night. Next morning (the 6th of December) Mackenzie's following did not number 600 men. Messengers were sent to Dr. Duncombe in the London district to assemble his supporters and march to the assistance of the contingent near Toronto. Mackenzie, Lount and a detachment of men proceeded to the Peacock Inn, and there awaited the mail from the west. All the letters were opened, the money contained in some of them was appropriated to help on the insurrection. While engaged at the Peacock Inn, Mackenzie was apprised of the arrest of Dr. Morrison and of Rolph's flight. The news was concealed from all but the immediate leaders, Lount, Gibson and Fletcher. Morrison had been arrested after a meeting of the Executive Council late on Tuesday night, the 5th, when visiting a patient. Rolph at once left the city. About twelve miles westward he encountered a volunteer company and was detained, whereupon he produced a letter stating that his sister was seriously ill and asking his attendance. Dr. Mitchell, of Dundas, a well-known Loyalist, on his way home, arrived on the scene and assured the officer of the genuineness of Rolph's letter regarding his sister's illness. Being freed, Dr. Mitchell exchanged horses with Rolph, giving him his own, which was the fresher of the two, and passing on, Rolph rode all night, and early next morning crossed Niagara River at Lewiston to the friendly territory of the United States.



On Wednesday, the 6th of December, volunteers continued to arrive in Toronto from east and west, until they numbered 1,200 men, putting the safety of the city beyond the possibility of doubt, and it was then resolved to disperse the insurgents on the following day. About noon on the 7th, Fitzgibbon drew out his forces. The centre was composed of a body of about 700 men under MacNab, Col. Samuel Jarvis commanded the right wing and Col. Chisholm, of Oakville, the left. The militia artillery consisted of two 6 pounders in charge of Major Carfrae. During Wednesday night Mackenzie's friends continued to desert him, and it is estimated that on Thursday he had but 400 men, and these only partially armed with rifles, to meet the well equipped militia and volunteers. By this time Van Egmond had arrived and took command. It was not until the bugles of the militia were heard and the glitter of their arms seen, that Mackenzie and Van Egmond realized that Fitzgibbon's troops were upon them. They hurriedly placed about 150 of their men under cover a few hundred feet to the west of Yonge Street and about 80 in a field to the east of the street. A large number were unarmed and hung around the tavern in groups without making any attempt at resistance or taking part in the affray. The approaching troops were drawn up without delay and firing commenced, the two guns playing on the men under cover on the west side of Yonge Street. The fire was faintly returned but without any effect. The western wing under Chisholm appearing, Mackenzie's men beat a general retreat amidst the greatest confusion and disorder. Carfrae's guns were turned on Montgomery's tavern and two round shots passed through the house. The prisoners taken by Mackenzie had been kept here in Gibson's custody, but he, seeing the hopelessness of the fight, allowed them to escape by the back door of the tavern. The whole affair could scarcely be dignified by the name of a fight, and it passed off in about fifteen minutes with the loss of one killed on the field. Eleven of the insurgents were wounded, four of whom afterwards died in the hospital. None of the troops was killed and only a few slightly wounded. Mackenzie and his associates fled. A number of persons were taken, and on being brought before the Lieutenant-Governor, who had accompanied the expedition, they were pardoned and ordered to return to

their homes. Montgomery's tavern and Gibson's house were burned to the ground.

A flag was taken at Montgomery's tavern with the legend: "Bidwell and the glorious minority, 1837—and a good beginning." It seems to have been an old election banner used by Bidwell in 1832, and the last figure was changed to 7 to suit this occasion. To the Lieutenant-Governor this was evidence not only of Bidwell's republicanism, but of his connivance with Mackenzie's movements. Mackenzie's satchell was also found, containing papers with the names of a large number of persons concerned with him in the revolt, a matter of great importance to the government.

The city was jubilant and the Lieutenant-Governor on his return was acclaimed. A reward of £1,000 had been placed on Mackenzie's head, and £500 for the apprehension of Gibson, Lount, Jesse Lloyd and Silas Fletcher on the 5th, and the rewards were now made public by proclamation.

Matthews had been sent with a detachment of 60 men to secure the eastern mails and operate from the east, and having seized the mail advanced on the city, and crossing the Don bridge, made his way westward by King Street. A detachment of militia commanded by Mr. Percival Ridout set out from the city hall and repulsed him. Matthews withdrew towards the north, and hearing of Mackenzie's defeat, dispersed his following, after which he started for his home in the Township of Pickering, accompanied by about eleven men. They hid in the bush until Saturday, when they sought food and shelter at the house of John Duncan on the borders of the Township of Markham. Here they were discovered and captured by a force of between 50 and 60 men and taken prisoners to Toronto. This ended Mackenzie's attack on the city in utter failure. Mackenzie wandered about for four days, taking shelter wherever he could, and avoiding capture, crossed the Niagara River at Grand Island to the friendly States. Gibson made his way to Oshawa, and with eleven companions crossed the lake in an open boat to the United States. Lount was not so fortunate. Accompanied by Kennedy, he reached Long Point and attempted to cross the lake in the face of a storm. Taken for smugglers, the inhabitants arrested them. They were recognized at Chippewa and Lount was sent as a prisoner to Toronto, and Kennedy to Hamilton.

Duncombe did not make much headway in the London district. His supporters, however, though not numerous, met frequently and were drilled, and what arms could be collected were secured. These proceedings were well known to the loyal inhabitants, noted and reported. Duncombe's plan was to mass his force at Brantford and from there to march on Hamilton. His men numbered about 300, poorly armed and totally unprovided with food. Allan MacNab left Toronto with 500 men to disperse Duncombe's followers. On arriving in the Township of Burford he found that the rebels had entirely broken up, and had returned to their homes or to hiding. Duncombe and a few of those most intimately associated with him had fled to the United States, making good their escape.

The disturbance being thus put down, orders were issued by the Lieutenant-Governor that more militiamen were not required, and the eastern regiments were authorized to offer their services to Sir John Colborne in Lower Canada should he require them. On the same day—the 8th of December—representations were made to the Lieutenant-Governor hostile to Bidwell, who was living in the city. It was pointed out that the flag found at Montgomery's tavern bore his name, and although it was obvious that it originally had been an election flag used in Bidwell's interest in 1832 and the date had been changed to 1837, the use to which it was put and the great influence of Bidwell's name with the insurgents could have no other effect than placing him under the suspicion of all reasonable people. His mail at the post office was seized, and without being opened, was sent to the Lieutenant-Governor in the belief that if opened it would be found that he was in correspondence with the rebels. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, did not open the letters. Bidwell interviewed the Lieutenant-Governor, and, while accounts of what took place do not agree, the Lieutenant-Governor giving one, and Bidwell another, it seems that Sir Francis pointed out to him the danger in which he stood on account of the recent proceedings, and promised that if Bidwell intended to carry out an intention he had expressed of removing to the United States, he should be unmolested during his journey thither. The result of the interview was that Bidwell settled in New York. Dr. Rolph for a time settled at Rochester.

The restless Mackenzie could not so easily give up the cause for which

he had risked so much. He made his headquarters at Buffalo, at the Eagle tavern, and was soon surrounded by a considerable number of sympathizers of a class ready to risk something on the chances of a successful raid on Canada. Two of his earliest lieutenants were Jefferson Sutherland and a son of General Van Rensselaer, the latter was made Commander-in-Chief. Headquarters were established on Navy Island, in British territory, not far from the mouth of the Welland River. Here Mackenzie issued his famous proclamation. A second proclamation followed, offering a bounty of \$100 in silver to volunteers and naming a provisional government for Upper Canada to consist of eleven persons. £500 was offered for Sir Francis Bond Head's apprehension.

Money bills were issued, a flag was improvised on which there were two stars representing the two new states of Canada. These measures appeared as if Mackenzie meant business, and money and supplies came in freely from his sympathizers in the United States, while arms and munitions of war were given freely from the state military stores. The men assembled at Navy Island have been estimated to have numbered at various periods from 200 to 700.

Canadian volunteers at once assembled at Niagara to the number of 1,800 men, and in a short time the number increased to 2,500. Col. Kenneth Cameron, assistant Adjutant-General, was in command until the arrival of Col. Allan MacNab. The Lieutenant-Governor's instructions were to act strictly on the defensive, but steps were taken to drive Mackenzie and his force from Navy Island. Mackenzie had secured a small steamer of 46 tons at Buffalo named the *Caroline*, with which he conveyed supplies and arms from Fort Schlosser to the island. On the 29th of December Commander Drew and Col. MacNab for the first time noticed the operations of the steamer, and understanding their importance, MacNab asked Drew whether he could cut the vessel out. Drew answered that it could be done by a surprise at night. "Well, then," said MacNab, "go and do it," which, according to Drew were all the orders he had received. Drew asked for volunteers for an expedition, the object of which he did not disclose, the condition being that every man should be an expert rower. The party were conveyed in seven boats, and consisted of four men in each boat to row and



three or four men in each to make up an attacking party. They were favored with clear moonlight and left at half past eleven o'clock, the shore being crowded with their comrades. After proceeding a short distance up the shore, the nature of the expedition and its danger were explained. The crossing was then begun. Two of the boats came within sight of Navy Island and were fired upon. They withdrew, and going astray were not able to join the other five, but ultimately found their way back to the Canadian shore. Drew silently approached the steamer, and mounting, was encountered by three men whom he ordered to go ashore. One of them seizing a musket, fired, but it flashed in the pan and Drew cut him down. Another man fired a pistol but it also flashed in the pan. The men were disarmed and taken from the steamer. Drew found thirty-three men on board. Some firing took place, the ship was cleared, set on fire, and cut out from her moorings. Drew and his men then made their way safely back across the river. In the meantime the exploit in which they took part had been explained to the men ashore; the risk and danger involved were fully appreciated, and Drew and his men were received with vociferous cheering as they landed. A man named Durfee, of the United States, had been killed in the affray. Of the attacking party, Lieut. McCormack was seriously wounded and only to some extent recovered afterwards. Capt. Warren, of the 66th, was also wounded but was able to resume duty, and some of the others received slight wounds, but not to inconvenience them. The seven boats which had formed the expedition were commanded by Lieuts. McCormack, Bier, Elmsley and Battersby, Mr. Lápenociere, mate, and Mr. Harris, master, R.N., with Mr. Gordon, captain of a lake steamer.

The international aspects of the case were exploited, and in a message to Congress the President declared that reparation would be demanded. Subsequently, one Alexander McLeod, a Canadian citizen, was arrested on the charge of murdering Amos Durfee, whose body had been found on the wharf at Schlosser. The British government demanded his immediate release. The United States refused on the ground that it was a matter for the State of New York, and that his arrest was justifiable. McLeod's trial took place in October, 1841, at Utica. Evidence was given to the effect that he had confessed to killing a man in the Caroline affair, also to the fact that he was

seen to get into a boat on the return of the expedition, and to his leaving the boat on its arrival on the Canadian side. Opposed to this evidence was that of Col. MacNab and other witnesses who swore that McLeod was not present, and he was set at liberty. In 1842 the United States ambassador to Britain complained that no reparation had been made. Sir Robert Peel replied that no disrespect had been intended to the sovereign authority of the United States, but regretted that some explanation and apology had not been immediately made. Thus, the incident was closed.

Navy Island was abandoned on the night of the 13th of January, and Grand Island within the territory of the United States was occupied. On one of Mackenzie's visits from Navy Island he was arrested by the United States authorities for breach of the neutrality laws, and was liberated on bail amounting to \$5,000. On the removal of his followers to Grand Island, Van Rensselaer was also arrested and held in the same bail and on the same charge. The Canadian militia occupied Navy Island on the 15th of January, 1838, by which time but very few of the enemy remained on Grand Island, having practically given up the project and returned to their homes. The few who remained chartered a steamer called the *Barcelona* to harry the shores of Lake Erie. Drew, who had three armed schooners, watched the movements of this steamer. The United States General, Winfield Scott, protested that Drew's vessels were anchored in the United States waters. Drew retorted that if so, there was no breach of the treaty involved as it was a time of peace, and this attitude and his watchfulness, convinced the United States authorities that the *Barcelona* must not be allowed to leave port.

Before the end of 1837 Jefferson Sutherland proceeded westward to set in motion an organization which had been formed on the coast line of Lake Erie and the Detroit River. He held a commission from Van Rensselaer. He found strong sympathy at Cleveland where at least 200 men had banded together to share in the glory of liberating Canada. Robert Gourlay was at this time in Cleveland, and, fully realizing the seriousness of the preparations which were being made, exerted himself to dissuade the populace from countenancing an armed attack on a friendly power. It is believed that his efforts were not without considerable success. He also

placed himself in communication with Sir Francis Head, conveying information so opportune and useful as to induce the Lieutenant-Governor to extend an invitation to Gourlay to return to Canada, an invitation at that time not accepted. Sutherland, after arranging that men should follow him westward, proceeded to the vicinity of Detroit, there being a number of sympathizers in the State of Michigan who had been more or less organized, the leaders of whom had assumed high rank. Henry S. Handy, of Illinois, was designated Commander-in-Chief, supported by Major-Gen. Wilson and Brigadiers-General Roberts and Theller, the latter to have command of the first brigade of Irish and French troops which they were to raise. Thus organized, steps were taken by them to secure arms and ammunition. Remonstrances were made to the Governor of the State of Michigan and he ordered the men to disperse or assemble at some other locality; yet fire-arms and artillery were given to Handy from the state arsenal and these were allowed by the United States authorities to be transferred to the schooner "Anne," notwithstanding the protests of the Canadian authorities. Handy had made his headquarters at a place called Gibraltar. Receiving information that his presence was embarrassing to the government, he decided to depart from the state and moved to Bois Blanc Island near Fort Malden, within British territory. Sutherland arrived from Cleveland accompanied by 200 men and assumed command. Theller was placed in command of the schooner "Anne." There was no attempt at secrecy in conducting these proceedings, and Col. Prince protested to the Governor of Michigan against the countenance given to the movement by the state. The governor called out the Michigan militia to keep the peace. The marauders, however, landed on Sugar Island in United States territory, and having completed preparations, Theller sailed the "Anne" without let or hindrance towards Bois Blanc Island. In passing Amherstburg he threw a grape shot into the village, and having made a reconnaissance, returned to Sugar Island. On the 9th, Sutherland with sixty men took possession of Bois Blanc Island, hoisted a tri-color flag and issued his "proclamation to the patriotic citizens of Upper Canada." "You are called upon," he said, "by the voice of your bleeding country to join the patriot forces and free your land from tyranny. Hordes of worthless parasites of the British



Crown are quartered upon you, to devour your substance, to outrage your rights, to let loose upon your defenceless wives and daughters a brutal soldiery." Sutherland's movement on Bois Blanc Island was supported by Theller, but the schooner becoming unmanageable, drifted towards Fort Malden at which Col. Radcliffe had just arrived from the Township of Adelaide. When she came within reach of the fort a lively musketry fire was played upon her and she ran aground. A detachment of militia in the garrison very gallantly waded through the icy water to the schooner, and shooting the helmsman, soon captured her. Theller and his crew numbering twenty, eight of whom had been wounded, were taken prisoners. On board were found three cannon, 200 muskets, bayonets, accoutrements, stores and ammunition, a valuable acquisition to the supplies at the fort. Sutherland hastily withdrew to Sugar Island, discredited an account of the failure of his descent on Canada. The inhabitants and militia assembled in large numbers to prevent further invasion, among them being 200 Indians from Delaware and a number of the negroes who had settled in the peninsula. A man named McLeod who had been a sergeant in the British army and had, on settling in Upper Canada, conducted a school at Brockville, became implicated in the rebellion, and on crossing to the United States was made a "General." He appeared with a body of men in the Detroit River and seized Fighting Island near Sandwich on the 24th of February, 1838. He was dislodged by the fire of artillery, and on retiring to the United States his men were disarmed and dispersed by the authorities. McLeod left behind him on the island a field piece and a good supply of muskets, all in good condition, being perfectly new, and stamped as the property of the United States.

Sutherland had in the meantime established himself at Sandusky, where he gathered unexpected strength from the sympathetic inhabitants. He sent a man named Bradley with 500 men to take possession of Pelee Island, which, being occupied only by a few inhabitants, he easily accomplished, and took the few settlers into custody. Col. Maitland, commanding at Amherstburg, proceeded to dislodge them, with four companies of the 32nd, one company of the 83rd, twenty troopers of the volunteer cavalry of Sandwich and Essex, a small party of Indians and two six-pounders.



Reaching the island at dawn, he detached Capt. Browne with two companies of the 32nd and the cavalry from the main body, to prevent the escape of the invaders by the south shore of the island. He himself landed on the north of the island. The enemy retreated at his approach, taking cover in the forest. The enemy who were all citizens of the United States, 300 strong and well accoutred, gradually retreated until they came within sight of Browne's detachment, which numbered ninety men, when they formed and began firing. After exchanging a volley, Browne made a bayonet charge before which they broke and fled. With the aid of sleighs they were able to carry off a number of their wounded, and a large number, reaching their boats, managed to escape. Among the dead left behind were Col. Bradley, who commanded the expedition, Major Hondley and Capt. Van Rensselaer and McKeon and seven others. A number of prisoners, several of whom were wounded, were captured. The Canadians lost two killed of the 32nd and one of the St. Thomas cavalry, while of the 28 who were wounded, some were in a dangerous condition. The invaders carried a large tri-color flag on which were two stars and the word "liberty." It, with muskets, swords and ammunition, all bearing the United States service mark, fell to the Canadians. On the day following Col. Prince captured Sutherland, who was sent to Toronto, tried and transported for life.

Lount and Matthews had been condemned to death, and a strong effort was made on their behalf for a commutation of the sentence. Sir George Arthur, the new Lieutenant-Governor, had only been a few days in the country and did not feel justified in interfering with the course of the law, and to the extreme regret of many loyal citizens the sentence was carried out.

On the 29th of May, 1838, the outrage on the steamboat "Sir Robert Peel" took place. The steamer was going from Prescott westward, having a number of ladies and gentlemen on board as passengers, and at midnight reached Well's Island, where a stoppage was made to take in firewood. About 2 o'clock a party numbering between 50 and 70 men, disguised and armed with muskets and bayonets, boarded the vessel, forcibly putting the passengers and crew on shore without their baggage, and then removed the steamer from the wharf and burned her without saving the baggage or

any of the cargo. The leader of the band was one "Bill Johnson," and among his men were three or four Canadian refugees. The captain of the steamer, a man named Armstrong, crossed the river in a rowboat and reported the outrage to the Canadian authorities. The "Oneida," a United States steamer arriving shortly afterwards, conveyed the passengers to Kingston. Lord Durham, who had shortly before arrived, offered a reward of £100 for the conviction of the perpetrator of the outrage, and sent his brother-in-law, Col. Grey, of the 71st Regiment, to the British Minister at Washington with a complaint to the President of the United States. Capt. Sandom, who was in command of the naval station at Kingston, had recommended that a number of small armed vessels with rowboats, should be supplied to protect the shores of the St. Lawrence skirting the Thousand Islands. Sir John Colborne concurred, and Sir Charles Paget, who was in charge at Quebec, gave effect to the suggestion by despatching vessels and men for the purpose recommended, and at the same time it was made clear to the United States authorities that the object of this action was protection only. The latter approved of the step thus taken, and it was agreed that similar protection should be afforded on Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, the vessels to be commanded by officers of the army and navy of the United States, each vessel carrying 50 soldiers.

A marauding expedition was made from Fort Schlosser by a party of men under the leadership of James Morrow (or Moreau), who acted as colonel, and with him was Benjamin Wait, a native Canadian. The party received about 50 or 60 stands of arms and ammunition at Grand Island in the Niagara River about the 10th of June, 1838, and crossed to the Township of Crowland. A native of the United States named Chandler, who had resided some time in that part of Canada and knew some of the inhabitants, accompanied the expedition and secured provisions for them. The raiders established themselves at Shorthills, encamping in the woods. On the 20th of June they received a small reinforcement from the United States and the information that General McLeod would soon join them with 300 men. Morrow not placing much confidence on this statement, and being disappointed at not being supported by a considerable force at once, decided upon returning, but before doing so agreed that they should signalize their

visit by capturing a small post of Lancers consisting of a cornet, sergeant, trumpeter and eleven men stationed in the vicinity at a place known as St. Johns. On the night of the 20th, after looting two houses in one of which they found \$100 and in the other \$300, they surrounded a tavern in which seven of the Lancers were quartered. A quantity of straw was brought to the house and set in a flame, and the Lancers surrendered. The number of men taking part in this assault has been estimated at 100. After this the raiders retired to the woods and liberated their prisoners.

On the morning of the 21st, when the news of the attack spread abroad, the militia quickly assembled and the invaders separated into small groups in order to recross the boundary. Chandler, Morrow, Wait, McLeod, two women and 35 men were arrested. A feature of this raid was that, with the exception of five, the prisoners owed allegiance to Upper Canada either as British subjects by birth or naturalization, or aliens who had resided for the prescribed period in the province. They stated that they had expected to have been joined by a large number of Canadian refugees and citizens of the United States who, they were given to understand, not only sympathized with their attempt, but were well supplied with arms. They stated also that deposits of arms were made at many points on the frontier and at Grand Island. On Chandler's person was found a proclamation dated the 7th of June, announcing the capture of Forts George and Mississauga. When captured, Wait had a flag with two stars and the word "liberty" inscribed on it. Three of the prisoners were discharged, Morrow was sentenced to be hanged on the 30th of July and he suffered the extreme penalty, while Chandler, Wait, McLeod, and Beamer were saved from the same fate by the intervention of Lord Durham.

Another raid was made in the month of July of the same year on the shores of the St. Clair River by a party from Palmer, Michigan. It was a case of brigandage, pure and simple. Many of the settlers' houses were looted, and about the same time a militia officer named Carey, who had been active in protecting the frontier, was shot dead in the night by a small party from the State of Michigan. On the Niagara frontier there was an attempt to destroy the residence of Sheriff Hamilton, at Queenston, and a few days afterwards Capt. Usher was killed by ruffians from Buffalo. Dur-

ing the year 1838 a movement was begun along the northern boundary of the United States, the object of which was to overthrow monarchy on the North American continent. Bodies of men were formed into secret societies known as Hunter's Lodges, the members of which took a solemn oath in which they pledged their life, property and sacred honor to the association, that, to the death, they would attack every power or authority of Royal origin on the continent, "especially never to rest until all tyrants of Great Britain cease to have any dominion or footing whatever in North America." These lodges grew rapidly and boasted of having 40,000 members—evidently an exaggeration. A large convention of the lodges located in Ohio and Michigan was held at Cleveland on the 16th of September, 1838, and continued to the 22nd. At this convention a Republican form of government for Upper Canada was formulated, with a President, Vice-President and Secretaries of State, Treasury and War, a Commander-in-Chief, Commissary-General, Adjutant-General, two Brigadier-Generals and other officers lower in rank provided for. The Federal Government of the United States had spies on the frontier watching these proceedings, but the reports of these spies were communicated to Mackenzie by subordinate officials at Washington. Sir George Arthur also had spies by whom he was kept informed of what was taking place.

On the 13th of November, 1838, what is known as the battle of the Windmill took place. It was evidently concerted by the Hunter's Lodges. On the 10th a steamer named the "United States" with a large body of men left Oswego and went down the St. Lawrence. At a small landing place between Sackett's Harbor and French Creek the steamer took in tow two armed schooners, and proceeded on her way until they reached Prescott, where they cast anchor out in the river on the 11th. The movement had been watched from the Canadian shore, and information sent to Capt. Sandom, who was stationed at Kingston, reached him on Sunday the 11th. He immediately sent a steamer to Sackett's Harbor to notify the commandant of the United States army there of the fact, and on the day following, Sandom, with a force of 200 men and an armed vessel, also proceeded to Sackett's Harbor to confer with the commandant, who stated that he had been advised of the expedition and with the United States marshal had



proceeded to arrest the parties, but found that they had anticipated his action and had already set out. Col. Worth, the Commandant, then followed them. Capt. Sandom, crossing to Gananoque, was informed of the invasion and proceeded at once to Prescott, which was forty-four miles distant. At midnight on Monday, the 12th, he reached Prescott and was informed by Col. Young that the enemy, about 300 or 400 strong with two field pieces, had landed and were occupying a point of land on which a strongly built stone windmill stood; that they had thrown up breastworks and that their rear was protected by three or four stone houses. Col. Young stated that his force was not well organized, but that if Sandom would attack the rear he would make an attack on the front of the enemy.

On the morning of the 12th before the enemy had landed, the "Experiment," a small armed steamer mounting two guns attacked the schooners and compelled them to move near the United States shore. The steamer "United States" then came out from Ogdensburg Harbor to assist the schooners in making a landing at Prescott, but the "Experiment" prevented her from doing so. In the attack, one of the guns of the "Experiment" was injured and she was compelled to put back to Prescott to refit, and the invaders were then allowed to land their force without interruption at Windmill Point. They were under the command of one Van Shultz, a Polish adventurer. Before having been disabled the "Experiment" prevented a schooner, on which were a large number of men engaged to take part in the invasion, from landing, services which were of great influence on the battle.

The presence of the invaders roused the countryside, and early on the 13th a force of over 400 militia and 80 regulars were assembled, while the "Victoria" and "Cobourg," armed steamers, had arrived, and there was no delay in engaging the enemy. The attack was conducted in two columns of about 200 men, one commanded by Young in which there was a detachment of the 83rd Regiment in front, the second in which were the Marines that had accompanied Sandom from Kingston, led by Col. Fraser. Young's column took a circuitous route, Fraser's followed the road by the river.

The invaders fought hard, but were compelled to relinquish their position from point to point, until they reached the stone buildings. The Cana-

dians having no artillery, and these buildings not being within the range of the steamers, they had a short respite, but pickets were posted to prevent the escape of the besieged during the night. The casualties were heavy. Reinforcements arrived under Col. Dundas and Major MacBean, the latter with a demi-brigade of guns, and on the 16th the attack was renewed in conjunction with the vessels in the river. In a short time the enemy displayed a flag of truce and surrendered unconditionally. The total number of prisoners was 167, many having succeeded in breaking through the pickets, and either crossed the river or hid in the bush. The number of casualties are placed in the neighborhood of about 50. Of the Canadian militia, Lieut. Dalmage, of the 1st Regiment, was killed, Lieut. Parslow, of the 2nd Dundas, and Ensign Macdonald, of the Highlanders, were wounded.

Van Shultz was tried at Kingston, his counsel being Sir John A. Macdonald then beginning the practice of his profession as a barrister. Van Shultz was hanged on the 8th of December. Nine of the other prisoners shared the same fate. On arriving at Ogdensburg just immediately after the surrender at the Windmill, Col. Worth dispersed several bodies of citizens who had collected to cross to the assistance of their countrymen.

Four hundred men assembled on the 4th of December, 1838, at Detroit and organized an expedition. General Bierce took command, assisted by Colonels Putnam and Havell. They were armed and accoutred and paraded the streets amid the acclamations of thousands of citizens, the crowd at the point of embarkation being about 5,000. The invaders crossed the river with the benison of their compatriots as if they had been setting out on a glorious crusade. There were only a few Canadian militia at Windsor and these were overpowered and captured in a few minutes. The sentry was shot, Captain Lewis, who was in command, killed, and two men of the unfortunate detachment burned to death in the flames of the house the militia had occupied, which was burnt to the ground. With this as a brave beginning the invaders turned to the wharf and burned the steamer "Thames," lying there for repairs, and then the work of burning buildings in the vicinity was begun. These doings were visible from the opposite shore and evoked the applause of the crowd of people assembled there. A colored man who refused to join them was summarily shot. The forces having accomplished

so much with practically no resistance, were divided into parties the more thoroughly to carry out their plans. A detachment was sent to Sandwich, four miles distant to capture that place. The slogan to cheer them on their march was "Remember Prescott," "Remember the 'Caroline.' " When the party for Sandwich started it met four men, one of whom was Dr. Hume, a militia surgeon. He, seeing soldiers, thought it was a body of Canadian militia and with his companions approached. The invaders instantly and without the least warning killed the four men, shooting them where they stood, and then recognizing the surgeon as a militia officer his body was subjected to brutal mutilation. In the meantime, the militiamen, who had been captured when Captain Lewis was killed, effected their escape and in the struggle the leader of the invaders was killed. Colonel Prince, who lived a short distance from Sandwich, was attracted by the noise of firing and hastily collecting about 170 militiamen he proceeded towards Windsor, and encountered the division which had set out for Sandwich. That body took shelter in an orchard into which they were followed by Col. Prince and dispersed after twenty-one being killed and thirty taken prisoners. Four of those first captured were brought to Prince when he at once ordered them to be shot. In reporting the occurrence he stated: "I ordered them to be shot and they were shot accordingly." Col. Prince did not consider himself strong enough to attack the main body at Windsor and waited until he was reinforced by a contingent from the 34th Regiment, which was stationed at Malden. The contingent was commanded by Captain Broderick and brought with it a field piece. The combined Canadian force, and Col. Prince's vigorous action near Sandwich struck terror into the invaders and they withdrew in confusion. The most of them recrossed the river in boats, the rest scattered into the woods, where it was afterwards found some of them died of cold and starvation. The fickle populace of Detroit had no cheers now for the discredited remnant. They had failed. Col. Prince's summary sentence on the four prisoners who by his orders had been shot had a most salutary effect on the United States borders; and no further attempts to harry, destroy and kill were made on the Canadian inhabitants. It revealed the temper of the defenders of Canadian homes, and British liberties. The one glimpse was enough. 'Twas a pity it had not come a

year earlier. The other prisoners taken were sent for trial to the regular courts and seven of them were executed at London, Ontario. On the 6th of February, 1839, a man named Joshua Guilan Doer, who had been concerned in Duncombe's rising and had been captured later, was executed, the last echo of the unnatural rebellion which was launched, at Toronto, in 1837.



## CHAPTER XX.

### LEGISLATIVE UNION.

The rebellion in Lower Canada caused the British Ministry to suspend the constitution and it was decided to appoint Lord Durham as Governor-General and High Commissioner of Canada. The significance of the appointment lay in the enquiry he had been instructed to conduct into the affairs of the country, on which was based his famous report. He was a man of first-class ability and of wide political, and some diplomatic, experience, before coming to Canada, but his reserved and sometimes haughty manners prevented the formation of many intimate friendships. Durham landed in Quebec on the 29th of May, 1838, accompanied by an exceptionally strong staff. Edward Ellis was his private secretary, Col. Cowper military secretary, with three military attaches, Mr. Burke, Mr. Arthur Butler and the Hon. Edward Bouverie, of the Rosebery family; five aides-de-camp, viz., Lieut. the Hon. Frederick Villiers, Capt. Conroy, Ensign Cavendish, Cornet Dillon and Capt. Ponsonby. Sir John Dorate accompanied the party as physician. Charles Buller, a brilliant and able writer, who had sat in Parliament for West Lane in 1830 and voted for the Reform Bill of 1832, and in the general election following, was returned for Cornwall, which he represented until his death in 1848, was chief secretary.

Durham seems to have been genuinely inspired with the great purpose of bringing about peace and order in the Canadas and of leaving behind him a popular and stable form of government. Before his appointment a bill had been introduced into Parliament providing for the union of Upper and Lower Canada, and other constitutional changes. Its passage was held in abeyance until the enquiry entrusted to Durham should place before the Ministry a comprehensive and reliable review of the situation on which they could intelligently proceed. He was enthusiastically received by the officials and residents of Quebec. He dissolved the special Council which

had been appointed on the suspension of the constitution, and appointed a special Council to take its place.

On the 7th of July he left Quebec for Montreal where a very cordial welcome was extended to him, and an address presented by a deputation of two hundred prominent citizens who assured him of their co-operation in the discharge of his difficult duties. Remaining a few days at Montreal, he travelled to Prescott where he took steamer and proceeded by the St. Lawrence to Kingston, arriving there on the 11th of July, 1838. His stay at Kingston was for a few hours, and his journey was continued to Niagara where he arrived on the 13th, and was joined by Sir John Colborne and Sir George Arthur, the Lieutenant-Governors of Upper and Lower Canada. The Niagara River was ascended as far as Fort Erie. Durham was impressed by the commercial prosperity of Buffalo and by the advantages derived from the Welland Canal, for which he asked a grant of money from the British government, and made representations to the Ordnance branch of the service for a survey from Lake Erie to the sea by a departmental engineer.

On the 17th he reviewed the troops at Niagara in the presence of a concourse of people, including a number of visitors from the United States who were presented to the Governor-General and were impressed by the strength of the garrison there. On the 18th he left Niagara and, after examining the mouth of the Welland Canal at Port Dalhousie, arrived at Toronto in the afternoon of the same day. Addresses were presented to him by the Church of England and Wesleyan clergymen and by the inhabitants. In his reply he assured the people of the undying interest of Great Britain in the possession and protection of the British American provinces, stating "they are some of the precious ornaments of the Crown of Great Britain. Their eternal connection with the Crown should be the object of every British statesman who values the safety and prosperity of the Empire."

Next day, the 19th, he left Toronto on his return journey to Montreal, his entire visit to Upper Canada occupying only these few days mentioned, his time apparently wholly engaged by the necessary travel and the social functions in which he participated at his places of call. In whatever manner he may have received the information regarding the condition of Upper

Canada and the causes from which that condition resulted, which he afterwards embodied in his report, it is obvious that he did not obtain it from personal observation or conference with the government of Upper Canada; it was evidently *ex parte* and on its appearance its accuracy as to social conditions was vigorously, and, generally speaking, successfully attacked, without detracting from its value politically.

On the 1st of November he left for Britain, leaving Sir John Colborne as Administrator. The salary and emoluments due to him as Governor-General he donated for the purpose of repairing the Government houses at Montreal and Quebec. His stay in Canada extended over a period of five months from the 29th of May to the 1st of November, 1838, and was crowded with official business of first-class importance. His formal despatches numbered at least seventy comprehensive and elaborate documents, showing thorough care in their preparation, and at the same time the material in connection with his enquiry on which was based his famous report, must have been gathering under his hand. The report is a State document of first-class importance. It has been well said recently that the real author's of Durham's Report were the Canadian statesmen of that day, who provided the threads out of which he, with the aid of his secretaries, wove the whole cloth. "The case for responsible government had been made out by Mackenzie, Baldwin, Lafontaine, and their colleagues before Lord Durham set foot on Canadian soil. He had the good sense to recognize the justice and force of the arguments of the early Reformers, and to recommend to the Imperial Government a course of policy which they had advocated." Durham's claim to fame is that he was not too proud to take his lesson from those who really understood the political situation, such, for instance, as Robert Baldwin pre-eminently was. The two features of the report, the legislative union of the provinces and the concession of responsible government, were new neither to him nor to the British government.

#### SIR GEORGE ARTHUR.

Sir Francis Bond Head's successor was Sir George Arthur, whose term of office extended from the 23rd of March, 1838, when he was sworn in at

Toronto, to the 21st of November, 1839, when Charles Poulett Thomson, the Governor-General assumed control. Arthur's nominal term extended, however, until the 10th of February, 1841, when the union of the provinces was proclaimed. On the 27th of February, 1839, he convened the Legislature of Upper Canada. In his speech from the Throne he reviewed at length the events of the rebellion and the condition of the province, strongly recommended the settlement of the clergy reserves and the improvement of the common school system, expressed a hope for the speedy resumption of payments in specie by the banks, for an improvement in the finances of the province which were in a poor condition largely on account of the amounts expended on the construction of public works, the interest of the debt amounting to \$252,000, which with the current expenses made a total outlay of \$360,000 for that year, to meet which the revenue only amounted to about \$320,000. The House was opposed to the union of Upper and Lower Canada unless on conditions which were apparently impracticable. A committee was appointed to report on the condition of the province, the result being a searching criticism of Lord Durham's government and a vindication of the administration of Sir Francis Bond Head. The union of the provinces and the responsibility to the Legislature of the government and its officials, was condemned, and the hope was expressed that Durham's recommendations would not be given effect to without most careful and serious consideration. It was charged that the late High Commissioner had not consulted nor considered the opinion of the government or people of Upper Canada. An Act was passed to establish a Superior Court of civil and criminal jurisdiction and to regulate the Court of Appeal. Commissioners of the Court of King's Bench for the several districts of the province were provided for, and considerable legislation connected with the administration of law was passed. District schools were declared to be Grammar schools (with the view to their endowment). Hunting and shooting on the Lord's Day were prohibited, the same measure providing for the preservation of deer. The College of Physicians and Surgeons of Upper Canada was incorporated. At the next session an Act was passed to establish a college by the name and style of the University at Kingston, the petitioners being the Rev. Robert McGill, Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of



Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, and the Rev. Alexander Gale, Clerk of the said Synod, who submitted that certain lands and funds had been placed at the disposal of the Presbytery of Toronto by benevolent individuals for the purpose of assisting in the establishment of an academical institution or college in connection with the Church of Scotland, and that lot number 32 in the third concession of South Dundas, in the Township of Trafalgar and the District of Gore, was held in trust by John Ewart for the benefit of the said college, which they prayed should be devoted to the establishment of a university at Kingston. The incorporators of the university were: The Revs. Robert McGill, Alexander Gale, John McKenzie, William Rintoul, William T. Leach, James George, John Machar, Peter Colin Campbell, John Cruikshank, Alexander Mathieson, D.D., John Cook, D.D., and the Principal of the College for the time being, ministers of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, Hon. John Hamilton, Hon. James Crooks, Hon. William Morris, Hon. Archibald McLean, Hon. John McDonald, Hon. Peter McGill, Edward W. Thompson, Thomas McKay, James Morris, John Ewart, John Steele, John Mowat, Alexander Pringle, Thomas Blackwood, John Strange, Esquires, members of the said Church. The name was "the University at Kingston." This was followed by an Act authorizing the temporary occupation by the newly formed university of the General Hospital at Kingston.

#### LORD SYDENHAM.

The Right Honorable Charles Poulett Thomson (Lord Sydenham), who succeeded Sir George Arthur, was well fitted for the discharge of the difficult duty which he undertook on his appointment as Governor-General of Canada and the direct administration of affairs in Upper Canada, the chief feature of which was to negotiate the legislative union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and prepare for the introduction of responsible government. He entered public life as a member in the House of Commons for Dover. He was an able speaker, and, associating himself with the Liberal party, soon occupied a prominent political position. He held office under Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne, first as Vice-President and then as President of the Board of Trade, and became a Cabinet Minister in

1834. In 1839 his laborious duties in the House affected his health or he would have been promoted to be Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, and on declining to accept that most important position, he was offered and accepted the Governorship of Canada.

Thomson arrived at Quebec on the 19th of October and was very cordially welcomed by Sir John Colborne and the citizens. Without delay he proceeded to Montreal and met the special Council on the 11th of November. The question of legislative union was placed in the forefront of the business to be transacted, and two days later, several important resolutions were introduced which were carried, to the effect that union was a necessity, that a suitable civil list should be provided by which the independence of the judges and the maintenance of the Executive and its functions should be secured, that the public debt of Upper Canada incurred on account of the improvement of internal communications should be chargeable to the revenue of both provinces, and the outlay for defraying expenses of a local character not to be so imposed, that the settlement of the terms of union should be left to the Imperial Parliament, and that a permanent Legislature composed of the people of the two provinces should be convened as soon as practicable. On the passage of these resolutions by the Council at Montreal, Thomson sent a despatch to Lord John Russell, the Colonial Secretary, in which he urged the immediate adoption by the British Parliament of an Act of union.

Thomson then appointed the officer commanding as Administrator of Lower Canada and proceeded to Toronto, arriving there on the 21st of November. He met the Legislature on the 3rd of December, 1839. The speech from the Throne was looked forward to with a great deal of interest and was not disappointing. He gave assurance of Her Majesty's determination to uphold British connection with Canada. The union of the provinces he submitted to them for earnest consideration. He was able to congratulate the country on the resumption of specie payments by the banks, and while the financial condition of the province was not satisfactory, he was in a position to offer the surrender of the casual and territorial revenues in exchange for a civil list.

Two days after the session opened Thomson gave an instance of his skill

as a politician as well as his ability as a statesman by the publication in the Upper Canada *Gazette* of an ominous despatch from Lord John Russell, dealing with the tenure of high office, to the effect that such positions as that of Executive councillors were not to be considered as continuing for life, that the holders were subject to retiral in accordance with the exigencies of the public service, "that a change in the person of the Governor will be considered a sufficient reason for changing the personality he may see fit to make." The publication of this despatch, which must have been reserved until then in order to be brought forward at a moment when the Lieutenant-Governor and the Executive councillors were likely to differ on the question of union is suggestive, but it was surely a justification of everything that Sir Francis Head had contended for in his dealings with the Executive Council of his day.

Allowing a day or two for this despatch to sink into the minds of those likely to be most strenuously opposed to the union of the provinces, His Excellency on the 7th of December sent a message to Parliament concerning the union. He pointed out that the finances were deranged, public improvements suspended, private enterprise checked, immigration, so essential to the prosperity of a country and to the British connection, stagnant, and the general system of government unsatisfactory. The British government considered that by the union of the provinces alone, could the removal of these difficulties be effected. The union would enable the province to weather her financial difficulties and develop her natural resources. The proposal was based upon righteous principles, with a just regard to the classes of either province. It would maintain the three estates of the Legislature, establish a permanent civil list and a system of local government. He recommended the equal representation of each province in the new House of Assembly, the granting of a sufficient civil list, and that the debt of Upper Canada for public works of a general nature, should, after the union, be charged to the joint revenue of the province. The Legislative Council carried resolutions embodying the principles thus stated, and resolutions were carried by the House affirming union to be indispensable; that the representation of each province should be equal; that a sufficient civil list should be granted, and that the public debt of the province should be

charged to the united provinces. While the question of the location of the seat of government did not enter into any of the resolutions and therefore did not become a condition of the union, it was generally understood that the Governor-General would exercise his influence that Parliament should meet in Upper Canada, and there was a harking back to this misunderstanding during the subsequent years, until Ottawa was fixed upon as the capital. The question of responsible government was not presented to the House by His Excellency, and a request for correspondence between him and the British government on the subject was courteously refused.

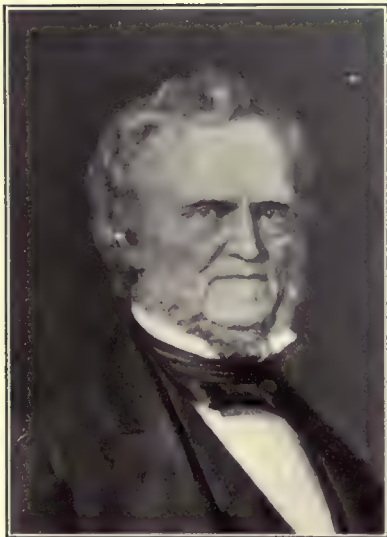
A bill authorizing the sale of the clergy reserves was introduced early in the year by Solicitor-General Draper. It provided that a portion of the proceeds should be applied to the payment of the salaries of those clergymen of the Church of England to whom the government was pledged, that half of the remainder should be given to the Churches of England and Scotland on a per capita basis, the other half to be applied to the benefit of all denominations of Christians recognized by existing laws. The bill passed the Assembly and the Legislative Council, but was disallowed by the Home government as being *ultra vires*, but the British Parliament recommended the main provisions of the bill and the Canadian government was thereby enabled to sell a part of the reserves for the benefit of the Churches of England and Scotland. The British measure fell short of expectations and did not close the question. The session closed on the 10th of February, 1840, and its closing brought to an end the Parliaments of Upper Canada.

Mr. Hagerman, the Attorney-General, was elevated to the Bench and was succeeded by Solicitor-General Draper. Robert Baldwin was offered the position of Solicitor-General thus vacated, and after some hesitation, accepted office. In order that his position might not be misunderstood by his Reform friends, he wrote the following letter: "In accepting office, I consider myself to have given a public pledge that I have reasonably well grounded confidence that the government of my country is to be carried on in accordance with the principles of responsible government which I have ever held. It is therefore right that it should be distinctly understood that I am not come into office by means of any coalition with the Attorney-





LORD SYDENHAM.



W. LYON MACKENZIE.



REV. DR. RYERSON.



General or with any others now in the public service, but have done so under the Governor-General and expressly from my confidence in him."

The draft of the Union Bill is supposed to have been prepared by Chief Justice Stuart of Lower Canada. It was transmitted while the Imperial Parliament was in session and was immediately laid before the House of Commons, and passed practically as it had been drafted with the exception that the provisions establishing municipal government were struck out, it being considered that this should be left to the Provincial Parliament. The bill received the Royal assent on the 23rd of July, 1840, but in accordance with a suspending clause, did not take effect until the 10th of February, 1841, when it was proclaimed. Mr. Thomson was raised to the peerage as Baron Sydenham of Sydenham and of Toronto in Canada.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### THE LINKED PROVINCES.

The union being thus brought into effect, it was necessary that the Lieutenant-Governor should name his Executive Council, and he selected the following: As representing Upper Canada—Messrs. Sullivan, Dunn, Draper, Harrison, Robert Baldwin and Killaly; As representing Lower Canada—Messrs. Ogden, Daly and Day. The absence of French-Canadians gave rise to objections, and of the members drawn from Upper Canada, Robert Baldwin was the only one who had been identified with the Reform party. This proposed arrangement did not suit Baldwin and he informed the Governor-General that he had no confidence in any of the members except Dunn, Harrison and Daly.

The first Union Parliament assembled at Kingston on the 14th of June, 1841. On the eve of the meeting, the Reform members of both sections of the province held a conference at Kingston, and it soon became apparent that there was a want of confidence in the administration. In accordance with the proceedings of the Reform conference, Baldwin waited on the the Governor-General and proposed that the Cabinet should be reconstructed to include certain French-Canadian members whom Baldwin should name. Sydenham did not agree, his main objection being the unceasing efforts of the French-Canadians to bring about the repeal of the union. On the opening day of the session, Baldwin thereupon resigned his position, for which he has been held to blame, as his resignation at that particular juncture when new measures were being inaugurated, was bound to greatly embarrass the government. The general confidence reposed in Lord Sydenham carried him through what might have been a crisis had a weaker man been at the head of affairs. That he had a desire to conciliate the French-Canadians is clear from his offering Mr. La Fontaine the position of Solicitor-General vacated by Baldwin. La Fontaine refused on the ground that he was in active opposition to the majority of the measures supported by the Gover-



nor-General, but then and later he discountenanced all agitation for the repeal of the union.

Parliament was opened by commission. Austin Cuvillier, member for Huntingdon, was chosen Speaker. Francis Hincks, who was returned for Oxford, appeared in the Assembly for the first time at this session. On the 15th Lord Sydenham delivered his opening speech. He recommended a new arrangement for the post office department, the improvement on a large scale of transportation by the St. Lawrence system, including the deepening of the Welland Canal, the constructing of ship canals along the rapids of the St. Lawrence, the deepening of the river at certain points between Montreal and Quebec so as to permit the upward passage of ocean steamships, and the completion of other public works for which Great Britain was prepared to pledge its credit for the sum of £1,500,000 sterling. He advocated the encouragement of immigration on a large scale, the creation of municipal district councils and better provision for education. He promised that a large sum would be granted annually by the British government for the military defence of the country, emphatically declaring the intention of the Crown to maintain the British provinces of North America as part of the Empire. There was no reference to the question of responsible government, but Lord Sydenham later on stated that it was the intention of the government that, if the Ministers did not command the confidence of the House, they would resign. With the object of obtaining a more definite statement on this important question, Robert Baldwin brought in a series of resolutions to which amendments were moved by Harrison to the effect that the Governor-General was responsible to the Imperial government, and as the management of local affairs could only be conducted by the Governor-General on the advice of his councillors, these should command the confidence of the people and govern so that the interests of the people and the Imperial authority should not be brought into conflict. Harrison's amendments carried, and responsible government in its larger form was further deferred. The session proved a severe one for the Governor-General as conflicting interests had to be composed, and his tact and moderation were at times sorely tried. The extreme Conservatives and the extreme Reformers alike made a fight for their views, yet amid all these embarras-

sing circumstances he accomplished a great deal of routine business and guided a fruitful session through the manifold difficulties encountered.

Before the close of the session Lord Sydenham met with an accident which, to the great grief of Canada as well as of Great Britain, resulted in his death. On the 4th of September, while riding in the neighborhood of Kingston, his horse fell, and, unable to extricate his foot from the stirrup, he was dragged some distance, receiving fractural injuries from which he died on the 19th of September. The prorogation of Parliament had been appointed to take place on the 15th of September. On account of the accident it was deferred till the 17th in the hope that Lord Sydenham would recover and be able to attend. The closing speech he prepared and corrected, but being unable to rise from his bed, Major-General Clithero acted for him. His death two days afterwards was a pathetic close to his work in Canada. It was completed and he passed away.

#### SIR CHARLES BAGOT.

A political change in Great Britain taking place in 1841 brought a new government into power, with Sir Robert Peel as Premier and Lord Stanley as Colonial Secretary, of different politics from those professed by Lord Sydenham and his party. A man of strong Tory proclivities was appointed to succeed Sydenham as Governor-General of Upper Canada. He was Sir Charles Bagot, the second son of Lord Bagot and a relative by marriage of the Duke of Wellington. Bagot travelled to Canada by New York and Boston, Albany and Waterdown to Kingston, where he arrived on the 10th of January, 1842, and was well received by Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Jackson, the Administrator, and the citizens. The oath of office was administered on the 12th by three judges, who had come from Toronto for the purpose. The Conservatives' hopes were raised by his appointment, as it was expected that one of his strong tendencies would not readily lend himself to the influence of the Reform leaders. Sir Charles accepted the union and the slight measure of responsible government conceded by his predecessor, as established facts which he should not in any way interfere with. He fully realized that the great need of the province was the removal of extreme party rancor, and the turning from bitter political controversy to busi-

ness enterprise and the developing of the country's material resources. He and Lord Sydenham can be placed in sharp contrast. The latter was a merchant, a free trader and a Radical, a versed politician and able statesman; the former descended from one of the oldest of England's patrician families of true blue Tory principles, fortified by all the strength of a powerful social environment, yet Sir Charles Bagot, the Tory, appreciated more truly the popular feeling in Canada than did Sydenham, and had no hesitation in trusting the people and conceding a responsibility to them in the management of their own affairs, which Sydenham, the Radical Reformer, hesitated in doing. He treated all parties impartially, and in the appointments made, the French-Canadians were recognized, one receiving the position of Chief Justice for the important District of Montreal, another that of district Judge of Three Rivers and another was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction for Lower Canada.

On the 23rd of April, 1842, he took part in a very interesting and important function, the laying of the foundation stone of King's College, Toronto, an event forming an epoch in the educational history of Upper Canada. He held an imposing levee on the Queen's birthday at Montreal in which prominent French-Canadians took part and evinced their satisfaction with the fair treatment he seemed disposed to accord to their race. Sir Charles was of a kindly disposition, of refined and courteous manners, and in the discharge of the social functions pertaining to his office, he was charmingly seconded by his accomplished wife and daughter.

Several questions of importance were disposed of this year by the British government, one of which arose from the "cutting out" of the "Caroline," for which an explanation by Sir Robert Peel was accepted at Washington. Another was the partial settlement of the boundary question, effected by the Ashburton Treaty. The attitude of the British government was decidedly in favor of establishing the best possible relations with the United States, and the unsettled boundary question being a cause of troublesome negotiation, was taken up. Lord Ashburton was appointed a special commissioner to represent Britain in the negotiations. Daniel Webster represented the United States, and by a piece of sharp practice as discredit-

able to him as the possibility of its success was a proof of Ashburton's incapacity, an enormous area of Canadian territory was given over to the United States. The treaty was signed on the 10th of August, and it was shortly afterwards discovered that Webster had imposed upon Ashburton by suppressing a map in which the true boundary was shown as drawn by Franklin to run south of the River St. John and between its head waters and those of Penobscot and the Kennebec. Other important evidence was also suppressed. Thus it was that Canada was rifled of her rights in what is now the State of Maine. The northwest boundary was settled by the treaty as far as the Rocky Mountains, but the Oregon boundary was not included.

But a measure felt more directly in Canada was Britain's free trade policy then taking form. Until now, Canadian goods were admitted to the British markets at a nominal tariff, and the West Indian market was open to Canadian timber, flour and other exports, advantages by which a steady and lucrative trade was being built up in the province. The throwing open of these markets to others enabled the United States to supplant Canada in this field. With the removal of the commercial union which had existed between Britain and Canada, Canadian trade markedly languished, and shipping on the St. Lawrence was practically ruined. Large firms suspended payments and a sharp commercial crisis was precipitated.

Sir Charles Bagot at this juncture, entrusted the finances of the country to Francis Hincks with the office of Inspector-General. He was a man of financial ability and strengthened the personnel of the Ministry. His appointment was attacked by the Conservatives on the ground that he had to some extent favored Mackenzie's movement leading to the troubles of 1837, and by the extreme Reformers on the ground that he accepted office at the expense of his avowed principles as a Reformer. The government, however, was a coalition one, and Hincks was able to make a good defence. A strong Conservative on the other hand in the person of Henry Sherwood, was appointed Solicitor-General. It was now evident to the country that the new Governor-General did not regard appointments to public office as the special privilege of one party or the other, but as open to all good citizens; the officials being servants of the country, not of party—a doctrine at that



time new and long before its time, but in which Sir Charles Bagot believed and acted on as far as possible. In a new commission of the peace which he issued he followed this view by including men of different parties and different races, thus further alienating the support of the Conservative party.

Following upon these developments, the House met on the 8th of September, 1842. A reconstruction of the government resulted in the formation of the first Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry composed as follows: Upper Canada—Robert Baldwin, Attorney-General; R. B. Sullivan, President of the Council; S. H. Harrison, Provincial Secretary; H. H. Killaly, Public Works; F. Hincks, Inspector-General; J. E. Small, Solicitor-General; Lower Canada—L. H. Lafontaine, Attorney-General; J. H. Dunn, Receiver-General; Dominick Daly, Provincial Secretary; T. C. Aylwin, Solicitor-General; A. N. Morin, Commissioner of Crown Lands, a strong organization. The change of portfolios necessitated the re-election of the members of the new government, and in order to allow of this, Parliament was adjourned on the 12th of October until the 18th of November. During the recess, all the new members of the government were re-elected, and the Ministry commanded a large majority in the House.

Early in November, Sir Charles Bagot was afflicted by a dangerous attack of dropsy complicated with heart disease, and the House again adjourned. He desired to be relieved of his position, a request in the circumstances, readily granted by the Colonial Secretary, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was appointed his successor, assumed office on the 30th of March, 1843. The last meeting between Bagot and the members of his Cabinet produced a touching scene. It was held in the Governor-General's own room, he being unable to leave his bed. In bidding them farewell he charged them to defend his memory from malign criticism. He had felt the severe strictures directed by the Conservative press against him, which found an echo in the journals of the old land, the *Times* going so far as to say "the result may prove auspicious. We are willing to hope for the best, but it is a somewhat ominous consequence of this new order of things, that the Governor is forced to call to his counsels, on their own terms, men who have lately been proscribed or in prison." Bagot died on the 19th of May and his remains were conveyed to England for interment.

## LORD METCALFE.

“Lord Metcalfe was brought from India to create—as it soon appeared—confusion and discord in the political affairs of the province.” This estimate by an eminent writer of Canadian history cannot be accepted as it stands. There seems no doubt that a change of opinion had manifested itself on the part of the British with respect to responsible government in Canada. When Metcalfe was appointed he received instructions as to how he was to discharge the duties of his high office. He did his best to carry out these instructions as an Imperial officer, and the criticism to which he was subjected cannot be justified on personal grounds. It degenerated into abuse of the man, and considering the trying circumstances in which he was placed and his continual struggle with an insidious and malevolent disease, the virulence of the ceaseless attacks made upon him was, to say the least, discreditable to all concerned. He had had a distinguished career in India, rising from one position to another until, from being a member of the Supreme Council, he filled the position for two years of acting Viceroy. He then became Governor of Jamaica, a position he was compelled to resign on account of ill health. On recovering somewhat he was offered the position of Governor-General of Canada as successor to Bagot, a position which he reluctantly accepted. Lord Stanley was then Colonial Secretary and he seems to have considered that Bagot had taken rather too liberal a view in placing himself almost unreservedly in the hands of his Ministers, and thereby practically conceding responsible government. The strong objections raised by the Canadian Conservatives were echoed by the Conservatives of Great Britain, and the British Ministry decided that a more cautious course must be pursued. Metcalfe accepted office with this understanding, and there is every evidence that his actions in Canada were resolved upon in accordance with the instructions he had thus received. In one of his despatches to the Colonial Secretary he says that the party in power expected the patronage of the government to be bestowed exclusively on their own friends, and that he disliked the notion of governing as the supporter of any particular party. He wished, he said, to make “the patronage of the government conducive to the conciliation of all parties by bringing into the public service the men of the greatest merit and efficacy, without any party

distinction." It was not part of his plans to obstruct the gradual development of political responsibility in Parliament, but to follow the course laid down by Sydenham rather than that pursued by Bagot.

Metcalf took up the reins of office in March, 1843. In the month of July serious troubles broke out between the Orangemen and the Irish Roman Catholics, and in some cases the rioting was of such a grave character as to call for suppression by military force, the scene of the most violent proceedings being Kingston. Ogle R. Gowan, who had become Grand Master of the Orangemen, and had won considerable influence and political prominence, was supposed to have gained His Excellency's ear, and, there being not wanting signs that the Conservatives were very favorably regarded by Metcalfe, dissatisfaction began to manifest itself among the Reformers. This summer, pardons were granted under the Great Seal to Rolph, Morrison, Duncombe, David Gibson, Nelson Goreham and John Montgomery, concerned in the rebellion in Upper Canada, and in Lower Canada O'Callaghan, Storrow, Brown, Papineau and Nelson were exempted, leaving Mackenzie only a fugitive.

Parliament met on the 28th of September, 1843. Metcalfe's speech from the Throne was very moderate, prepared with the view of allaying prejudices, but issues then disturbing the country were not to be debarred from a discussion in the House by their omission from the Governor's speech, and the debate on the address in reply was the occasion of a bitter discussion. The Conservative leader, Sir Allan MacNab, sought to connect Baldwin, now a Minister of the Crown, with Rolph and the rebellion, and the extreme language made use of added to the excitement. Baldwin's rejoinder was not only an able vindication, but compelled MacNab to express regret for some of the expressions he had made use of. After a long debate a resolution was carried enabling the government to remove its headquarters to Montreal. The government had a strong majority in the House, but the suspicion already raised that His Excellency was giving more than the proper consideration to the views held by the Opposition, caused uneasiness, and some appointments made about this time by the Governor without having previously obtained the consent of his Ministers, made it necessary that a definite understanding between him and them should be arrived at. A meet-

ing of the government was accordingly held on the 25th of November at which a memorandum containing their views, was prepared and transmitted to His Excellency. In reply to this statement it seems Metcalfe took the position that he wished to administer affairs without in any way disturbing the broad lines laid down by his predecessors since the Union, but at the same time claimed a right to make such appointments as he had made, without first submitting them to the Cabinet. The issue thus distinctly raised, resulted in the resignation of nine out of the ten Ministers, leaving Dominick Daly only in office. The resignations formed the subject of a keen debate in the House and a message was presented from the Governor-General by Daly in which it was stated "that the recent Ministry sought to acquire the patronage which rightly belonged to the Crown, for the increase of its political influence and so corrupt the House of Assembly, and that it had also sought to impose conditions on the Governor-General derogatory to his high station." The House was decidedly with the Ministers who had resigned, and its proceedings were carried on with extreme difficulty in consequence of the confusion arising from the situation thus created. The House closed on the 9th of December without any improvement in the unsatisfactory conditions which existed.

On the 12th of December Metcalfe called Messrs. Draper and Viger to the government. The debate was carried from the House of Assembly to the country where a strong agitation immediately sprang up, and party feeling ran very high. The Conservatives supported the Governor-General. The Reformers opposed his course as unconstitutional. Ranged on opposite sides were two notable men, the Rev. Egerton Ryerson and George Brown, editor of the *Globe*. George Brown, whose career made a lasting impression on Canada, was born in Edinburgh on the 29th of November, 1818. His father was Peter Brown, a well-educated merchant, and his mother was a daughter of Mr. George Mackenzie, of Stornoway, on the Isle of Lewis. He was educated at the Edinburgh High School and Southern Academy where he won a high place as a student. With his father he settled in New York in 1838. The elder Brown here became a contributor to the *Albion* newspaper, and afterwards commenced the publication of the *British Chronicle* in which he was associated with his son George. In connection with this



enterprise, George Brown visited Canada in 1843, with the result that he accepted a proposal to establish the *Chronicle* in Canada as an organ of Presbyterian and Reform thought. Further negotiations decided his father and himself to relinquish the publication of the *British Chronicle* in New York, and on settling in Toronto they issued the *Banner*, which made its appearance on the 18th of August, 1843, as a weekly paper supporting the Free Church cause and the Reform party. On the 5th of March, 1844, the *Globe* began publication under the immediate direction of George Brown, and the *Banner* was continued more as a church paper, by his father. Thus was launched a journal destined to play a most important part in the public life of Canada. Supported as it was by the Reformers of Upper Canada from its birth, their principles found in it an able and fearless champion in the stormy days through which the province was now passing. George Brown possessed a strong personality. A man of strong convictions, he was little given to compromise and did not always find it possible to maintain harmony with his colleagues. His intellectual qualities were of a high order, and he was both a powerful speaker and writer. The integrity of his motives was unquestioned and his apparent honesty, force of character, and vigorous applications of his principles made him, at all times, a formidable opponent. He entered Parliament for the County of Lambton in opposition to the Hincks Ministry in 1851, but from his advent on the Canadian stage in 1844 he took his place as one of the strong Reform leaders.

The political excitement in Canada attracted attention in Britain, and early in 1844 Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, stated in Parliament that Sir Charles Metcalfe was carrying out a policy approved by Her Majesty's government. Later on, this approval was further emphasized in a statement by Stanley, in which he was upheld by Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, representing both great parties of the House, and making it evident that responsible government as understood by the Reformers, went farther than the British Government wished to concede. With Draper's assistance, Metcalfe completed his Cabinet by calling to office Dennis B. Papineau, a brother of the old French-Canadian leader, as Commissioner of Crown Lands, James Smith, of Montreal, a barrister, who

became Attorney-General for the Lower province, and William Morris, of Perth, a man of high character and ability. The House was then dissolved and the general election took place on the 12th of November, 1844. As the result of a fierce contest the Conservatives were returned by a majority of six, among them being John A. Macdonald, who had been elected for Kingston. Hincks, who had moved from Toronto to Montreal and began the publication of a paper named the *Pilot* there, was defeated in Oxford. Neilson, Viger and Cuvillier, the late Speaker, were defeated in the Lower province. John Neilson, of Quebec, and John Morris, of Brockville, were called to the Legislative Council.

On the 28th of November Parliament assembled at Montreal, and Sir Allan MacNab was elected Speaker. The Ministers sitting in the popular Chamber received an accession to their strength by the transfer from the Legislative Council, of Mr. Draper who, in order to lead the House, resigned his seat in the Council and was returned for London, entering the Assembly on the 13th of February, 1845. As a mark of approval of the policy pursued by Metcalfe, he was raised to the peerage as Baron Metcalfe of Thorn Hill. A resolution in the Assembly congratulating him on this honor was strongly opposed by the extreme wing, but was carried by a substantial majority. The House prorogued on the 29th of March.

In the following May, the first of the great fires of that summer in the City of Quebec took place, by which 1,650 dwellings, two churches, a large shipyard, lumber yards and wharves were destroyed, and many people perished. A month later fire broke out a second time, and an enormous amount of property was destroyed and many persons lost their lives. Five hundred thousand dollars was raised by subscription in Britain, and the United States and Canada contributed liberally to the relief of the sufferers. In August of this year, William Cayley and Joseph A. Taschereau joined the Draper administration, and about this time a political question was raised by the members of Lower Canada which afterwards became known as the Double Parliamentary Majority, the object of which was that no measure especially pertaining to Lower Canada or Upper Canada should be effective unless obtaining a majority of the members returned from these sections in the House.

Metcalfe's health, unsatisfactory for some years, now caused him alarm, and on the 29th of October he applied for his recall. In granting this wish, Lord Stanley wrote: "Your administration of the affairs of Canada has more than realized the most sanguine expectations which I have ventured to form of it, and you will return from it with the entire approval and admiration of Her Majesty's government, and, I may venture to add, of the Queen herself." Metcalfe left on the 26th of November, travelling by Boston, and arrived at Liverpool on the 16th of December. He survived his return only a few months, passing away on the 5th of September, 1846, highly esteemed by those who had formed a true opinion of his worth, and bitterly assailed, even through the trials of a most painful sickness, by some of those who differed from his political views.

#### EARL CATHCART.

On the departure of Lord Metcalfe, the Earl of Cathcart, then Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Canada, assumed the government. At this time the Oregon boundary was in dispute between Great Britain and the United States, and as war between the two countries was not regarded as improbable, Cathcart, a distinguished soldier, was, a few months after he assumed the administration of the province, appointed Governor-General. He paid particular attention to the defences of the country and exerted himself in this respect. The flint-lock muskets were replaced by percussion muskets. He examined the frontiers thoroughly, travelling more than two thousand miles along its borders, and to all matters relating to his military duties, his activity and interest were fully devoted. He did not busy himself with the political factions, and the excitement of the previous year began to abate.

Cathcart met Parliament on the 20th of March, 1846. In his opening address he gave offence to the extreme Reformers by his reference to his predecessor. Lord Metcalfe, he said, had discharged the duties of his station with a zeal and ability which had won for him the highest approbation of his Sovereign. Baldwin opposed this passage, but was not largely or strongly supported even by his own friends, but, as showing the prevailing temper, some of the Legislative Councillors objected to an address congratulating

His Excellency on his appointment, the objection being that he was a military man instead of a civilian. His Excellency recommended the reorganization of the militia as a measure which should receive the attention of Parliament.

While the House was in session public meetings were held at which resolutions were passed disapproving of the free trade campaign in Britain, the success of which would involve the abolition of Canadian preference in the British markets, and on the 12th of May, the Assembly, with a full support of Reformers and Conservatives alike, voted an address to the Queen in which it was stated: "We cannot but fear that the abandonment of this protective principle, the very basis of the colonial commercial system, is not only calculated to retard the agricultural improvement of the country and check its hitherto rising prosperity, but seriously to impair our ability to purchase the manufactured goods of Great Britain, a result alike prejudicial to this country and to the parent state."

The rebellion losses, a subject of contention and difficulty, was considered at this session. The question had its source in the outbreak of 1837-38. Steps had been taken by the Parliament of Upper Canada and by the special Council of Lower Canada to compensate the loyal inhabitants for the losses they sustained. Many of the English speaking people of Lower Canada were opposed to any such grant being made on the ground that the inhabitants were so entirely in favor of the rebellion that it would be impossible to discriminate as to who had been or who had not been loyal and were entitled to compensation, and a settlement was held in abeyance. The question was not allowed to rest, and continual agitation was maintained. That some measure was necessary was freely acknowledged by Draper, and in 1845 he appointed six commissioners to receive claims. The appointment of these commissioners was confirmed on the 12th of December by Lord Cathcart, and their instructions were to "classify carefully the cases of those who may have joined in the said rebellion or who may have been aiding or abetting therein from the cases of those who did not, stating particularly but succinctly the nature of the loss sustained in each case, its amount and character, and, as far as possible, its cause." This was subsequently supplemented by a direction that "they were to be guided solely by



the sentence of the courts of law, and that they had no power to call for either persons or papers." The door was thus left wide open for all sorts of claims, and on the 18th of April when the commissioners reported to the House, they stated that 2,176 claims amounting to £241,965 had been received, but that they were of the opinion that many of the claims were incompetent and that a sum of £100,000 should be sufficient to settle all genuine ones. While the report was not sufficiently definite to enable the government to deal with the question comprehensively, a measure was introduced by the government providing for the issue of £9,986 in debentures as an instalment towards a settlement. The other claims thus became a legacy for the future. Parliament was prorogued on the 9th of June.

The boundary difficulty was removed by the Treaty of Oregon signed at Washington on the 15th of June, and as the main reason for Cathcart's appointment as a high military officer was thus removed, a successor was found for him in the Earl of Elgin, whose regime was destined to be a most important one for Canada.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

The progress of events in Great Britain had brought with it a growing sense of the importance of liberalizing the political institutions abroad as well as at home, and Lord Elgin's appointment marks as distinct a period in this departure as Metcalfe's had done an era of reaction. Lord Elgin was not therefore hampered with the restrictions that had been found so irksome by his predecessors, and though a Conservative in politics, his constitutional instincts corresponding with the instructions under which he was acting, led him to become a pillar of strength to the advocates of responsible government if not its protagonist.

James Bruce, the eighth Earl of Elgin, and twelfth Earl of Kincardine, in the peerage of Scotland, was born in 1811. His father was the famous Ambassador to Turkey, whose interest in archæology and art secured the removal of the superb specimens of marble from Athens to the British museum, since known as the Elgin marbles. James Bruce was educated at Eton and Oxford, taking a brilliant academic course. In 1841 he stood for Southampton in the Conservative interest and was returned to Parliament. From the later part of 1842 until 1846 he was Governor-General of Jamaica. In 1846 he was appointed Governor-General of Canada and was sworn in at Montreal on the 30th of January, 1847. In 1841 he married Elizabeth Mary, a relative, daughter of Chas. Lennox Cumming Bruce, M.P. She died in 1843, and in 1846 he married as his second wife Lady Mary Louisa Lambton, C.I., daughter of the first Earl of Durham, the recent Governor-General of Canada. He was thoroughly familiar and coincided with Durham's views on the Canadian question. Henry, the third Earl Grey, was Colonial Secretary from 1846 to 1852, and in him Lord Elgin found a man in sympathy with his own views, and whose tenure of office extended over a period long enough to enable him to sustain the Governor-General in the crisis he was soon to pass through.

During the spring of 1847 some changes took place in the personnel of the government. Attorney-General Smith became a judge. Draper was elevated to the Court of Queen's Bench in Upper Canada. Henry Sherwood succeeded him as Attorney-General for Upper Canada and Premier. John A. Macdonald, whose aptitude and activity kept pace, became Receiver-General. A feature of the year was the large influx of immigrants from Britain, caused by the pinch of famine there, especially in Ireland and the north of Scotland. The population of Ireland had overgrown the capacity of the country and the depression of business prevailing, was aggravated by the failure for two or three years of the potato crop, the staple food of the people, and relief by emigration became necessary, and to Canada their faces were turned. It is a sad chapter in the history of the country. The people were extremely poor or destitute. The vessels on which they left their native country were, in many cases, insanitary, and always overcrowded. Thousands died by the way, leaving their bodies to strew the Atlantic, while those who survived did not escape, even in the immigrant sheds in Upper Canada, the ravages of the ship fever which followed them. Before autumn 70,000 immigrants had landed at Quebec, and before the close of navigation the number amounted to over 90,000. The demands made upon the people to meet this condition of affairs diverted attention from the troubled sphere of politics, and Parliament, which met on the 2nd of June, in Montreal, adjourned on the 28th of July, having attracted but little notice, although a great deal of business was transacted and 110 Acts passed. At the close of the session active preparations were made for a general election. Parliament was dissolved on the 6th of December and the general elections were held on the 24th of January, 1848. The Reformers were well organized and swept the country. Hincks recovered his defeat in Oxford. Baldwin was returned for the fourth riding of York, Price and Blake for the first and second ridings of York, William Buell Richards for Leeds, John Sandfield Macdonald for Cornwall and Malcolm Cameron for Kent, a strong Reform contingent.

The new House met on the 25th of February when Sir Allan MacNab was defeated for the Speakership by A. N. Morin. In his opening speech the Governor-General promised the co-operation of the British Government

towards the better regulation of immigrants, so that those arriving might be less dependent upon the benevolence of the older settlers and better able to help themselves. On the address and reply to the speech from the Throne, an amendment by Baldwin condemning the policy of the Ministry was carried by 54 votes to 20, and on the following day the government resigned. For the first time in the history of the country the Governor-General did not appoint the new government, but following the British practice, called on Mr. Lafontaine, the leader of the Opposition, and requested him to assume the responsibility of forming a Ministry. For this, the Reformers were fully prepared and without delay the following Cabinet was announced, of which the Upper Canada members were: Robert Baldwin, Attorney-General; R. B. Sullivan, Provincial Secretary; Francis Hincks, Inspector-General; J. H. Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Malcolm Cameron, Assistant Commissioner of Public Works; and William Hume Blake, Solicitor-General; and for Lower Canada: Lafontaine, Attorney-General; Leslie, President of the Executive Council; Caron, Speaker of the Legislative Council; Tache, Chief Commissioner of Public Works; Aylwin, Solicitor-General; and Viger, Receiver-General, a combination of peculiar strength and capacity. All the members of the government were re-elected by their constituencies on accepting office. A brief session followed, the question of immigration occupying most of the time, and prorogation took place on the 23rd of March. The condition of trade and commerce was still unsatisfactory and relief was earnestly looked for from the repeal of the navigation laws, an Act for which was passed by the British House of Commons this year. The House of Lords did not concur, and this measure of justice was further delayed. In the following year, however, the repealing Act passed both houses and a stimulus at once was given to Canadian trade.

The next meeting of Parliament took place on the 18th of January, 1849, and the abolition of the clause in the Union Act restricting the use of the French language in Parliament, enabled His Excellency to open the House with a speech in English and French. The speech contained the announcement of a general amnesty to all persons who had been concerned in the rebellion, that the post office would be placed under the control of the



province, that King's College, Toronto, would be reorganized on non-sectarian lines under the title of the University of Toronto, a measure framed by Baldwin, and which later, led to the founding by Bishop Strachan of Trinity College in connection with the Church of England. Of the legislation given effect to during this session, an important Act was that establishing a Court of Chancery which was placed in charge of William Hume Blake, who resigned the Solicitor-Generalship for that purpose, John Sandfield Macdonald succeeding him. The most contentious measure was one to settle the rebellion losses. It was carried only after a prolonged and most bitter debate. On the 26th of April His Excellency came to the House to give his assent to bills, among them being the rebellion losses bill. This had not been expected, for although Parliament had passed the measure, the opposition had been so violent that its opponents thought His Excellency should reserve it for the consideration of the British Government. Their disappointment became uncontrollable, and a dangerous riot broke out in which the Parliament House with its valuable Library and Archives, were burned, the residences of Ministers and their sympathizers were wrecked and the Governor-General himself subjected to unrestrained violence. The excited condition of feeling continued for some days and the Governor-General, on his way to receive an address from the Assembly, narrowly escaped the mob with his life, while on his brother, Col. Bruce, severe injuries were inflicted. This disgraceful outbreak brought about the removal of Parliament from Montreal to Toronto. The House prorogued on the 30th of May, and the seat of government was changed to Toronto in the following November.

Lord Elgin offered to resign but the British Ministers upheld his conduct and declined to accept his resignation. Opposition to the rebellion losses bill was continued after the meeting of the Legislature, by Sir Allan MacNab and William Cayley, who proceeded to Britain for that purpose. They were followed by Francis Hincks, who was charged with the statement of the government's position. In the Imperial Parliament the Governor-General was upheld by the government and both Houses, but it is interesting to note that Mr. Gladstone was one of the political leaders who took strong ground against the settlement.

An incident not of political significance, but of interest as indicating the turmoil and excitement of Canadian politics, was a manifesto issued to the citizens and signed by 325 merchants and other residents of Montreal, and of similar publications in Toronto, Quebec and other places, drawing attention to the deplorable condition of the country and suggesting as one of the remedies the severance of British connection and political union with the United States. The continued existence of the navigation laws and the deprivation of preference in the British markets had certainly cut deep into Canadian trade and commerce, and Lord Elgin and his Ministers sought relief, not in annexation, but in more friendly trade relations with the United States by which a certain measure of reciprocity with the products of both countries could be obtained, and with this in view, Lord Elgin paid a visit to Niagara at which President Taylor of the United States was then staying, in order to discuss the question with him. On his journey westward His Excellency, in order to show his perfect confidence in the people, was escorted only by two attendants. He was well received at the points of call, there being but a slight hostile demonstration at Toronto, and the flying of a black flag at Brockville. The conference with President Taylor seemed to promise a better understanding between Canada and the United States, and in order to promote that object, a Canadian agent was sent to Washington.

Divisions began to appear among the Reformers, but the line of cleavage between them and the Conservatives was still distinct. Baldwin and Hincks represented strong moderate progress. A forward wing including Leslie, Rolph, Perry, William McDougall and Malcolm Cameron were nicknamed the "Clear Grit party," and supporting their views was the *Toronto Examiner*, of which McDougall was the editor. The Clear Grits advocated universal suffrage, vote by ballot, free trade and direct taxation. Corresponding to it in Lower Canada was the party formed by L. J. Papineau, a party in after years known and felt as the strong "Partie Rouge." But these divisions, while enlivening the political situation, did not divert the government from giving attention to the real needs of the country and taking steps for its development and enrichment. Public works were promoted. Hincks, whose genius lay in finance, formulated large schemes and

essayed much to establish Canadian credit in London, and in every possible way encouragement was given to the development of trade and navigation.

The removal from Montreal brought the next session of Parliament to Toronto where it met on the 14th of May, 1850. There was great rejoicing in the capital of Upper Canada over the return of Parliament, for it had been unexpected. The debate on the reply to the speech from the throne brought out the complex composition of the Assembly. The Conservative party proper was small, but the master mind of John A. Macdonald was there. The Clear Grits had six, the Rouge party three, and, it may be noted as an interesting incident that the valiant Col. Prince of '37 fame now stood as the head of an independent party consisting of himself and other three members, a plank in his platform being the severance of the tie between Canada and Great Britain, and the establishment of the country as an independent kingdom. He presented a petition which was signed by Rowland Wingfield and others in his constituency "praying the House to address Her Majesty that Canada might be relieved from its dependent state and allowed to become an independent sovereignty." Baldwin characterized the petition as treasonable in its nature and as the ephemeral outcome of the prevailing depression of trade. The vote by which it was rejected was 57 to 7, the minority including Malcolm Cameron, De Witt, Holmes, McConnell, Papineau, Prince and Sanborn. Among a considerable section of the Reformers there was disappointment that the government had not, in His Excellency's speech, made a reference to the settlement of the clergy reserves. The Radical wing had kept the question well before the country and had expected that Parliament would now deal with it. The government seems to have been divided as to what course to pursue. Hincks and Baldwin and other equally strong men considered that the settlement of 1840 should be allowed to stand, or at least that the present was not an opportune time to reopen the question. On the other hand it was held that secularization should not be delayed. A middle course was pursued. Mr. Price, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, acting on his own responsibility so as not to compromise his colleagues or the government supporters, submitted resolutions looking to the repeal of the applying part of the Imper-

ial Act of 1840. Such repeal would place the disposal of the reserves in their entirety within the power of the Canadian Parliament. His resolution carried, and an address embodying the principle of the resolution was sent to the Crown. Earl Grey in a despatch to Lord Elgin dated the 27th of January, 1851, concurred in the views expressed by the House, stating that the question was one so exclusively affecting the people of Canada that it should be dealt with by their own Parliament. The question of the seigniorial tenure also formed the subject of a long debate at this session, without a settlement being reached. The session was prolific of legislation, not fewer than 145 bills being passed which received the Royal assent and none of which were reserved for the approval of the British Government, a fact noted at the time as an evidence that responsible government had now been fully established. The House was prorogued on the 10th of August, 1850.

The political pot was seething. Currents and cross currents were manifesting themselves among the parties, and the work of disintegration was going rapidly on. An incident not without significance was the election of William Lyon Mackenzie for the County of Haldimand over George Brown and the Conservative candidate together. It was a bye-election and took place in the month of April, 1851. Brown gave offence to the Roman Catholic element of the community by a Protestant propaganda which he had conducted in his journal, which was all the more inopportune from the Roman Catholic standpoint, as the Roman Catholics were then deeply interested in the question of Separate common schools in the province, but George Brown did not hold the government free from blame for his defeat as it had not given him the strong campaigning support in the constituency to which he thought he was entitled as government candidate. This feeling threw him more than he would probably otherwise have gone in line with the Clear Grits, and he followed a rather independent course in his paper.

The session of 1851 opened on the 20th of May under the happiest auspices so far as the peace and prosperity of the country were concerned. There were ominous forebodings, however, in the political sphere. The speech from the throne indulged in congratulations over the abundant crop, the buoyant revenue, the steadily increasing traffic and the high price now



commanded by the securities of the province. The improved postal facilities were noticed. A regrettable action at this session was a resolution by William Lyon Mackenzie calling for the abolition of the Chancery Act of 1849, in the place of which he advocated an enlarged equitable jurisdiction for the courts of common law. The Court of Chancery was Baldwin's creation and he took much pride in it. There was not much love lost between the Clear Grits and Brown on the one hand, and Baldwin and Hincks on the other, and in no way could Baldwin be reached more effectually than through his favorite Court of Chancery. Whatever the ulterior object, it succeeded, for while Mackenzie's resolution failed to secure a majority of the House combined, still a majority of the members for Upper Canada voted for the resolution, and Baldwin, who was extremely sensitive, considered that under the Double Majority principle he could only conclude that he had lost the confidence of the Upper Canada members and immediately resigned his portfolio. This determination was learned with the deepest possible regret by the great body of people, and even by some of the members who voted for Mackenzie's resolution without thinking that their vote would produce so serious a consequence to the service of the country as the withdrawal of the greatest and strongest man on the Reform side. It was a case of ruinous internecine warfare. The House prorogued on the 30th of August. In the following month the Governor-General visited Boston to be present at a great social function at which many of the leading Canadian merchants and public men were present, the event being brought about by the commercial intercourse which was so rapidly developing between the two countries.

Robert Baldwin's withdrawal from office necessitated the re-construction of the Cabinet with Mr. Hincks as Premier and Inspector-General, and including Malcolm Cameron and Dr. Rolph. Hincks now had full scope for his special financial aptitude and he lost no time in laying down a policy which had far reaching influences on the business of the country for many years.

A general election took place in the fall. The government was sustained, but among the fallen was Baldwin, whose seat was captured by a Clear Grit named Hartman, the main issue in the constituency being the

question of the clergy reserves. Baldwin would not pledge himself to a particular scheme of secularization, claiming that he should go to the House as a free man, and his defeat followed. Among the new members of note was George Brown returned for the County of Kent. He was now in open opposition to the moderate policy which had been pursued by Baldwin and Hincks, and the latter therefore received the full force of his formidable rhetoric. In the early part of the year Hincks proceeded to England in the interests of the proposed Grand Trunk Railway which he had ably projected and the financing of which he had schemed.

The first session of the new Parliament met at Quebec, the date of the meeting being the 16th of August, 1852. John Sandfield Macdonald was chosen as Speaker of the Assembly. In the speech from the Throne, His Excellency emphasized the necessity of a change in the seigniorial tenure system, the importance of establishing a line of steamers from Canada to Great Britain, changes in the currency to dollars and cents and the increase of Parliamentary representation. Following the line of the speech, Mr. Hincks introduced resolutions concerning the clergy reserves, expressing his confidence that the Imperial Parliament would enable Canada to dispose finally of the question in whatsoever manner would seem just and proper to the Canadian Parliament. Mr. Hincks expressed himself in favor of retaliating on the United States for not conceding more intimate commercial relations, by giving British goods a preference in the Canadian market, and also by closing the Canadian canals to the commerce of the United States. The opposition to this view prevailed and the Minister did not press it. The day of railways had come. At this session no less than fifteen railway statutes were passed, among them being the Act to incorporate the Grand Trunk Railway which involved the sum of \$16,000,000 of public debt as a first instalment. (In 1866 the total debt of the Grand Trunk to the government, principal and interest, amounted to \$23,000,000.) The business men of the country were fully alive to the importance of the railway era, but Mr. Hincks stood well in front as leader, commercial expansion and finance being his absorbing study. Another Act involving a vast sum of money was the consolidated municipal loan fund for Upper Canada, designed to enable municipalities to borrow money on the credit of the united province

for the construction of railways, macadamized roads, bridges and other public works. Well and grandly conceived as it was, the country was scarcely ready for the provisions of the Act, and municipalities took undue advantage of the opportunities it gave them to borrow money. There were large financial liabilities. The financial statement for the year ending 1852 showed a total debt, direct and indirect, of \$22,355,413, a net revenue of \$3,976,706 and a net expenditure of \$3,059,081. Parliament prorogued on the 10th of November, 1852.

The session of 1853 which met on the 14th of February and continued until the 14th of June, added a large number of measures to the statute book, some of them of more than ordinary importance.

On the 9th of May the bill of the Imperial Parliament dealing with the clergy reserves, received the Royal assent. It conceded to the Canadian Legislature power to dispose of the clergy lands with the proviso that vested interests should be respected. The stipends drawn by the Church of England and Church of Scotland clergymen were to be continued during the lives of the incumbents. In the country, George Brown's influence was steadily growing and he was proving a strong and effective critic of the Hincks Ministry, the main point of attack being the immediate secularization of the clergy reserves. It seems as if Hincks had made up his mind to deal with the question on lines that would be satisfactory to the advanced Reformers, and that all that remained was to choose the proper time to bring in a bill for that purpose. He seems to have been more interested in the material development of the province, particularly in his railway schemes at that time, than in anything else, and if he now hesitated in the matter of opening the difficult subject of the clergy reserves for final settlement, it was not because he expected that by delay the question could be evaded, but that by its delay other important matters could be first proceeded with. This was too much like opportunism for Brown and the stalwarts, and his government was assailed without ceasing during the recess. In the heat of political controversy, Hincks was involved in personal charges in connection with Toronto debentures and certain public lands at Point Levis, charges which were the subject subsequently of a Parliamentary enquiry.

As has been seen, Lord Elgin and President Taylor conferred on the subject of reciprocity between Canada and the United States at their Niagara meeting, and negotiations were set on foot which were now about to culminate in the famous trade treaty of 1854, in connection with which the Governor-General and Mr. Hincks now proceeded to Britain. Their services there were attended with happy results, and Lord Elgin was appointed the special envoy of the Imperial government to continue the negotiations at Washington where the treaty was signed on the 5th of June. The treaty was to continue in operation ten years from the date of its taking effect, at the end of which period either party to it could, by giving two years' notice, terminate it. The treaty applied not only to Canada, but to the Maritime Provinces as well, and proved of great commercial advantage to Canada. By the treaty, the free navigation of the River St. Lawrence and of the canals in Canada was opened to the United States shipping, while Lake Michigan was opened to Canadian and British ships.

Parliament was convened on the 13th of June, 1854, and the opening speech was looked forward to as important, on account of the uncertainty as to what the government's attitude was on the question of the clergy reserves and on that of the seigniorial tenure, and the opposition to the government of all shades were quick to express disappointment when it was found that in the speech itself there was no allusion whatever to either of these matters. In the divisions of the Reformers, so able a Parliamentary tactician as John A. Macdonald found scope for skilful political manœuvring, and even George Brown and Sir Allan MacNab at the two opposite poles of politics, were made to believe by his magnetic persuasion that, with Mr. Hincks before them, there was an object for common attack. Cauchon, whose name afterwards became prominent in Canadian politics, attacked the government for the omission of the seigniorial tenure question and moved an amendment to the address. Sciotte moved another amendment on the ground that the clergy reserves question had not been provided for in the speech. The two amendments were combined, and after a heated debate extending over several days, the government was defeated by a majority of 13 in a House of 71 members. The Ministers advised His Excellency to dissolve Parliament, and on the day following,



Parliament was prorogued before it had reached any legislation, in order to bring about a speedy dissolution. This was considered rather drastic treatment by the Opposition, but it was considered good Parliamentary tactics on the part of the government, and the campaign for the general election was at once launched. Voting took place in July. It was a three cornered fight, the Conservatives, the Clear Grits and the Reformers being the parties to the contest. The government received more supporters than either of the other two parties, but had not a majority over both.

The new Parliament met on the 5th of September. The government candidate for the Speakership was George E. Cartier, the member for Vercheres, and he was defeated by a majority of three in favor of Antoine A. Dorion. On the next day the House was formally opened, when the important announcement was made by His Excellency that an Act of the Imperial Parliament had been passed by which it was now in the power of the Canadian Legislature to make the Legislative Council elective. The question of the clergy reserves and the seigniorial tenure were also suggested for settlement, and a re-arrangement of the tariff to meet the conditions required by the reciprocity treaty. This might have been a satisfactory programme for the Reformers had it come a session or two earlier, but the cleavage had been driven too far for reconciliation, and therefore George Brown and his following were ready to unite with the Conservatives for the defeat of the government. Rolph, always an opportunist, was not slow to read the signs of the times, and he promptly deserted the government and went into Opposition. On a question of privilege a vote of the members was taken, and Rolph voting with the Opposition forced the government to resign.

It was clear, however, that the union between the Conservatives and George Brown could not be maintained for the purposes of government, and as the large body of Reformers was still supporting Hincks, he was still the strongest political leader in the House. On the resignation of Mr. Hincks the Governor-General, following the constitutional course, sent for MacNab, leader of the Conservative Opposition. In what followed, John A. Macdonald showed his political adaptability. The Lower Canadian Conservatives had given a fair support to the Hincks administration. They were

now approached with the suggestion to unite with the Upper Canada Conservatives in order to carry out the programme indicated by the Hincks government in the speech from the Throne. Morin and his friends agreed. Hincks was next approached and terms arranged between him and some of his friends on the one hand, and MacNab and Macdonald on the other, on which a coalition government, leaving Brown and his friends out of the reckoning, could be formed. The condition made by Mr. Hincks was that he should be allowed to nominate two members of the proposed government. MacNab became Premier; Robert Spence, Postmaster-General; John A. Macdonald, Attorney-General West; William Cayley, Finance Minister and Mr. Chauveau, Provincial Secretary. This coalition did not command the full support of the Reform party which followed Mr. Hincks, but still had a sufficiently large majority to control the House. Brown looked for a different result, believing that on the fall of the government the Reform party would coalesce with him and his friends, but he was disappointed. What he had really achieved was the disintegration and breaking up of the old Reform party and the creation in its stead, by the genius of Macdonald, of the Liberal-Conservative party which since has flourished and ruled in the land. The new government proceeded to pass the legislation prepared by Mr. Hincks, consequently measures were carried for the secularization of the clergy reserves and the settlement of the seigniorial tenure question, and thus passed away one institution already hoary with age in French Canada, and the other, one which had begun with the separate existence of Upper Canada and was regarded as sacred by the members of the established Churches. On the 18th of December Parliament prorogued.

Shortly after the close of the session the Earl of Elgin retired from the position of Governor-General. His regime had been a stormy one and he had been submitted to indignities which, under any circumstances, should not have been inflicted on the representative of the Sovereign, but in his case particularly to be regretted because of his desire and determination to follow out to its limit the constitutional course laid down to him by the British Government, and given as a great and valuable concessions to Canada. His acts will bear examination. Those of his bitter adversaries are best hidden from view. His great talents and personal qualities were ever

exercised with due regard to the amenities of social and political life, and if now the heavy task he had undertaken appeared to have been satisfactorily completed, the rest he desired was worthily won. In the annals of Canada his name remains second to none among those of the men who before him or since were entrusted by their Sovereign with the discharge of the high duties of the office which he occupied. Lord Elgin's future was fully worthy of his Canadian career. He conducted a successful mission to China and Japan, the results of which had a far reaching influence on the civilization of these countries, particularly on the latter, whose wonderful modern history may be said to have touched its well-spring then, and in India where he became one of the great British Viceroys who left the impress of their mind on the intricate government of that marvellous country.

Sir Francis Hincks now passes off the stage of Canadian public life for fifteen years, during which he was Governor of the West India Islands and of British Guiana, returning to Canada in 1889, when he joined Sir John A. Macdonald's government as Finance Minister.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### CONFEDERATION MOVEMENT LAUNCHED.

Lord Elgin's successor was Sir Edmund W. Head, who at the time of his appointment was Governor of New Brunswick. Some changes took place in the Canadian Ministry, Mr. Cartier succeeding Mr. Chauveau as Provincial Secretary, Mr. Lemieux succeeding Mr. Chabot in the Public Works Department, and Mr. Morin succeeding Mr. Cameron as Commissioner of Crown Lands. Parliament met on the 23rd of February, 1855, and found the government firmly seated in power. The first step was taken at this session for the creation of a volunteer force for Canada. A great deal of legislation was enacted of a useful but generally of a local character. The session ended on the 30th of May, having passed 251 statutes. The trade imports amounted to \$40,529,325 for the year 1854, while the exports only totalled \$23,019,190. The total revenue for the same period amounted to \$6,088,190, nearly two million in excess of the expenditure. The public debt had now grown to \$38,851,833, having been greatly increased by public enterprises undertaken within the last few years mainly for the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway, which, by the autumn of 1855, had rails laid for 120 miles from Montreal to Brockville.

The session of 1856 assembled at Toronto on the 15th of February and was a very stormy one. Not only the regular Opposition but some of the Conservatives, who had been angered by the measure which had been passed for the secularization of the clergy reserves, joined in the attack, and a motion by John Hillyard Cameron for certain papers in connection with a case of murder in Quebec, carried against the government by a majority of four, showing that the political elements had not yet been firmly welded. The vote was not considered as one of want of confidence, but it facilitated the retirement of Sir Allan MacNab from the Premiership to be succeeded by Tache, a member of the Legislative Council, an arrangement which left Macdonald as leader of the Assembly and practical head of the government.



The Right Honorable Sir John Alexander Macdonald, G.C.M.G., was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on the 11th of January, 1815. With his father's family he came to Ontario in 1820, and settled near Kingston, removing a few years afterwards to the Bay of Quinte district. John A. Macdonald attended the Royal Grammar School at Kingston, and at the age of sixteen became an articled clerk in the law office of George Mackenzie, a barrister, in Kingston. Shortly after entering on the practice of his profession he was retained as counsel for Van Shoultz, who was captured at Prescott in the rebellion of 1837-38, and his able defence of the invader brought him into prominence. He entered the Legislature as member for Kingston, and became Receiver-General in the Draper Ministry and afterwards Commissioner of Crown Lands. In the MacNab Cabinet he was Attorney-General for Upper Canada and leader of the Upper Canada Conservatives. From that time onward he figured conspicuously in the Government of Canada, as leader of the Opposition and as Premier of the Dominion in turn, rearing a name and fame for himself second to none in the annals of the country. Academic honors were worthily showered upon him, among them being the D.C.L. of Oxford University. His death on the 6th of June, 1891, caused profound sorrow throughout Canada which he had served so devotedly and so long.

His accession to power, for while Tache was still nominal premier, Macdonald was the virtual leader, greatly strengthened the position of the government, and considerable legislation of importance was passed during the session. Parliament prorogued on the 1st of July, 1856.

It was during the session just closed that a memorable quarrel took place between George Brown and John A. Macdonald. Brown was now the undisputed leader of his section, and in the cross-firing of debate between him and Macdonald, the latter made the accusation that Brown, when acting as Penitentiary Commissioner in 1848, had falsified testimony, suborned convict witnesses and obtained the pardon of murderers to induce them to give false evidence. These extraordinary charges were flung back by Brown, who demanded an investigation. The committee sat during the session but could not agree as to its findings, and therefore brought in a majority and minority report. The majority report exonerated Brown of

all the charges made against him, but stated that in compiling the report the Penitentiary Commissioners had omitted certain evidence favorable to the defence, and that, to that extent, there had been a falsification. For this, however, the Commissioners as a whole were responsible, and not Brown alone. The majority report contained this unsatisfactory clause: "How far Mr. Brown, who conducted the affairs of the Commission and in fact was secretary also, was to blame separately from his colleagues, the committee express no opinion." The minority report was a complete vindication of Mr. Brown and of the charges preferred, but the iron had entered Mr. Brown's heart and it is believed he never forgave Macdonald for the charges he made.

Greater quiet prevailed over the proceedings of next session of Parliament, which was held from the 26th of February to the 10th of June, 1857. The feature of its legislation was law reform. Towards the close of the session Tache resigned the Premiership and was succeeded by John A. Macdonald. The dissolution of Parliament and a general election followed and the contest was conducted with great vigor. Of the alliances which the campaign brought into existence one was between the Orange body and the Reformers through which the return of George Brown was secured both at Toronto and in the north riding of Oxford. The Macdonald government was sustained by a fair working majority, and among those who made their appearance for the first time in the House were Thomas D'Arcy McGee and John Sheridan Hogan, both literary men and both of whom met with a tragic end.

Parliament met at Toronto on the 25th of February, 1858, and Henry Smith, of Kingston, was elected Speaker by 79 to 42 votes, but the address in reply to the speech from the Throne was carried by 64 to 52, a surer indication of the relative strength of the parties, each of which had been somewhat consolidated in the process of general election. The Reformers had the majority in Upper Canada, the Conservatives in Lower Canada. Combined there was a Conservative majority, but with the abandonment of the Double Majority principle the stability of the government was not affected by the relative proportions. The plan of changing the seat of government from Toronto to Quebec periodically, proved unsatisfactory,

but it was found difficult to decide on a permanent place of meeting, with many claimants for the honor. In order to arrive at a settlement which would be accepted by all concerned, the matter at the last session of the House had been referred to Her Majesty the Queen for decision, and that session voted the sum of \$900,000 towards the cost of buildings at the place selected by Her Majesty, who graciously decided in favor of Ottawa. Ottawa had been named Bytown after Lieut.-Col. John By, of the Royal Engineers, who superintended the construction of the Rideau Canal. Its situation has the advantage of beautiful and picturesque surroundings, and while probably Montreal, on account of being more conveniently situated, might have been selected, that city could not expect much consideration on account of the deplorable occurrences of 1849. Ottawa having been settled upon, was accepted by the Ministry as a matter of course, but not so cordially by the disappointed rivals. George Brown saw in this dissatisfaction a joint in the armor of the government and drew his bow. A motion was presented expressing regret that Her Majesty had been advised to select Ottawa as the capital of the country. On the 28th of July this motion carried by a majority of 14, but it was a fruitless victory. Macdonald saw at once that Brown was playing his game and he promptly resigned, knowing that to range himself on the side of the Queen, as they would be doing in this matter almost in a personal sense, would be a magnificent cry for the country. The Conservatives who, for local reasons, had been caught by the motion submitted by the Opposition, now saw that their localism had placed them in a difficult position and returned to their Conservative allegiance.

On the resignation of Macdonald, the Governor-General sent for George Brown as leader of the Opposition and asked him to undertake the task of forming a new government. This duty Brown undertook, evidently without considering that he did not command a majority in the House, his expectation apparently being that he would obtain a dissolution and take chances in the country. Mr. Brown selected his Cabinet, but when the question of prorogation came to be discussed between him and His Excellency, the latter stated that he could not promise either immediate prorogation or dissolution before the passage of two or three necessary bills,

supplies and votes of credit. These conditions were accepted and Brown and his colleagues were sworn in. The members of this short-lived Ministry were: For Upper Canada—Inspector-General and Premier, George Brown; Speaker of the Legislative Council, James Morris; Postmaster-General, H. N. Foley; Attorney-General West, John Sandfield Macdonald; Provincial Secretary, Oliver Mowat; Solicitor-General West, Dr. Connor; For Lower Canada—Attorney-General East, L. T. Drummond; Commissioner of Crown Lands, A. A. Dorion; Bureau of Agriculture, M. Thibaudeau; Receiver-General, F. Lemieux; Public Works, L. H. Holton; Solicitor-General East, M. Laberge.

On the organization of the new Cabinet, they tendered His Excellency the advice to prorogue and dissolve Parliament, on the ground that several members of the House had been improperly elected and that the late government did not possess the confidence of the country. The Governor-General pointed out that, with respect to the first reason submitted, a general election held immediately, must be held on the same defective voters' lists and that the time would then be a most inconvenient one as it would be during the harvest period. He again pointed out that some necessary legislation ought to be passed. When the new government met the House a vote of want of confidence in them was proposed by Hector Langevin, seconded by John Beverley Robinson, Toronto, and this was carried on a vote of 71 to 31 in the Assembly, and in the Upper Chamber a similar vote carried on a division of 16 to 8.

The government instead of resigning, demanded a dissolution, claiming that the Assembly did not command the confidence of the country. Whatever may be said regarding the Governor-General's refusal in the first place to grant a dissolution after the formation of Brown's Cabinet, there can be no doubt that the Assembly having spoken, he would have taken a reactionary course such as might have been supposed to be congenial to Maitland or Arthur had he now taken the advice of his Executive Council, the Assembly having expressed want of confidence in it. Brown thereupon resigned, having been in power for two days. The Governor-General was bitterly criticized, and accused of having shown favor in these proceedings.



to the Conservatives. This incident is known in political parlance as "the double shuffle."

In this juncture of affairs His Excellency sent for Alexander T. Galt, a son of the famous John Galt, the founder and first commissioner in 1826 of the Canada Company. Mr. Galt was manager of the British America Land Company which operated very largely in the Eastern townships. He entered Parliament in 1849 for the County of Sherbrooke, and in 1853 represented the Town of Sherbrooke. He was a man of outstanding ability, versed in the intricacies of business and finance, and one of the ablest and most highly respected members of the House with Conservative leanings. However valuable his advice to His Excellency may have been, he realized that he was not in a position to assume the office of Premier with any likelihood of commanding the support of a majority of the divergent elements in the House. As a Protestant, he did not look for cordial support from the French Canadian section, and as a Quebec man he had not made a personal following among the members from Upper Canada.

He therefore recommended Cartier, who, with the assistance of John A. Macdonald, had no difficulty in organizing a new Cabinet. By exchanging offices, the members of the old government were able to comply with the requirements of the Independence of Parliament Act of 1857 without seeking for re-election, as they had not been a month out of office. The legality of this proceeding was tested in the courts and upheld.

On the other hand, Brown and his friends who had accepted office, had thereby demitted their seats in the House, and in their case, re-election in the constituencies was necessary. They were returned with the exception of Dorion, who lost his seat in Shefford. Much beneficial legislation was passed at this session, and Parliament was prorogued on the 18th of August, 1858.

On the day following, announcement was made of the successful completion of the Atlantic cable, the message of transmission being from Her Majesty Queen Victoria to President Buchanan of the United States. The close of the year marked the death of Robert Baldwin, who passed away amid the general regret of all parties, for his great qualities were recognized by the country without distinction of political party, and nothing remained over his grave but sorrow that, while serving the province so well, he

had not been saved from the ungenerous criticisms which lay as a sombre cloud on his political horizon.

Parliament was called for the 29th of January, 1859, when a full programme of important measures was presented touching the seat of government, the work of the seigniorial tenure commission, the commercial and financial condition of the country, and such useful subjects. It was agreed that the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa should be proceeded with without further delay, and an address was transmitted to Her Majesty the Queen, inviting Her Majesty or a member of the Royal family, to visit Canada to perform the ceremony of opening the Victoria Railway bridge at Montreal, a great engineering work about being completed. The House prorogued on the 4th of May.

An important event took place in September of 1859 when a meeting of the Opposition members in Upper Canada was held at Toronto to consider the political outlook. The conclusions arrived at, as will be seen, had an important influence in the formation of the new system of government towards which Canada was gradually approaching. The meeting declared against the existing union between Upper and Lower Canada and in favor of a Federal relationship between the provinces, and here is the beginning of the movement in definite form which culminated in Confederation. It was agreed that a general convention of the Reformers of Upper Canada should be held on the 9th of November at Toronto to take these views into consideration and formulate a party platform. It is estimated that 700 delegates attended the convention, which included Legislative councillors and members of the Legislative Assembly, among them being W. P. Howland, George Brown, Oliver Mowat, William McDougall, J. C. Aikins, D. A. Macdonald, William Lyon Mackenzie, Dr. Connor, Joseph Galt, M. H. Foley, William Notman, John White, Joseph Rymal, David Stirton, Amos Wright, John R. Clarke, Thomas Short, M. Harcourt, Hugh Finlayson, J. W. Cooke and H. Munro. Hon. Adam Ferguson was chosen as chairman, and Mr. William McDougall, M.P.P. and John Scoble were the joint secretaries. The important resolutions were as follows:—

1. That the existing Legislative Union of Upper and Lower Canada has failed to realize the anticipations of its promoters, has resulted in a

heavy public debt, burdensome taxation, great political abuses, and universal dissatisfaction throughout Upper Canada; and it is the matured conviction of this Assembly, from the antagonisms developed through difference of origin, local interests and other causes, that the Union in its present form can no longer be continued with advantage to the people.

2. That highly desirable as it would be while the Union is maintained, that local legislation should not be forced on one section of the province against the wishes of a majority of representatives of that section—yet this assembly is of opinion that the plan of government known as the “Double Majority” would be no permanent remedy for existing evils.

3. That necessary as it is that strict constitutional restraints on the power of the Legislature and Executive in regard to the borrowing and expenditure of money and other matters should form part of any satisfactory change of the existing Constitutional system—yet the imposition of such restraints would not alone remedy the evils under which the country now labors.

4. That without entering on the discussions of other objections this assembly is of opinion that the delay which must occur in obtaining the sanction of the Lower Provinces to a Federal Union of all the British North American Colonies places that measure beyond consideration as a remedy for present evils.

5. That in the opinion of this assembly the best practical remedy for the evils now encountered in the government of Canada is to be found in the formation of two or more local governments to which shall be committed the control of all matters of a local or sectional character, and a general government charged with such matters as are necessarily common to both sections of the province.

6. That while the details of the changes proposed in the last resolution are necessarily subject for future arrangement, yet this assembly deems it imperative to declare that no general government would be satisfactory to the people of Upper Canada which is not based on the principle of representation by population.

The Reformers were thus committed to the principle of a Federal

union, and the enthusiasm of the convention communicated itself widely through the country.

On the 22nd of December the sod was turned for the foundation of the new Parliament buildings at Ottawa. The trade statement for the year showed imports amounting to \$33,555,161, as against exports of \$24,766,091, a large balance against the country. The revenue amounted to \$6,248,679, and expenditure to \$6,099,570. The public debt which had rapidly grown, now amounted to \$54,142,044, a large portion, namely, \$28,607,013, representing advances to railway companies and to municipalities under the provisions of the Municipal Loan Fund Act, for which the province had given security.

#### PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT.

The year 1860 was memorable on account of several auspicious events, the visit of the Prince of Wales and the opening of the Victoria bridge at Montreal easily, however, eclipsing all others. Parliament met at Quebec on the 28th of February. The speech from the Throne foreshadowed the Royal visit. The proceedings at the great Reform convention at Toronto made themselves felt by two resolutions submitted by Brown, one condemnatory of the Legislative union and the second in favor of the formation of two or more local governments over which a joint or Federal authority should be placed to deal with common interests. The vote of the House was decidedly against the resolutions, showing that, no matter how much headway Brown's idea of a federation might be making in Upper Canada, the province as a whole still required considerable education before the Federal principle would be generally accepted. Motions of want of confidence in the government were made and defeated, one being on the ground that John A. Macdonald belonged to the Orange body, which found nine supporters, another that the government had forfeited the confidence of the country on account of its Separate school reform policy in Upper Canada. Six voted against the government on this motion. On the general vote of want of confidence brought on by the Opposition, the government was sustained by 70 to 44. Brown's leadership was felt slightly trying by some of his followers, and



one, Mr. Campbell, of Rouville, speaking in his place in the House, appealed to him to retire from the leadership, as his continuance would prevent Roman Catholics who, on various grounds might support the Reform party, from doing so because of his extreme Protestantism. The session closed on the 19th of May to assemble later to welcome the Prince of Wales.

The country looked forward to the visit of the Prince of Wales with great delight, and preparations on a large and worthy scale were made by the Legislature, municipal and other public bodies, and by the people generally. Indeed, no event in the history of the country had so stirred it socially before, and the best of good feeling prevailed in anticipation of the pleasure of participating in the welcome to the heir apparent to the throne visiting the country as the representative of his mother, Queen Victoria, to whose person and throne the people of Canada, as those of all other peoples within the Empire, were indissolubly and marvellously attached. Everywhere expense was a secondary matter, and patriotism found endless ways of fit expression.

The Prince, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle as Minister of State, and a brilliant suite, arrived in Quebec on the 21st of August, 1860, and was received at the Parliament buildings by both Houses of the Legislature, Narcisse Belleau, Speaker of the Legislative Council, and Henry Smith, Speaker of the Assembly, heading the members. Both Speakers received the honor of knighthood. The festivities were on a scale of splendor and were carried out most successfully. At Montreal, in addition to the civic and social functions in which the populace most enthusiastically joined, there was the memorable ceremony of the opening of the Victoria bridge conceived by Thomas C. Keefer and carried out by the great Stephenson—a monument not only of engineering genius, but of the enterprise which pulsated the trade and commerce of Canada, now rising into gigantic proportions. On the 1st of September the Royal party reached Ottawa, where, in the presence of the Governor-General and a large gathering of the leading men of Canada, the Prince laid the foundation stone of the Parliament buildings. From Ottawa he proceeded to Arnprior, then crossing the country by carriage and railway to Brockville, which he reached in the evening and where he was received by a loyal demonstration of the most

enthusiastic character. Here the steamer "Kingston," which had been reserved for the party, was waiting, and by it the journey was continued the next day through the Thousand Islands. Unfortunate misunderstandings as to the position in the demonstrations of welcome which should be occupied by the Orange bodies at Kingston and Belleville, prevented the Royal party from landing at either of these places, the Duke of Newcastle, who was the responsible Minister with the Prince setting his face firmly against the Royal recognition of any party or sectarian emblems. When, therefore, on the arrival of the steamer at Kingston it was seen that a body of Orangemen were drawn up on the wharf with their flags flying and bands playing, His Grace gave orders that there should be no landing made unless the party mottoes were withdrawn. The citizens of Kingston had made great preparations for the visit and the city was *en fete*. They were anxious that nothing should mar the carrying out of their elaborate plans, and, therefore, appealed strongly to the Orangemen to give way, but the latter stood firm and the steamer passed on without the Prince going on shore. But the Orangemen were not to be so easily baulked in their determination to receive the Prince as Orangemen. They, therefore, chartered a steamer and followed the Prince to Belleville, where arrangements had been made for a reception and entertainment the next day. They arrived in Belleville the same evening with their banners and music, and held an indignation meeting which was joined in by the local brethren. Queen Victoria and Garibaldi were loudly cheered and groans given for the Duke of Newcastle. Next day they held a large Orange demonstration, and the Prince and his suite in these circumstances did not land from their steamer, but with deep regret passed on.

At Toronto there was a slight Orange demonstration which happily was not observed in time to cause appreciable annoyance. The Royal party arrived about half-past six in the evening and landed at the foot of John Street, where a large amphitheatre had been erected to accommodate the people. The seats rising tier upon tier were filled with gaily dressed people, representing the wealth and fashion of the city. At the upper side of the amphitheatre a broad roadway led to the Esplanade, on each side of which were tiers of seats. At the top was a magnificent arch which had been



HON. DONALD A. MACDONALD.



HON. JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON.



SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, K.C.M.G.



SIR GEORGE KIRKPATRICK, K.C.M.G.





constructed with admirable taste and skill and which evoked admiration from every beholder. Beyond this arch, north, east and west, stretched a countless multitude eager to catch a glimpse of the distinguished young visitor. It was estimated to 60,000 people congregated at this point, where Mr. Adam Wilson, the Mayor, afterwards Chief Justice, presented the civic address. The children of the Public and Sunday schools of the city formed a vast chorus to lead in the singing of the National Anthem. In the evening the city was beautifully illuminated, and the streets, which had been decorated and over which triumphal arches were spanned, made a very fine appearance. Through the lighted streets the Prince made a progress in the course of the evening. Receptions, balls and festivities prevailed, and a regatta on the bay and a military review near the city were also held during the visit, which continued from the 7th to the 12th of September. The Horticultural Gardens were formally opened by the Prince, who planted there a young Canadian maple tree as a memento of the visit. Proceeding westward from Toronto, Brampton, Georgetown, Guelph, Berlin, Stratford, London, Sarnia, Ingersoll, Paris, Brantford, Dunnville, Fort Erie, Chippewa, St. Catharines and Niagara Falls were visited, and thus not only did the Prince see the fertile western portion of the province and its marvellous development, but the people were given a greatly desired opportunity to see and speak to the heir apparent. In all these places perfect harmony prevailed, the arrangements being everything that could be desired and the receptions most sincere and demonstrative. At Niagara the acrobatic feats of the great Blondin as he crossed and recrossed the river on a single rope blindfolded, were witnessed. But above all of human skill and marvel were the Falls themselves, one of nature's own masterpieces, the greatness of which was not lost on His Royal Highness and attendants.

Leaving the Falls, Hamilton was reached on the 18th of September, and here the reception was extremely cordial. Fifty thousand people participated, every heart beating true to the Queen and Crown whom the young Prince so well and tactfully represented. He opened the Provincial Agricultural Exhibition and attended horse races, a regatta and the civic festivities which had been arranged. A picture of the Prince as he appeared at Hamilton, drawn by the capable hand of a veteran journalist after forty

years had elapsed from the time of the visit, is worth reproducing. "Attractive in person and manner he was then as now, but he was rather short for his age, slender in build and pale in complexion. His face was intelligent and pleasing, the most striking features being his eyes which were large and handsome, a prominent, well-formed nose and a small mobile mouth. His hands and feet indicated something of the size and rotundity which he has since attained, but his appearance at this time was exceedingly boyish and artless, which rendered his quiet, gentlemanly manner all the more pleasing. He did not speak much, but when he did his voice was clear and strong—indeed it was quite apparent that, notwithstanding his youthful appearance, he possessed a vigorous constitution with abundance of mental and physical activity." The Royal tour was continued from Canada into the United States, where, at the leading centres of population and the capitals, and by the President, he was received in a manner worthy of his high station and character. In the United States the Prince of Wales, not travelling officially, went by his title of Baron Renfrew.

In December of this year the case of the fugitive slave Anderson attracted attention. Anderson was a slave who was making his escape to Canada, and in a fight with a man named Diggs, who tried to capture him, Diggs was killed. Anderson was, a long time afterwards, recognized in Canada, arrested and brought before a magistrate who decided that he should be returned to be tried on a charge of murder. On a writ of habeas corpus the case was brought before the Court of Error and Appeal which, Justice McLean alone dissenting, confirmed the magistrate's decision. Intense feeling was stirred on behalf of Anderson who claimed that he could not rightly be charged with the murder of Diggs, as the latter was killed accidentally and in the course of self-defence, and steps were taken to bring the case before the English Court of Queen's Bench. In the meantime the Court of Common Pleas at Toronto took cognizance of the proceedings in connection with the warrant of commitment, and finding the warrant informal, Anderson was liberated. The case led to an amendment of the statute so that the ordinary magistrates had no longer jurisdiction regarding foreign fugitives from justice, the police magistrates and county judges replacing them.

Parliament met at Quebec on the 16th of March, 1861. Acknowledgments from the Queen as to the loyal reception given to the Prince of Wales, were presented. The proceedings were enlivened by the pungent references in the debate in reply to the speech from the Throne to the dissatisfaction felt by the Orangemen of Upper Canada on account of their not having been permitted to welcome the Prince of Wales in their own fashion, and also on the part of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches who complained that their addresses had not received the official attention accorded to those presented by the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. All the amendments, however, were unsuccessful, and the government was sustained. An interesting proceeding during the session was the presentation of the census return for the ten years ending 1861. The increase in the population was marked and gratifying. In twenty years a very substantial advance had been made. In 1841 the population of Upper Canada was 465,375. During the ten years ending in 1851 it had increased to 952,061, but in the ten years ending in 1861 the figures stood at 1,396,091. This furnished a contrast to Lower Canada which, during the same periods, showed 690,782, 890,261, and 1,110,444. The population of the united province in 1861 was thus 2,506,755. With 285,427 more people than in Lower Canada, the Upper Canada Reformers pressed their demand for representation by population. Their greatest grievance now was French domination. The question was debated long and strenuously during the session, but no headway was made against the government majority and the House prorogued on the 8th of May.

On the 28th of August, 1861, William Lyon Mackenzie's restless, troubled and crowded life came to an end after a short illness. In October Sir Edmund Walker Head retired from the Governor-Generalship and was succeeded by Lord Monck, during whose term the affairs of Canada were unusually eventful.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### LORD MONCK'S ADMINISTRATION.

Lord Monck was a native of Templemore, in the County of Tipperary, Ireland. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was called to the Irish Bar in 1841. He was member of the Imperial Parliament for Portsmouth, and in 1858 was a Lord of the Treasury in the Palmerston administration. He assumed the duties of his office as Governor-General on the 23rd of October, 1861, and almost immediately afterwards the relations between Great Britain and the United States became somewhat strained over what is known as the "Trent affair" the particulars of which were, that on the 9th of November, 1861, a Captain Wilkes commanding the steamship "Jacinto" of the United States, forcibly removed two Confederate commissioners named Mason and Slidell from board the British mail steamer "Trent," running from Vera Cruz to Southampton, contrary to the law of nations and neutral rights. Over this outrage a section of the United States public gloried, as putting the British lion at defiance, and feeling rose high between the two countries, Canada participating very fully with the Motherland. Britain sent troops to Canada in case war should break out. Volunteer companies and militia corps were rapidly improvised throughout Upper Canada. The outcome, however, was happily a surrender to the British Government of the captured men, who were allowed to proceed on their way to Europe.

An event which cast a cloud of sorrow over the Empire was the death of the Prince Consort, on the 15th of December, 1861. Canada sympathized sincerely with the bereaved Queen in her deep sorrow and the event made a profound impression on the country.

In 1862 Parliament met at Quebec on the 21st of March. Lord Monck appeared in great state, and the pageantry was made the more impressive by the attendance of a large number of volunteers, militiamen and regular troops. Messrs. Turcotte and Sicotte were the candidates for the Speaker.



ship and the former, that of the government, was elected. The speech from the Throne among other things promised papers concerning free interchange of trade between the British North America provinces; and a measure for the improvement of the militia, then, with the unsettled condition of the States, an important matter. In consequence of changes in the government having just been made consideration of the address in reply to the speech from the Throne was postponed. The changes were caused by the elevation of Mr. Vankoughnet to be Chancellor of the Court of Chancery; of Mr. J. C. Morrison to be a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas; and by the resignation of his office by Mr. John Ross. The vacancies so caused were filled by the appointment to office of Messrs. Patton, J. B. Robinson and John Carling. In the by-elections necessary by these appointments Mr. Patton was defeated, an incident which somewhat injured the ministerial prestige. Some of the financial proposals of the government were not favorably received by some of their supporters, and ministers were becoming uneasy. The second reading of the Militia Bill brought defeat, the vote against the government being sixty-one to fifty-four, some of the French-Canadian Conservatives joining with the Opposition. The rejection of the bill was misunderstood in Great Britain. There, it was regarded as the decision of Canada that she would not take the necessary steps to provide defence, but would depend on the Motherland for support should trouble arise with the States. Canada was in reality sound at heart, and loyal as ever; the overthrow of the bill was a piece of political tactics only—a mere blow struck in the keen party battle. The Ministers resigned and three days later their successors were announced as follows: Upper Canada—John Sandfield Macdonald, Attorney-General and Premier; Adam Wilson, Solicitor-General; Mr. Foley, Postmaster-General; James Morris, Receiver-General; W. P. Howland, Minister of Finance; Wm. McDougall, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Lower Canada—Messrs. Sicotte, Abbott, McGee, Dorion, Tessier, Evanturel.

John Sandfield Macdonald, who thus became Prime Minister, was a native of Glengarry, Outario, studied law in Cornwall and was called to the Bar in 1840. Building up a lucrative practice he entered politics and soon took a leading place. He was extremely popular with his Highland fellow-

countrymen, and was rather independent in his politics. On assuming office he announced his policy as being a reversion to the double-majority rule, a re-adjustment of the representation of the Upper and Lower province, an amended militia Act, a revision of the tariff, in the direction of further protection to industries, an insolvent debtors Act, retrenchment in public expenditures, no change in the seat of government, and an investigation into alleged abuses in connection with the erection of the Parliament Buildings. This reasonable programme gave fair satisfaction, and the Opposition promised a cessation of obstructive criticism. George Brown was quick to point out the omission of representation by population from this programme and he attacked the government on this score. The session continued until the 9th of June, when it prorogued.

The month of August following Sir Allan MacNab died at his seat in Hamilton and with him passed away a conspicuous public figure, a noted link with the more troublous past.

The Governor-General visited Upper Canada and opened the Provincial Exhibition at Toronto, receiving a flattering welcome, and well earning it by his engaging manners and courtesy.

The Reciprocity Treaty with the United States was attacked in the State of New York, in the Legislature of which resolutions were passed requesting the President to give notice of its discontinuance when the proper time arrived. The treaty was of especial benefit to Canada during the Civil War, for farm prices were high and the United States market near, and the farmers were saving money rapidly. Peace and prosperity, law and order, went hand in hand, and the condition of the country was very satisfactory.

Parliament assembled on the 13th of February, 1863, at Quebec. Mr. Alexander Campbell was elected Speaker of the Legislative Council to the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Allan MacNab. The Upper Canada Reformers complained of the meagre bill of fare provided, their chief dish, representation by population, was absent. On this account Matthew Crooks Cameron moved an amendment to the address, and John Hillyard Cameron also moved in the direction of an increase in the Upper Canada representation. Both amendments were lost, but signs outside the House pointed to

a growing sentiment in favor of a change in the basis of representation existing. Dr. Connor was elevated to the Bench and the vacancy in his constituency, the south riding of Oxford county, was contested by George Brown and won by him. A month later he took his seat, a thorn in the ministry's side. The separate school bill, promoted by R. W. Scott, had become law, but had not been accepted with good grace by many of the Upper Canada members and the subject remained a fruitful source of trouble to the ministry. There was a deficit in the treasury and the government was unable to withstand the attacks levelled against it, now aimed or directed by John A. Macdonald. On the 1st of May the government went down before a vote of sixty-four to fifty-nine on a motion of no confidence presented by Macdonald. The ministers appealed to the country, John Sandfield Macdonald re-organizing his Cabinet on lines more in accord with popular demands. The general elections were held on the 12th of May, 1863, and the government was sustained. Parliament met on the 13th of August. Ulric J. Tessier was elected Speaker of the Legislative Council, and Lewis Wallbridge of the Assembly, the latter by a vote of sixty-six to fifty-eight, which indicated the strength of the government. A change of policy was announced. The double-majority method was to be dropped, and representation by population was advanced to the stage of being left an open question. The members of the old government who had been discarded—Foley, McGee and Sicotte, were bitter opponents now and in the vote on the address in reply to the speech from the Throne the government majority was reduced to three. The budget was disappointing. The expenditure amounted to \$15,119,200, including an extraordinary sum for the seigniorial claims amounting to \$4,294,000, or an annual outlay of \$10,911,090, with a total debt floating and funded estimated at \$70,000,000. In order to make the charge and discharge balance, the Finance Minister, Mr. Howland, asked for an annual increase of revenue of \$2,000,000. The government succeeded in passing safely through the session notwithstanding its small majority, and the House prorogued on the 15th of October, but with difficulties bristling in the way its path was not smooth. A speech by Hon. Wm. McDougall in which he expressed the opinion that representation by population was an impracticable demand drew forth the wrath of George Brown and his



active hostility against the ministry. Another incident served to show the rising waters. Mr. Richards, member for South Leeds, was appointed Solicitor-General (west), and on seeking re-election was defeated, his majority at the general election having been converted to a substantial minority in a large vote. This reduced the government majority in the House to one.

The Legislature met on the 19th of February, 1864, at Quebec. Mr. Brown advised the government, as a candid friend, to resign and the exigencies of the situation pointing that way J. Sandfield Macdonald and his ministry accepted the advice. Hon. Mr. Blair, a councillor, was sent for by His Excellency, but he declined the task of forming a ministry in favor of E. P. Tache, who also hesitated, but was persuaded to essay the doubtful task. It was an able combination composed of Messrs. Tache, Cartier, Galt, Chapais, McGee, Langevin, John A. Macdonald, Campbell, Buchanan, Foley, Simpson, Cockburn.

An improvement of the militia, the maintenance of the Reciprocity Treaty (if possible), a commercial union with the Maritime Provinces, development of internal trade, fiscal reform, etc., were promised. But it was not with measures the government had chiefly to deal—no matter what they might be—but with a political opposition, and it was formidable and untractable. By the measure the government had meted when it was in opposition, the Opposition now meted to the government—two Macdonalds faced each other—and there was no quarter. In the course of the fray a vote of want of confidence in the ministry was lost only by a majority of two. Shortly afterwards another non-confidence vote reversed this result, the majority of two being against the ministry. This impasse, for it was nothing less, was the famous “deadlock.” An appeal to the country did not seem to offer the necessary relief for stable government, the margin between parties being so small, but it seemed to be the only course available. Then George Brown arose above party and came to the rescue of the government. He made advances suggesting the adoption of his federal scheme as a solution, to Alexander Morris and John Henry Pope, and consenting that they should submit it to the government. They did so, and John A. Macdonald and Alexander T. Galt waited on Mr. Brown in the matter. The



outcome of this historical conference was an agreement between Brown and the representatives of the government, which not only relieved the situation then, but directly led to Confederation, a movement in which Brown's figure towers conspicuously above those of his compeers in these earlier days. The agreement as given by Brown's biographer was as follows: "The government are prepared to pledge themselves to bring in a measure next session for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provision as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be incorporated into the same system of government. And the government will seek, by sending representatives to the Lower Provinces and England to secure the assent of those interests which are beyond the control of our own legislation, to such a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a general legislature based upon the federal principle." Brown's course was endorsed by his followers. He was one of the three Reformers asked to enter the coalition Cabinet to carry on the government with federation as a main object, John A. Macdonald insisting on his direct ministerial aid. The offices were filled thus: George Brown, President of the Council; William McDougall, Provincial Secretary; Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General. Here was an object-lesson—sitting in one council were men so diverse in views in modes of thought, and in political methods as Brown and Macdonald, but agreed to work out the duties their common country imposed upon them in the spirit of true and disinterested patriotism. The people were re-assured; they approved so rational an arrangement, and while there were bound to be some members of the House to find fault, yet they were few and ineffective. On seeking re-election on accession to office Mr. McDougall was defeated in North Ontario by Malcolm Cameron, a Reformer of a redder type, but North Lanark furnished him with the necessary seat in the House. The coalition government became firmly established. The House adjourned on the 30th of June, 1864.

Raids on the northern borders of the States in the interests of the Confederate States caused a disturbed feeling in Canada this year (1864). On Lake Erie two U.S. steamboats, the "Philo Parsons" and "Island Queen" were seized by Confederates, some of whom had taken refuge in Canada.

They were readily suppressed. Then followed a melee at St. Albans, Vermont, at which the bank was rifled and the Confederates, who had been in Canada, returned there with their plunder. Fourteen of them were promptly arrested by the Canadian authorities and lodged in Montreal gaol. The frontier was the better policed after these occurrences, and the Governor-General was empowered to cause disorderly aliens to leave the country.

The idea of a federal union had already made progress in the Maritime Provinces, and arrangements had been made to hold a conference on the 1st of September, in connection with its promotion, at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. The Canadian government joined in this conference, sending eight delegates, viz.: George Brown, Geo. E. Cartier, A. T. Galt, J. A. Macdonald, W. McDougall, Alexander Campbell, D'Arcy McGee and Hector Langevin, to take part. The Canadian proposal widened the scope of the conference and an adjournment was made to consider the larger scheme at Halifax and again to Quebec at a date to be decided upon by the Governor-General. In the meantime the western delegates visited St. John and other places in the eastern provinces. The 10th of October, 1864, was fixed upon for the Quebec meeting and here a notable gathering assembled that day. Thirty-three delegates were in attendance, and these have been and will be known as the Fathers of Confederation. They were:—

Upper Canada: George Brown, John A. Macdonald, Alexander Campbell, Oliver Mowat, William McDougall and James Cockburn.

Lower Canada: Sir E. P. Taché, George E. Cartier, A. T. Galt, J. C. Chapais, T. D'Arcy McGee, H. L. Langevin.

Nova Scotia: Chas. Tupper, Wm. A. Henry, Jonathan McCully, Robert B. Dickey, Adams G. Archibald.

New Brunswick: S. L. Tilley, John M. Johnson, W. H. Steeves, E. B. Chandler, Peter Mitchell, J. H. Gray, C. Fisher.

Prince Edward Island: J. H. Gray, E. Palmer, W. H. Pope, A. A. Macdonald, E. Whelan, G. Coles, T. H. Haviland.

Newfoundland: F. B. T. Carter, J. Ambrose Shea.

Sir E. P. Taché, Prime Minister of Canada, was elected chairman of the Conference, and Major Hewitt Bernard, of the Canadian Civil Service,

as secretary. The Provincial Secretaries of the provinces concerned were appointed as joint secretaries. The proceedings were conducted in private, but as decisions were reached they were given to the public. The resolution affirming the principle of the confederation of all the provinces was submitted by John A. Macdonald, and was unanimously carried amid great enthusiasm and loud cheering, which was heard outside of the building in which the conference was held. The second resolution was moved by George Brown, outlining the form of the proposed federal constitution, and this also was warmly supported and unanimously carried. The details of the scheme were intricate and difficult of negotiation, and over them time was spent. No adequate record was preserved of the proceedings and consequently the reasons leading to the conclusions arrived at which in the case of many of the more important points would have been most interesting, are not available. The negotiations lasted eighteen days and the Conference closed on the 28th of October, 1864, having completed the great task it had undertaken. At the close the delegates from the Maritime Provinces visited Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto and were everywhere received, as the representatives of a glorious cause, with enthusiasm and unbounded public hospitality.

Parliament met on the 19th of February, 1865, and the event aroused unusual interest, the coalition government and confederation having to meet the criticism of the House for the first time. In the speech from the Throne Confederation loomed large. A resolution was presented by J. A. Macdonald in these terms: "That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she may be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of uniting the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island into one Government, with provisions based on certain resolutions, which were adopted at a conference of delegates from the said colonies held in the City of Quebec, on the 10th of October, 1864." The resolutions of the conference followed this preamble, and the great Confederation debate was launched. It touched a high standard. The leaders were: In support of the resolution Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Galt, Brown and McGee; against: Messrs. Holton, Dorion, de Lotbinière, M. Cameron, Dunkin, J. Sandfield Macdonald, L. L. Huntington and others, a strong



hostile contingent. In reply to them able speeches were delivered by Richard J. Cartwright, J. Cauchon and Alexander Mackenzie. It was not without its exciting incidents as the news of the defeat of Mr. Tilley and the Confederationists in the general election in New Brunswick; but the first vote was taken on the 11th of March and resulted in victory for Confederation by 92 to 33. Then, a few days later came the motion that a committee should be appointed to frame the address to the Queen on the subject. This motion should have gone by courtesy, the vote on the measure itself having so strong a support. But every inch was contested, and J. Hillyard Cameron, seconded by M. Cameron, moved an amendment, but failed to carry it as did others who also tried to obstruct the measure, and the question was safely piloted through the House to port by Mr. Macdonald. Among the measures passed was a vote for \$1,000,000 for the defence of the country. Parliament was prorogued on the 18th of March.

Shortly afterwards a strong delegation consisting of J. A. Macdonald, George Brown, Geo. E. Cartier, and A. T. Galt, went to London, England, to confer with the Imperial Government on Confederation, defence, the Reciprocity Treaty and the acquisition of the North-West Canadian territory. The mission prospered. The committee of the British Government who met them were Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cardwell, the Duke of Somerset and Earl de Grey and Ripon. They were favorable and full of encouragement concerning Confederation, and on the various questions pending between the Canadian and British Governments a better understanding than heretofore was arrived at.

Parliament met at Quebec for the last time on the 8th of August, 1865. A few days before, Sir E. P. Taché, the Premier, had died. As the senior Minister, John A. Macdonald was sent for. He consented to form a government and obtained the approval of some of his colleagues and then asked Mr. Brown's consent. This Mr. Brown refused on the ground that should Macdonald, Cartier or he accept the Premiership the coalition character of the Cabinet would be changed, they being leaders. Macdonald then proposed Sir Narcisse F. Belleau, and to him Mr. Brown had no objection. Thus what might have been a crisis which would seriously affect Confederation was averted. The House received the report of the delegates to



Britain and its favorable character was highly satisfactory. The session was brief, prorogation taking place on the 18th of September.

The Reciprocity Treaty was terminated by the United States Government on the 17th March, 1866. Its continuance had been the subject of earnest consideration for the British as well as for the Canadian Government. In July of 1865 a great convention in its favor was held at Detroit, at which Canadian and United States delegates met. Joseph Howe delivered a notable speech which made a deep impression, but opinion as to the terms in which the treaty should be renewed was not unanimous, even among the business men, while the United States politicians present seemed to regard annexation as the only condition upon which trade relations satisfactory to all concerned could be based. This view was expressed for his confreres by Mr. J. W. Potter, United States Consul-General for the British provinces. Speaking officially, so far as could be judged, he stated: "We will give you complete free trade if you come and join in the responsibilities of our own government. . . . It is not our policy as Americans to continue the treaty, and within two years after its repeal the Canadians themselves will apply for admission to the United States." This statement evidently expressing the official view of the United States (though later on disavowed), was most unwelcome to the Canadian delegates. The convention finally recommended that the governments concerned do everything possible to continue the treaty, but the views of Consul-General Potter were upheld by Congress. The Hon. Messrs. Galt and Howland were sent to Washington on behalf of the Canadian Government to try to negotiate a new treaty. But their efforts were of no avail. Later in the year Mr. Galt made a second visit to Washington and conferred with Secretary Seward and other officials. No hope was held out, but a tariff to be regulated by reciprocal legislation from year to year was suggested by them as possible. Mr. Galt returned to consult his colleagues as to this proposal. The government would not agree to reciprocal legislation on the basis proposed, but appointed Messrs. Galt and Howland, once again, to proceed to Washington with large powers to act as circumstances and conditions might permit. When they returned early in 1866 they found the United States Government

unwilling to make any concessions and their mission was therefore utterly fruitless.

In the month of November, 1865, the seat of government was removed from Quebec to Ottawa, the buildings there being sufficiently advanced to permit of their occupancy by the archives and the public offices. His Excellency Lord Monck and family took up their residence at Rideau Hall, the vice-regal residence.

Early in January, 1866, George Brown resigned from the coalition ministry, a step much canvassed and criticised. The reason he assigned for his withdrawal was dissatisfaction with the views held by many of his colleagues on the subject of the treaty of reciprocity with the United States, the spirit of compromise some of them had shown while negotiations had been under way being contrary to his views. It was supposed, however, that there were other reasons—of a personal character—kept back. His position was uncongenial. He could not readily yoke with men whose views were not in full accord with his own. Indeed, he expressed his impatience of Macdonald's ascendancy, for though Belleau was nominally the Prime Minister, Macdonald was actually so. He felt it as a "personal slight" that he was passed over and Howland and Galt sent as commissioners to Washington in connection with the trade treaty. He also felt that while he was a member of the coalition government, the party which regarded him as its leader was being left uncared for and consequently it, and through it, he would be weakened politically. On his resigning his position was taken by Mr. Howland as Reform leader in the Cabinet, and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, member for Lambton, having declined the Presidency of the Council that position, which had been Brown's place, was offered to and accepted by Mr. A. J. Fergusson Blair, of Guelph.

#### THE FENIAN RAID.

A painful episode in the history of Upper Canada in 1866 was the "Fenian Raid," an outrageous invasion from the United States.

It has been shown that the United States Government and Congress fully expected that the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty would be fol-

lowed by the annexation of the British American provinces to the United States. From the days of the Revolution the dream of one undivided North American continent under the Stars and Stripes had been dreamed by the Republic. As much ignorance, it seems, existed in the United States as to the real feelings and aspirations of the people of these provinces as if they were, instead of being on the border, a thousand miles away. But it was good politics now to profess a belief in annexation and to encourage it, and it was no doubt part of this policy which led a very large element of the people of the United States, including its officialdom, to countenance the organization of Fenian societies, the avowed object of which was to annex the British territory on the northern border by force. The outcry in connection with the Alabama case is placed in a curious light by the circumstances surrounding the miserable Fenian Raid. The Fenians made their preparations without a pretence to secrecy, were more thoroughly and extensively organized than the Hunters' lodges of '37, and, while under the most favorable conditions they could not expect to succeed in their nefarious object, they threatened to do great injury to life and property along the borders. The United States permitted all this, the politicians encouraging the movement and coveting the votes of the Fenians, and the latter, feeling the moral support thus extended, availed themselves of all the advantages of the situation and armed themselves from the military stores. That this could have happened on the borders of a state professing to be sensitive and jealous of international rights and even courtesy, shows how little dependence can sometimes be placed on the assurances of diplomacy.

St. Patrick's Day, the 17th of March, 1866, was the date fixed for the attack which was proposed to be delivered from Sault Ste. Marie to St. John, and, to meet the danger, the Canadians quickly organized, so that in twenty-four hours at least 4,000 citizen soldiers were under arms. The 17th passed without a hostile demonstration being made. The militia was kept in readiness until the middle of May, when most of the corps were disbanded, as the danger seemed to have passed away. It soon, however, appeared that the Fenian organization was much more elaborate than had been suspected and that an attack would undoubtedly be made. This proved the case, and events showed that the delay from March was merely

in order to mature the arrangements. The plan included expeditions from Chicago against the Lake Huron settlements, one from Buffalo and Rochester against the Niagara frontier, and one against the new capital of Canada, Ottawa, the forces for which were to concentrate at Ogdensburg. With the exception of the militia, Canada was not prepared for an invasion, the ports being otherwise defenceless.

Early on the 1st of June, 1,200 Fenians commanded by General O'Neil crossed the Niagara River about three miles below Black Rock and encamped without opposition on the Canadian side. They took possession of old Fort Erie, but found it in ruins. They levied provisions on the inhabitants and settled down to wait developments. The "Michigan," a United States war vessel was supposed to be patrolling the Niagara River to prevent their citizens from making an attack on Canada, with which they were at peace, but the Fenians were permitted to cross, and small boats with supplies and men crossed the river without let or hindrance. On the day following, Saturday, O'Neill made his dispositions. He moved down the Niagara River in force, then returning, established communication with Buffalo by placing an outpost at Fort Erie. He then marched in the direction of the Welland canal and encamped on high ground at a place called Limeridge, where he threw up a breastwork.

News of the invasion rapidly spread. On Friday, the day on which the crossing had been made, the Toronto Queen's Own, largely composed of college students and young men of the city, the 13th Hamilton volunteers and the York and Caledonia volunteer companies were in motion for Port Colborne, with the view of guarding the entrance to the Welland canal. They were under Lieut.-Col. Booker, an inexperienced volunteer officer, and numbered nearly 900 men. On the evening of the same day a column of 1,800 troops, consisting of 750 regulars and volunteers, with a battery of artillery, assembled at Chippewa. This force was commanded by Col. Peacock.

The whereabouts of O'Neil was not known to Booker or Peacock, but he was supposed to be at Fort Erie and it was arranged that Booker should march his force down from Port Colborne to join that of Peacock, when a joint attack would be made on O'Neil. On the march to effect this junc-



tion, Booker and his force unexpectedly came upon O'Neil's outposts at Limeridge. The Queen's Own were formed in skirmishing order and O'Neil's advance line was compelled to fall back on the main body for support, a distance of fully a mile. In retiring, the Fenians delivered a heavy fire. The attacking line exhausting its ammunition had to retire, and a force of mounted Fenians then appearing, the order was given to form squares under the impression that a body of cavalry was about to attack. The movement to carry out this order and that of the retiring skirmishers conflicted, and caused confusion, so that the troops retreated, covered by a steady fire on the advancing enemy by the Queen's Own and 13th battalions. In this engagement, Ensign McEachren and six privates of the Queen's Own were killed, and four officers and nineteen men wounded, some of whom died afterwards from the injuries received. The Fenians did not continue pursuit, and, after burying their dead upon the field, they retired to Fort Erie. Before their arrival, Col. Dennis who, with a force of 70 men, was conveyed in a tug boat from Port Colborne, captured the Fenian outpost at Fort Erie and occupied the village. The 60 Fenians there were confined as prisoners on board the tugboat. When the retreating Fenians from Ridgeway arrived at Fort Erie, Col. Dennis's small contingent was routed after a sharp brush in which 40 Canadians were taken prisoners and 13 wounded, while five of the Fenians were killed and several wounded. In the course of the night 400 armed Fenians left Buffalo to reinforce O'Neil, but before their arrival the Fenian General, having formed a different estimate of the task he had undertaken to perform, thought it best to abandon the expedition altogether, and learning of the presence of Col. Peacock's troops in the vicinity, recrossed the river with the bulk of his force during the darkness of the night. His pickets, his Canadian prisoners and his dead and wounded were left behind. Next morning, Sunday, Col. Peacock's advanced guard reached Fort Erie in time only to capture a few of the Fenians who did not succeed in making their escape across the river.

The news of the engagement spread through Ontario, undergoing various transformations as it passed from place to place, and, it not being known what next was to happen, the excitement was great. Bulletins were read in the churches announcing the names of the dead and the number of

the wounded and what particulars had been received. The people displayed great energy in collecting hospital and ambulance necessities, while volunteer corps were organized and massed at suitable points along the frontier. Artillery and war material were despatched by rail to the points of danger, and the province took on the appearance of an armed camp. Many young Canadians employed in the United States resigned their positions and returned to defend their native land.

To defend the frontier from the threatened attack at Ogdensburg, 2,000 troops were mustered at Prescott and a gunboat patrolled the river, thus effectually preventing an attempt to cross there, and the Fenian forces moved to Malone with the intention of crossing at Cornwall. Here, however, 3,000 troops were stationed, and the invaders were overawed. It is estimated that there were at least 5,000 armed Fenians on the frontier of the United States ready to cross to Canadian soil, and only prevented from doing so and devastating the country by the vigilance of the British troops and Canadian militia who were watching their movements, but the government at Washington having so flagrantly disregarded its international obligations during the earlier stages of the Fenian organization, was unwilling now to face the international danger which it could scarcely any longer ignore. Remonstrances were made at Washington by the British Government, one result of which was the seizure by General Mead of a large quantity of arms and military stores which had been collected at Ogdensburg by the Fenians, an action which placed them at a great disadvantage. On the 8th of June, 2,000 Fenians crossed the frontier near St. Alban's and occupied a position at Pigeon Hill three miles from the border, and began to plunder the inhabitants. They were soon compelled to retreat to the United States before the Canadian forces.

So great was the danger apprehended that at one time 40,000 volunteers were under arms guarding the Canadian frontier, and, had the Fenian organization, formidable as it was, been well led no doubt there would have been much bloodshed and the horrors of disastrous war ere the invasion would be brought to a close. As it was, while the loss of life was small, the business of the country was seriously interrupted. Against that inconvenience, however, the Fenian movement brought with it a great advantage to

Canada. The spirit of patriotism was aroused. The country proved to itself and to the world that it was ready to make what sacrifice might be necessary to maintain its integrity against a foreign foe, and what was perhaps of greater importance, the common danger opened the eyes of the people to the advantages of a confederation of the provinces by which their common interests could be properly maintained.

The Fenian movement turned out to be comparatively harmless only because of the lack of one or two competent leaders. Had an officer of ability been at its head, supported by a few competent subordinates, the movement would not even then have succeeded in annexing the British provinces, but untold injury could undoubtedly have been inflicted on the provinces and much misery entailed. The Canadian Government was blamed, and perhaps rightly so, for not being better prepared. It had been warned of the danger, but it does not seem that the question of national defence was then a popular one in the political arena, and but little was effected of a permanent character which was now found could be turned to quick account.

#### PARLIAMENT MEETS AT OTTAWA.

The new Parliament buildings at Ottawa were the scene of the meeting of the Legislature of 1866, which took place on the 8th of June. It was the first Parliament held in what was destined to become the capital of the Dominion, and it was the last session of the Parliament of Canada the sittings of which began in 1841 at Kingston. The opening ceremonies were conducted in keeping with these interesting circumstances. In the speech from the Throne, reference was made to the fact that His Excellency, during the recess, had, at the request of the British Government, convened a council of trade consisting of representatives of the British North American provinces who had deliberated on the situation arising from the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. New markets for Canadian goods had been sought in the West Indies and Brazil. The zeal with which the country sprang to arms to repel whatever invasion might be made by the Fenians, elicited from His Excellency a high tribute of praise. The prosperity of the country, notwithstanding the abrogation of the treaty, was



made the subject of a congratulatory reference. The revenues of the past year had been buoyant and exceeded the expenditures, so that the heavy outlay in connection with the Fenian outrages had been easily met. A new tariff was formulated by which a reduction of 5% on imports was made, with a large free list of articles required for manufacturing. The writ of habeas corpus was suspended for one year to meet cases that might arise from the Fenian Raid. The assessment and municipal law of Upper Canada was amended. On the 3rd of July the resolutions concerning Confederation were introduced, containing the outlines of the proposed constitutions for the new provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. The session proceeded satisfactorily, and after the government measures had been carried, Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of August, closing a legislative chapter of great interest and importance in the country's history.

It seems that all had not been calm under the surface in ministerial circles during the session, and the relations between the Governor-General and John A. Macdonald were somewhat strained. Lord Monck was extremely anxious that nothing should interfere with the final success of Confederation, and he was disappointed that the government should have placed their financial measures in the forefront of their legislative programme at this session, rather than the all-important Confederation measures, the former being of a contentious character inviting criticism and strong opposition. His Excellency strongly remonstrated with Macdonald for thus jeopardizing the larger question. There were probably other reasons why he should feel anxious at this time as to the course of public business, and the correspondence which he had with the ministry shed considerable light, not only on the position of affairs just then, but on the influences which had been at work in bringing about the coalition government, and rendering the negotiations for Confederation possible between the opposing parties in the provinces of Canada. Whatever ground for anxiety there may have been on the part of Lord Monck was removed by the events of the session, the Confederation proposals having been passed by strong majorities. In October of that year the Fenian trials took place at Toronto. Many were discharged, some were sentenced to death, but the sentences were commuted to imprisonment in the Kingston penitentiary.





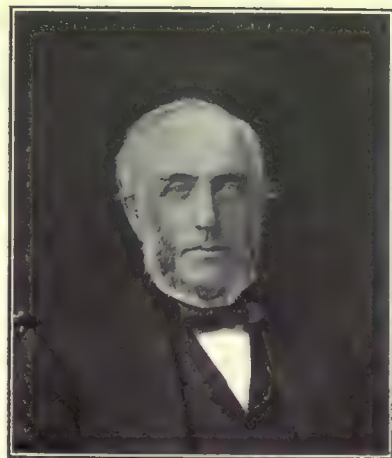
RIGHT HON. VICOUNT MONCK.



SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.



HON. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD



HON. GEORGE BROWN.



## CONFEDERATION CONSUMMATED.

In November the delegates from Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, met in London to prepare, in conjunction with a committee of the British Government, the Act of Union about to be introduced to the Imperial Parliament. The sessions opened on the 4th of December at the Westminster Palace Hotel, those present being: From Canada: Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Galt, Howland, McDougall and Langevin; from Nova Scotia: Messrs. Tupper, Archibald, Henry, McCully and Ritchie; from New Brunswick: Messrs. Tilley, Mitchell, Talbot, Johnson and Fisher. On the Imperial side were the Earl of Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, Lord Monck, the Governor-General of Canada and the law officers of the Crown. Mr. John A. Macdonald was unanimously selected chairman, and as such, he not only very largely influenced the proceedings, but his intimate knowledge of the needs of Canada proved most valuable in the difficult work of arranging the details, while his personal address was often of great advantage in bringing differing conditions into harmony—frequently a difficult task. The essential features adopted by the Quebec conference were retained, and the British North America Act having been finally prepared by the delegates was introduced on the 7th of February, 1867, into the House of Lords by the Earl of Carnarvon. On the 26th of the same month it was passed and sent to the Commons. Two days later it received its second reading, the debate being brief and the reading agreed to without a division. The committee stage was passed on the 4th of March, and on the 8th it was read a third time and finally passed without debate, but with a few amendments which necessitated its return to the House of Lords, where, in its amended form, it was agreed to on the 12th. On the 29th of March, 1867, it received the Royal assent and passed to the Imperial statute book as a law of the realm. The day following, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons guaranteeing a loan of £3,000,000 sterling for the construction of the Inter-colonial Railway, and on the 22nd of May the Royal proclamation was issued bringing the British North America Act into force and the Dominion of Canada into being on the 1st of July, since then proudly known as Dominion Day.

In the distribution of the legislative jurisdiction as between the Domin-

ion and the provinces, matters affecting the country as a whole were reserved for the Dominion, those properly within provincial scope for the provinces. The Dominion thus deals with the public debt and property; regulation of trade and commerce; the raising of money by any mode or system of taxation; the borrowing of money on the public credit; the postal service; the census and statistics; militia, military and naval service and defence; the fixing of and providing for the salaries and allowances of civil and other officers of the government of Canada; beacons, buoys, lighthouses and Sable Island; navigation and shipping; quarantine and the establishment and maintenance of marine hospitals; seacoast and inland fisheries; ferries between a province and any British or foreign country, or between two provinces; currency and coinage; banking, incorporation of bank and the issue of paper money; savings banks; weights and measures; bills of exchange and promissory notes; interest; legal tender; bankruptcy and insolvency; patents of invention and discovery; copyrights; Indians and lands reserved for the Indians; naturalization and aliens; marriage and divorce; criminal law, except the constitution of courts of criminal jurisdiction, but including the procedure in criminal matters; the establishment, maintenance and management of penitentiaries; and such classes of subjects as are expressly excepted in the enumeration of the classes of subjects by the Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the provinces. The Parliament of Canada was also empowered to create a Court of Appeal for Canada and to establish any additional courts for the better administration of the laws of Canada.

The Act provided that Canada shall be divided into four provinces named Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, each having the same territorial boundaries as Upper and Lower Canada had previous to the Union of 1840 and as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had at the passing of the British North America Act.

The executive power is vested in the Crown. The Crown is represented in Canada by the Governor-General who is advised by an Executive Council which is known as the King's Privy Council for Canada, and form the government of the country. The power of dismissing the ministry lies with the Governor-General. Parliament consists of the representative of the



Crown, a Senate and a House of Commons. At Confederation the Senate was composed of 72 members (with provision for further additions), appointed for life by the Governor-in Council—24 from Ontario, 24 from Quebec, 12 from Nova Scotia and 12 from New Brunswick, each with a property qualification of \$4,000 above all debts and liabilities. Each must be not less than thirty years of age, a born or naturalized subject and must continue to be resident in the province for which he is appointed.

The House of Commons consisted at Confederation of 181 members (with provision for further additions), distributed as follows: 82 from Ontario, 65 from Quebec, 19 from Nova Scotia and 15 from New Brunswick. It was provided that there should be a session of the Parliament once at least in every year, so that twelve months should not intervene between the last sitting of the Parliament in one session and its first sitting in the next session. It was provided that the duration of the House of Commons should be for five years, extending from the day of the return of the writs for choosing the House (subject to be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General) and no longer. The property qualification for a member of the House of Commons was placed at \$2,500.

The honor was conferred on Lord Monck of inaugurating the Dominion as the Governor-General, and shortly after his appointment he intimated to John A. Macdonald that he would be entrusted with the duty of forming the first government for the Dominion. This was an enviable position for one of Macdonald's aspirations, abilities and experience, for there was not only a new organization to bring into being, but in providing the constitutional machinery, honors, place and patronage would be many in his gift. He undoubtedly took a statesmanlike view of his responsibility. A new departure was being made, new interests were being brought together, and the course he determined to pursue was the patriotic one of setting aside party prejudices and predilections as far as possible, and calling on public men to combine together irrespective of the dead past to face with him the future, and by mutual aid build up the new Dominion. He realized that it was a time when the smallness, the pettiness of partizan strife should be forever left behind, and that there should be no division among the fathers of Confederation until these should arise in the natural course of

things from differences of opinion as questions presented themselves for settlement. This, however, did not appear to some of his leading opponents to be the proper view. Probably they felt that their vocation would be jeopardized, so, before Macdonald had selected his colleagues, it was made known by many of the Reformers of Upper Canada that government should proceed on party lines, that coalitions were to be avoided as evil things. George Brown who had placed himself at the head of those who held this opinion, was supported by such stalwarts as Alexander Mackenzie, Archibald McKellar, Edward Blake, David Stirton and others, while on the other hand, Messrs. Howland, McDougall and Ferguson Blair not only opposed Mr. Brown's contention but consented to enter the first Dominion Cabinet.

A convention of the Upper Canada Reformers was thereupon held in the Music Hall, Toronto, on the 27th of June, 1867, with the object of re-uniting all sections of the party and organizing an Opposition to the government about to be formed by John A. Macdonald. Messrs. McDougall and Howland were invited to attend this convention and did so, and ably defended their course, McDougall being particularly effective in pointing out that, while Confederation had become a statutory fact it had not been inaugurated, and that it was the duty of every patriot to cast personal feeling aside and assist in giving proper form and fashion to the new system of government, and share in the responsibilities as well as in the influences of power at a most important and critical time in the history of the country.

To this broad appeal, Brown's impassioned and immediate reply was summed up in the words that to associate himself with John A. Macdonald in the government would be a personal degradation to him. No doubt much had taken place between Brown and Macdonald which could not be easily forgotten or forgiven, but here was the extraordinary spectacle of a most influential political convention brought together to deliberate on a line of opposition to a policy not yet announced, and regarding which the opposers could or did know nothing. It was purely and simply a matter of men not of measures, and only extreme partisan feeling could sustain before the public eye, a position so founded. It was to be regretted that the requisite feeling existed. In the circumstances it was probably inevitable that in the

entire series of resolutions passed at the convention, but one contained a positive proposition of policy that might differentiate it from any other party then in existence in the Dominion, and that one merely placed on record the party's opposition to the principle of coalition governments.

But if Mr. Macdonald was so bitterly opposed by Brown and his friends in his effort to form his first administration, he, nevertheless, succeeded in bringing together a strong government. On the 1st of July, 1867, the inauguration of the Dominion took place in the Executive Council Chamber of the new Parliament buildings at Ottawa, very quietly. Chief Justice Draper, of Ontario, administered the oath of office to His Excellency, Lord Monck, as Governor-General of the Dominion. His Excellency then distributed Royal honors with which he had been entrusted to mark the occasion. The title of Knight Commander of the Bath was conferred on John A. Macdonald, and of Companion of the Bath upon Messrs. Cartier, Galt, McDougall, Howland, Tilley and Draper. Cartier declined the proffered honor on the ground that the French-Canadians should have been recognized by the bestowal of a knighthood upon him as it had been upon Macdonald, and in the year following his claim was more than fully recognized by a Baronetcy of the United Kingdom being bestowed upon him.

Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B., and all his colleagues except Mr. Kenny, of Nova Scotia, in whose favor Mr. Draper had withdrawn from office in the new Cabinet, were sworn into office as members of the first Privy Council and of the first government of the Dominion of Canada.

The first government was as follows: Prime Minister and Minister of Justice, Sir John A. Macdonald; Minister of Militia and Defence, George A. Cartier; Minister of Customs, Samuel L. Tilley; Minister of Finance, Alexander T. Galt; Minister of Public Works, William McDougall; Minister of Inland Revenue, W. P. Howland; President of the Privy Council, A. J. Ferguson Blair; Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Peter Mitchell; Postmaster-General, Alexander Campbell; Minister of Agriculture, Jean Chapais; Secretary of State for Canada, Hector L. Langevin; Secretary of State for the Provinces, A. G. Archibald; Receiver-General, Edward Kenny. This completed the organization of the government but much yet remained

to be done in the matter of organizing the service, selecting the first Lieutenant-Governors and the first Premiers of the provinces. Sir N. F. Belleau was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, and in the other three provinces the senior military officers were appointed Administrators until the Lieutenant-Governors should be selected.







MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. STISTED.



SIR W. P. HOWLAND, K.C.M.G.



JOHN WILLOUGHBY CRAWFORD.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### CHANGE OF NAME—ONTARIO.

With the conference of the provinces into the Dominion of Canada, the name "Upper Canada" as an official designation disappears, and the province, whose entity as a constitutional unit had not been lost in the transformations it had passed through since 1791, now emerges with all the lustiness and vigor of young life, as Ontario, a name happily selected from the Indian vocabulary, and which means "handsome lake." Under this name the province has maintained its commanding position in the Dominion, and established itself among the great governments within the British Empire.

To the provinces of the Dominion were assigned definite constitutions contained in the British North America Act. The legislature of Ontario consists of a Lieutenant-Governor, an Executive Council and a Legislative Assembly. The Lieutenant-Governor is appointed as the representative of the Crown by the Governor-General-in-Council for five years. He summons, opens, prorogues and dissolves the Legislature, selects his Executive Council or Cabinet from the party having the majority in the Legislative Assembly, and on the advice of his Cabinet he makes appointments and assents to laws. The British North America Act provided that the Executive Council for Ontario should consist of an Attorney-General, a Secretary and Registrar of the province, a Treasurer of the province, a Commissioner of Crown Lands and a Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works. It was provided that the Legislative Assembly should be composed of 82 members to be elected to represent 82 electoral districts, and that every Legislative Assembly of Ontario should continue for four years from the day of the return of the writs for choosing the same (subject nevertheless to either the Legislative Assembly of Ontario or the Legislative Assembly of Quebec being sooner dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor of the province) and no longer. It was also provided that there

should be a session of the Legislature once at least in every year, so that twelve months should not intervene between the last sitting of the Legislature in one session and its first sitting in the next session. The electoral laws in existence at the Union were continued, so that the elections to the new provincial Parliament might proceed on them.

Exclusive power of legislation was given to each province under section 92 of the British North America Act, in the matter of the amending of the constitution of the province, except as regards the office of Lieutenant-Governor; direct taxation within the province for provincial purposes; the borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province; the establishment and tenure of provincial offices and the appointment and payment of provincial officers; the management and sale of public lands belonging to the province, and of the timber and wood thereon; the establishment, maintenance and management of public and reformatory prisons; of hospitals, asylums, charities and eleemosynary institutions other than marine hospitals, for the province; municipal institutions; shop, saloon, tavern, auctioneer and other licenses in order to the raising of a revenue for provincial, local or municipal purposes; local works and undertakings other than lines of steam or ships, railways, canals, telegraphs of general interest, lines of steamships between the province and any British or foreign country, and such works as, although wholly situated within the province, are before or after their execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada or for the advantage of two or more of the provinces; the incorporation of companies with provincial objects; the solemnization of marriage in the province; property and civil rights in the province; the administration of justice in the province, including the constitution, maintenance and organization of provincial courts, both of civil and of criminal jurisdiction, and including procedure in civil matters in those courts; the imposition of punishment by fine, penalty or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the province made in relation to any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated, and generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the province.

The Act also places education wholly within the provincial jurisdic-



tion and gives concurrent powers of legislation respecting agriculture and immigration. It was also provided that all lands, mines, minerals and royalties belonging to the several provinces entering Confederation should belong to these provinces, and that they should retain all the respective public property, not otherwise disposed of in the Act, subject to the right of Canada to assume any lands or public property required for fortifications or for the defence of the country.

The sum of \$80,000 a year was to be paid to Ontario for the support of its government and Legislature. Free trade was established between the confederated provinces. The continuance of existing laws, courts, officers, etc., was provided for. It was provided that, until altered by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, the Great Seal for Ontario should be the same as that used in the Province of Upper Canada before its union into the Province of Canada. With respect to the division of the public records it was provided that the Governor-General-in-Council might order that "such and so many of the records, books and documents of the Province of Canada as he thinks fit, shall be appropriated and delivered either to Ontario or to Quebec, and the same shall thenceforth be the property of that province, and any copy thereof or extract therefrom duly certified by the officer having charge of the original thereof, shall be admitted as evidence."

In accordance with the arrangement that the senior military officer commanding should act as Lieutenant-Governor until the selection and appointment of the Lieutenant-Governor should be made, General Stisted assumed the duties of Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. The new government was composed of five members, the Prime Minister and Attorney-General being John Sandfield Macdonald (Liberal); associated with him being Matthew Crooks Cameron (Conservative), Provincial Secretary; Mr. Stephen Richards (Baldwin Reformer), Minister of Crown Lands; Mr. John Carling, (Liberal-Conservative), Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, and Mr. E. B. Wood, (moderate Liberal), Treasurer.

Writs for the provincial elections were issued on the 7th of August 1867. The political campaigning was carried on with less partisan contra-

versy than usual, the circumstances being new and there being an absence of issue between the parties.

The result was as follows: Edmund John Hooper, Addington; Fred W. Cumberland, Algoma; Archibald McKellar, Bothwell; Hugh Finlayson, North Brant; Hon. E. B. Wood, South Brant; Wm. Fitzsimmons, Brockville (with Township of Elizabethtown); Donald Sinclair, North Bruce; Edward Blake, South Bruce; Thomas Swinarton, Cardwell; Robert Lyon, Carleton; Hon. J. S. Macdonald, Cornwall (with Township of Cornwall); Simon Cook, Dundas; A. T. H. Williams, East Durham; John McLeod, West Durham; Solomon Wigle, East Elgin; Nicol McColl, West Elgin; Daniel Luton, Essex; Hon. Sir Henry Smith, Frontenac; James Craig, Glengarry; McNeil Clarke, South Grenville; A. W. Lauder, South Grey; Thomas Scott, North Grey; Jacob Baxter, Haldimand; Wm. Barber, Halton; James M. Williams, Hamilton; Ketchum Graham, West Hastings; Henry Corby, East Hastings; George H. Boulter, North Hastings; W. T. Hays, North Huron; Robert Gibbons, South Huron; John Smith, Kent; M. W. Strange, Kingston; Timothy Blair Pardee, Lambton; Daniel Galbraith, North Lanark; W. McN. Shaw, South Lanark; Henry D. Smith, North Leeds and Grenville; Benjamin Tett, South Leeds; John Stevenson, Lennox; John Charles Rykert, Lincoln; Hon. John Carling, London; James S. Smith, North Middlesex; Nathaniel Currie, West Middlesex; James Evans, East Middlesex; George Secord, Monck; Donald Robertson, Niagara (with township); Simpson McCall, South Norfolk; James Wilson, North Norfolk; John Eyre, East Northumberland; Alexander Fraser, West Northumberland (except South Monaghan); Thomas Paxton, North Ontario; William McGill, South Ontario; R. W. Scott, Ottawa; George Perry, North Oxford; Adam Oliver, South Oxford; John Coyne, Peel; Andrew Monteith, North Perth; James Trow, South Perth; John Carnegie, jr., West Peterboro; George Read, East Peterboro; James Boyd, Prescott; Absolom Greeley, Prince Edward; John Lorne McDougall, South Renfrew; John Supple, North Renfrew; William Craig, Russell; Thomas R. Ferguson, South Simcoe; William Lount, North Simcoe; William Colquhoun, Stormont; John Wallis, West Toronto; Hon. M. C. Cameron, East Toronto; Alex.

P. Cockburn, North Victoria; Thos. Matchett, South Victoria; Moses Springer, North Waterloo; Isaac Clemens, South Waterloo; William Beatty, Welland; Robert McKim, North Wellington; Alex. David Ferrier, Centre Wellington; Peter Gow, South Wellington; Robert Christie, North Wentworth; William Sexton, South Wentworth; H. P. Crosby, East York; Thomas Grahame, West York; Hon. John McMurrich, North York.

Parliament met at Toronto on the 27th of December 1867, when Mr. John Stevenson member for Lennox was elected Speaker without opposition.

His Excellency Lieutenant-Governor Stisted, on the day following, delivered the speech from the Throne in the following terms:—

*Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly.*—In accordance with the provisions of the Imperial Parliament for the federal union of the British North American provinces and for the erection of separate local governments in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, I have been deputed in the name of Her Majesty the Queen to open the first session of the Legislature of Ontario. I rejoice at the opportunity which has been thus afforded to me, of welcoming the representatives of the people in this city, so long known as the capital of Upper Canada.

This day is the commencement of a new and important era in our political annals. We are met together under the authority of the British Crown, to enter upon a more extended application than we have hitherto enjoyed, of the principle of local self-government. For years past it has been the aim and effort of Upper Canada to secure a more direct and unlimited control over her own local affairs than was attainable whilst in Legislative alliance with another province. Sensible of the many advantages which have accrued to both sections from this Union since its accomplishment in the year 1841, the people of Western Canada have, nevertheless, desired a wider and more elastic governmental system which, while it should strengthen and consolidate British dominion on this continent, should also afford larger opportunities for their own particular growth and expansion. This object we have now obtained through the beneficent interposition of the Mother Country.

The provision for the future government of this province is, in one respect, peculiar and exceptional. It confers upon you, gentlemen, the

exclusive privilege of framing laws in relation to matters within your jurisdiction, unaided and unchecked by the supervisory control of another Chamber. It remains for you to justify, by your wisdom, moderation and forethought, the confidence so freely reposed in you by the Imperial Government.

You begin your legislative labors with resources at your disposal large enough to justify the hope that they will prove adequate not only for the actual requirements of government, but also to satisfy the wants of this rapidly improving country.

It will devolve upon you to consider the best and most appropriate means of husbanding these resources, and of augmenting, as far as possible, the public wealth. I would earnestly press upon your attention the expediency of encouraging immigration and the occupation of our public lands, by affording to the working classes of Europe and to the young men of our own province, additional inducements to settle and remain amongst us. The enactment of a liberal Homestead law with a free grant of land to bona fide settlers, would, I apprehend, prove of inestimable advantage in adding to the number and quality of our resident population.

I am authorized to inform you that arrangements are in progress for the speedy appointment of arbitrators for the division and adjustment of the debts, credits, liabilities, properties and assets of the late Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, under the 142nd section of the British North America Act. When these gentlemen shall have completed their labors, a copy of their report shall be laid before you.

The expenses hitherto attending the establishment of a local government in this province have been necessarily incurred upon the sole responsibility of the several heads of Public Departments appointed therein, but I have directed detailed accounts of all such expenditure to be submitted to you for your approval and sanction. I have also caused estimates of the anticipated revenue and expenditure for the ensuing year to be prepared, which I commend to your careful attention, relying upon your readiness to make suitable provision for the exigencies of the public service within that period.

In carrying out the special objects for which you have been consti-



tuted as a legislative body, you will also be required to bestow your most serious consideration upon such applications as may be made to you for the incorporation of companies for provincial purposes, or for the promotion of local works and undertakings. And it must be your endeavor, while affording due encouragement to individual enterprise, to protect the interests of the public at large from the consequences of rash or ill-advised speculations.

In the fulfilment of these onerous and responsible duties, I have the utmost confidence in your zeal and fidelity to the trust committed to you by the Constitution, and in your loyalty and attachment to the person and government of our Gracious Sovereign. But I would beseech you always to remember that while your immediate functions are limited to matters of local concern, you form the most prominent and populous portion of a new-born Dominion, which, I venture to hope, will, ere long, extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and be the home of a vast multitude of thriving and contented subjects of the British Crown. Your own position in this confederacy, weighty and influential as it now is, will hereafter become relatively of increasing magnitude, according to the degree of prudence, sagacity and forethought you may evince in the management of the important interests entrusted to your care. May the blessing of Almighty God accompany your deliberations, and make them conduce to the public welfare and to the lasting happiness of the people of Ontario."

The reply to the speech, interesting as marking an epoch in the provincial history, was as follows:—

*"May it please Your Excellency,—*We, Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, in Parliament assembled, humbly thank Your Excellency for your gracious speech at the opening of this session. We heartily congratulate Your Excellency on your being deputed, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, to open the first session of the Legislature of Ontario, and on the satisfaction experienced by you of welcoming the representatives of the people in this city, so long known as the capital of Upper Canada.

We agree with Your Excellency that this day is the commencement of a new and important era in our political annals. We are met together

under the authority of the British Crown, to enter upon a more extended application than we have hitherto enjoyed of the principles of local self-government. For years past it has been the aim and effort of Upper Canada to secure a more direct and unlimited control over her own local affairs than was attainable in legislative alliance with another province. That, sensible of the many advantages which have accrued to both sections from this Union since its accomplishment in the year 1841, the people of Western Canada have, nevertheless, desired a wider and more elastic governmental system, which, while it should strengthen and consolidate British dominion on this continent, should also afford larger opportunities for their own particular growth and expansion. This object has now been obtained through the beneficent interposition of the Mother Country.

We are impressed with the force of the observation of Your Excellency that the provision for the future government of this province is, in one respect, peculiar and exceptional, which confers upon us the exclusive privilege of framing laws in relation to matters within our jurisdiction, unaided and unchecked by the supervisory control of another Chamber, and that it remains for us to justify by our wisdom, moderation and forethought the confidence so freely reposed in us by the Imperial Government.

We learn with satisfaction that we begin our legislative labors with resources at our disposal large enough to justify the hope that they will prove adequate, not only for the actual requirements of government, but also to satisfy the wants of this rapidly improving country.

We are fully sensible of the responsibility which devolves upon us when called upon to consider the best and most appropriate means of husbanding these resources with the view of augmenting, as far as possible, the public wealth. We will not fail to have our attention specially directed to the expediency of encouraging immigration and the occupation of our public lands, by affording to the working classes of Europe and to the young men of our own province, additional inducements to settle and remain amongst us, and we agree with the suggestion of Your Excellency that the enactment of a liberal Homestead law with a free grant of land to bona fide settlers, would prove of inestimable advantage in adding to the number and quality of our resident population.

We are pleased at being informed that arrangements are in progress for the speedy appointment of arbitrators for the division and adjustment of the debts, credits, liabilities, properties, and assets of the late provinces of Upper and Lower Canada under the 142nd section of the British North America Act. And that the report of their labors when completed, shall be laid before us.

We are aware that the expenses attending the establishment of a local government in this province have been necessarily incurred upon the sole responsibility of the several heads of public departments appointed therein, the details of which accounts and of all such expenditure have been directed by Your Excellency to be submitted to us for our approval and sanction. The estimates of the anticipated revenue and expenditure for the ensuing year, which Your Excellency has directed to be prepared, will receive our careful attention, and Your Excellency may rely upon our readiness to make suitable provision for the exigencies of the public service within that period.

In carrying out the special objects for which we have been constituted as a legislative body, we will not omit to bestow our most serious consideration upon such applications as may be made to us for the incorporation of companies for provincial purposes or for the promotion of local works and undertakings. And we shall endeavor, while affording due encouragement to individual enterprise, to protect the interests of the public at large from the consequences of rash or ill-advised speculations.

In the fulfilment of these onerous and responsible duties we thank Your Excellency for the confidence you have been pleased to express in our zeal and fidelity to the trust committed to us by the Constitution, and in our loyalty and attachment to the person and government of our Gracious Sovereign. And in reminding us that while our immediate functions are limited to matters of local concern, we form the most prominent and populous portion of a new-born Dominion, which, with Your Excellency, we venture to hope will, ere long, extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and be the home of a vast multitude of thriving and contented subjects of the British Crown. And we feel that our position in this new confederacy which Your Excellency has described as being now weighty and influen-

tial, will hereafter become relatively of increasing magnitude according to the degree of prudence, sagacity and forethought which we may evince in the management of the important interests entrusted to our care. We fervently join with Your Excellency in invoking that the blessing of Almighty God may accompany our deliberations, and make them conduce to the public welfare and the lasting happiness of the people of Ontario."

The government was well supported during its first term. It commanded the full Conservative strength and a considerable number of Liberals. The Opposition forces were led by Mr. Archibald McKellar member for Bothwell, a shrewd politician and a popular speaker, who had a strong following among the farmers of Western Ontario. When his party came into power he became one of the Liberal Ministry, and when he retired from politics was appointed sheriff of Wentworth.

The government was attacked by the Opposition on the financial arrangement it had made with the Dominion Government as to the payment of a fixed subsidy. The Dominion government had not had time to complete its banking arrangements when the half-yearly amount became due, and as the provincial government had ample funds at the time, it accepted, as a temporary arrangement, Dominion debentures at par for a portion of the amount due, allowing the balance to remain as a loan on which the regular bank interest would be allowed. The proposition put forward by the Liberals was that the Dominion should have been forced to pay up at once, which it could do by borrowing from the banks at 8% and the money having been paid over to the province, could then be deposited in the provincial banks at 4%, giving them the benefit of the difference in interest, but the House and the country did not seem to think this idea either good business or good politics for it would be laying an unnecessary burden on the country for the benefit of the banks, and the government was sustained by a large vote and by public opinion.

An Act providing that all duties, revenue and monies of the province within the jurisdiction of the Legislature should form one consolidated Revenue Fund to be appropriated for the public service of the province, was passed. Notice was given that the grants to denominational colleges would be discontinued after this session. Measures concerning educa-



tional, municipal and agricultural institutions were advanced, and appropriations made for the construction of colonization roads, the improving of waterways and the surveying of waste lands. The House also passed Acts respecting free grants of land and homestead exemption to actual settlers, and Acts incorporating industrial, financial and railway companies; also respecting registrars, registry offices and the registration of instruments relating to lands in Ontario for the organization of the territorial district of Muskoka. The finances of the province were in a prosperous condition, the revenue being \$40,000 on account of the Dominion specific subsidy for the six months ending 31st December, 1867, \$24,877 from clergy lands, \$18,934 from Common school lands, \$590 from Grammar school lands and \$98,487 from Crown lands, amounting altogether to \$182,890. The expenditures for the same period amounted to \$56,669, leaving a balance of \$126,229. The House received a petition from Mrs. Isabel Mackenzie, widow of William Lyon Mackenzie, praying that the sum of £500 might be paid to her for services rendered by her late husband previous to 1837. This petition was referred to a select committee composed of Messrs. Cumberland, Graham (Hastings), Ferrier, Pardee, Clarke, Galbraith and McKellar to investigate the claim and report on the facts set forth in the petition. The committee found the facts as set forth in the petition, and on the motion of Mr. McKellar an address was ordered to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor praying that he recommend an appropriation of \$4,000 to Mrs. Mackenzie for her sole and separate use and benefit in recognition of the claims of her late husband for public services previous to 1837. A division was challenged on this motion but it was carried on a vote of 35 to 31. The House prorogued on the 14th of March, 1868.

On the 14th of July, the Hon. W. P. Howland was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, an appointment which gave general satisfaction as that of a leading business man of the province who, while far removed from being a professional politician, had devoted considerable time to politics and public affairs, and was an experienced legislator and administrator. William Pearce Howland was a native of Dutchess county, New York state, where he was born on the 29th of May, 1811. The family he was

descended from were Quakers of the first Pilgrim fathers. The future Lieutenant-Governor settled in the Township of Toronto in 1830, and entered upon the business of milling. In 1840 he purchased the Lambton Mills property, and soon after also engaged in the wholesale grocery trade in Toronto. He occupied as distinguished a position in the world of commerce as in that of politics, and held honorary offices in connection with the Toronto Board of Trade and a number of large financial institutions. He was a member of the Executive Council of Canada in 1862 and in 1867 became a member of the first Dominion Cabinet, as Minister of Inland Revenue. He, with the Hon. J. McMurrich, Mr. Gordon Brown, Mr. William McMaster and a few others, made the first practical movement for the opening up of the North-West territory by providing the funds necessary to send Capt. Kennedy to that territory on an enterprise of commerce and exploration which was the beginning of business projects to the west, which resulted finally in their acquisition. From 1857 to 1868 he represented the constituency of West York, first in the Canada Assembly until Confederation and from that event in the House of Commons. Under the Legislative Union he was Minister of Finance, Receiver-General, Postmaster-General, and, a second time, Minister of Finance in 1866. In July, 1867, he received the honor of C.B., and in May, 1879, that of Knighthood. Sir William attained to an unusual long age, having died but recently in his ninety-sixth year.

Lieutenant-Governor Howland's first speech at the opening of the second session of the Legislature on the 3rd of November, 1868, was of unusual interest dealing as it did with problems some of which have only been partially solved at the present time. The speech was as follows:—

*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly*—It affords me sincere gratification to meet you for the first time, when you are about to enter on the consideration of numerous measures affecting the public interest, of which, as the representatives of the people, you are the guardians; and in thus assembling you I trust I have selected that season of the year in which you can most conveniently be spared from your various avocations.

I have derived the liveliest satisfaction from my visit to the Provincial

Exhibition at Hamilton where the display of the products of the soil gave token of its increased productiveness, and of the unwearied industry of the farming population, while the superior character of the live stock testified to the advanced state of our husbandry, and reflected the highest credit upon the enterprise of the people. I was gratified to observe the many proofs of the skill of our artisans and manufacturers, and the ingenuity applied to those improvements in machinery and implements by which manual labor is diminished and at the same time rendered more productive. And it was an additional pleasure to note besides those fruits of mechanical skill such a representation of the more cultivated arts as gave promise of the noblest achievements in time to come. The spectacle, altogether, clearly indicated a diffusion of individual wealth, in marked contrast with the condition of the country as I recollect it within the past quarter of a century.

I regret that circumstances, which could not well be controlled, have thus far prevented the arbitrators appointed to adjust the differences between this province and that of Quebec, in respect to certain debts and assets to be apportioned between them, from entering on the task assigned to them. I have, however, good grounds for believing that the examination of accounts relative to these matters will shortly engage their attention, and I trust to be able to announce at an early day the final result of their deliberations.

It gives me much pleasure to inform you that the policy adopted by you during the last session with respect to free grants has been, in a great measure, a success, and it will now be for you to consider whether, with a view to the further encouragement of colonization, larger grants of land than are now authorized by law, may not wisely be made to settlers in townships where a considerable portion of the surface is not well adapted for actual cultivation.

The powers of the general and local governments being concurrent with respect to immigration, it has been deemed advisable to hold a conference at Ottawa to devise the best means of increasing the flow of redundant population of Europe to the Dominion. Representatives from three of the local governments met for that purpose at Ottawa last week. No positive decision has yet been arrived at. It would be premature to anticipate what

plan of action will be finally adopted; but I entertain the hope of being able shortly to report to you that a well organized scheme has been agreed upon for the furtherance of this all-important object in which the people of Ontario feel so deep an interest.

A just cause of complaint as set forth in the frequent presentments of grand juries with respect to the detention of convict and other lunatics in the jails of this province has, I am glad to say, been remedied by their removal to the Rockwood Asylum at Kingston, under an arrangement with the government of the Dominion, where they will no doubt receive that proper and judicious treatment best suited to their unfortunate condition.

Amendments in the law of election as well as in that which relates to the independence of the members of your House, the dispensing with certain sittings and terms of the County Courts and Quarter Sessions of the Peace and the abolition of Recorders' Courts in cities—changes which will greatly lessen the attendance of jurors, and diminish very considerably the costs and outlay in the administration of justice without impairing its efficiency—and a modification of the present law relating to mines and minerals with a view further to encourage the development of this important source of our provincial wealth, will be among the measures that will be submitted for your consideration.

I commend to you as objects calling for your sympathy the deaf, dumb and the blind. The necessity is felt for a public institution worthy of the province, in which these classes of our fellow subjects may receive such a course of instruction as will tend to ameliorate their sad condition, and render them at the same time more useful members of society. It will be for you to decide what measure of relief should be extended to them.

I cannot avoid bringing under your special notice the state of our prisons, at once the receptacles of the hardened offender and the novice in crime, generally huddled together without regard to their classification. The latter surely ought not to be exposed to influences calculated to stifle the disposition to reform, when again at liberty. The objection to the present system is still more obvious in the case of untried prisoners who may not be found guilty of the crime for which they are committed. Still more is it clear in the case of females of a like class. I recommend to you



strongly the erection of institutions in central localities, to which those sentenced for periods less than two years may be transferred from the surrounding jails to undergo their term of punishment under a system of rigid discipline analogous to that of penitentiaries, and where their labor can be utilized towards defraying the cost of their own maintenance.

I shall direct the public accounts for the coming year to be laid before you, and I have no doubt that the appropriations voted during the last session will be found to have been expended thus far with care and a due regard to economy.

I rely on your readiness to grant the supplies necessary for the public service.

In legislating on all these and other measures which have for their object the promotion of the moral, intellectual and material well-being of the people of this prosperous province, you will find me ever willing and anxious to co-operate with you. Enjoying a constitution framed, I may say, in accordance with our expressed wishes, which secures to us the great boon of self-government, to which we are daily becoming more attached; with no burdensome taxation to oppress us, and shielded by the powerful nation whose history and traditions are justly cherished by us and to which we can at all times appeal for protection in the hour of danger, Ontario may well exult in the enjoyment of great and singular advantages.

Let us trust, under God's providence, that our legislative labors may conduce to the realization of the peace, happiness and contentment of our people."

During the session of 1868-9 as foreshadowed in the Speech from the Throne, an Act was passed to secure the independence of the Legislative Assembly, by which all persons holding office in the service of the Dominion or province, also persons having contracts with the government or departments in Ontario, should be ineligible to become members of the Assembly. With a view to simplify the procedure and lessen the expense in courts of inferior jurisdiction, the Law Reform Act was also passed during this session. It provided for the repeal of the County Court's equity jurisdiction and of Recorders' Courts, transferred certain cases from the superior courts to the County Courts, re-arranged the terms of courts, etc. An

Act was also passed defining who shall be entitled to vote for members of the Legislature, providing for the appointment of the necessary officials for taking the vote and all proceedings in connection therewith, penalties for corrupt practices, etc. Provision was made for a Department of Public Works for Ontario with the necessary officials, and defining the duties and powers of such department. An Act was passed constituting the Provincial Secretary, the Registrar-General of the province for the registration of all births, marriages and deaths. At this session the medical profession of Ontario was incorporated under the name of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario, with provision for the registration for all persons qualified to practise in Ontario, measures to regulate mining in the province, and amending and consolidating the law regarding the assessment of property were also passed, as well as much railway legislation. Altogether the session was prolific in statutes calculated to promote materially the progress of the province.

In opening the third session of the first Parliament on the 3rd of November, 1869, His Excellency congratulated the members of the Legislature upon the bounteous harvest and the activity in trade and commerce which was everywhere evident. He was pleased to report that the arbitrators appointed to adjust financial matters between Upper and Lower Canada had entered upon their duties and were making good progress. Gratifying results were announced from the measures taken to induce European immigrants to settle in Ontario, and the recommendation made that even more liberal terms be extended to immigrants. The uncertainty with regard to land titles was made the subject of extended reference. The impression prevailed that there was scarcely a sale of land in arrears of taxes made since 1830 that could be regarded as valid.

The better terms conceded to Nova Scotia by the Dominion in order to reconcile that province to Confederation, evoked the opposition of the Ontario Liberals led by Mr. Blake and Mr. McKellar, and at this session Mr. Blake submitted a series of thirteen resolutions in which expression was given to his feeling. Emphasis was laid in these resolutions on the fact that Ontario had accepted the Union Act in the belief that the financial arrangements therein embodied were final, and that the sums granted to the

provinces were in full settlement of all future demands on Canada, that the public service of each province was to be provided for out of the revenues thereof and not out of the revenues of Canada, which were to be appropriated to the public service of Canada solely. It had been a cause of complaint that the general funds had been applied to local purposes, and it was expected that the financial arrangements made with the provinces by the British North America Act would remove the grievance complained of for the future. It was also claimed that the financial arrangements made by the Confederation Act between Canada and the several provinces could not be changed by the Parliament of Canada nor without the assent of the several provinces concerned. The thirteenth resolution stated that in the opinion of the House, the interests of the country required such legislation as might remove all color for the assumption by the Parliament of Canada of the power to disturb the financial relations established by the Union Act as between Canada and the several provinces. The government was severely pushed in the debate on these resolutions, and accepted the thirteenth which was accordingly carried on a division of 64 to 12.

During the session provision was made for the advance of public money to promote the improving of lands by works of drainage. Parry Sound was erected into a temporary judicial district to be called the District of Parry Sound. Municipal institutions were established in the District of Algoma. The Toronto, Simcoe and Muskoka Junction Railway was incorporated. Much railway Legislation was passed.

Early in 1871 Parliament voted the sum of \$25,000 in aid of the sufferers by the recent Ottawa fires, and the sum of \$5,000 to the sufferers by the Saguenay fires. On the 2nd of February, 1871, Mr. Blake moved, seconded by Mr. McKellar, "that the cold-blooded murder, for his outspoken loyalty to the Queen, of Thomas Scott, lately a resident of this province, and an emigrant thence to the North-West, has impressed this House with a deep feeling of sorrow and indignation, and in the opinion of this House every effort should be made to bring to trial the perpetrators of this great crime, who as yet go unwhipped of justice." The government did not accept this resolution, but submitted an amendment deploring the untimely

fate of Scott, regretting the escape of Riel and his co-murderers, and expressing satisfaction in the efforts made by the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba in issuing warrants for their arrest, feeling at the same time that it would be unwise and inexpedient to interfere with the prerogative which properly belonged to another government and to discuss a question over which the House had no control. The government amendment carried on a vote of 47 to 28. An Act was passed in 1871 incorporating the Credit Valley Railway Company.

The writs for the second general election for Ontario were issued on the 25th of February, 1871, returnable on the 14th of March, when the Opposition made heavy gains. The House met on the 7th of December, 1871, and the strength of the rival parties was at first uncertain. The Hon. R. W. Scott was elected Speaker. In the debate on the address in reply to the speech from the Throne, the government was defeated by 40 to 33. A direct vote of want of confidence was then moved by Alexander Mackenzie and carried by 37 to 36. Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald thereupon resigned, and on the 20th of December Mr. Edward Blake formed the first Liberal Government of Ontario. Mr. Blake did not accept a portfolio. His colleagues were: Adam Crooks, Attorney-General; Alexander Mackenzie, Provincial Treasurer; R. W. Scott, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Archibald McKellar, Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works; Peter Gow, Provincial Secretary. Mr. James George Currie, member for Welland, was elected Speaker. In this session an Act was passed providing that no member could hold a seat in the Legislative Assembly while at the same time holding a seat in the Dominion Parliament, one result of which was the withdrawal of Edward Blake and Alexander Mackenzie from the Ontario House, both having selected the House of Commons.

In June, 1872, Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald died, and he was succeeded in the leadership of the Conservative party by the Hon. Matthew C. Cameron, his old colleague. In October, 1872, Edward Blake and George Brown waited upon Vice-Chancellor Mowat and proposed that he should re-enter the political arena as the leader of the Ontario Government. Mr. Mowat hesitated, and later in the day Mr. Mackenzie joined in urging the proposal. After serious consideration he consented, and on October 23rd





HON. EDWARD BLAKE.



HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.



MOWAT AND HIS EARLY COLLEAGUES.



Mr. Blake placed his own and Mr. Mackenzie's resignations in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, who sent for Mr. Mowat. His Cabinet consisted of: Oliver Mowat, Attorney-General and Prime Minister; Adam Crooks, Provincial Treasurer; Archibald McKellar, Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works; R. W. Scott, Commissioner of Crown Lands; T. B. Pardee, Provincial Secretary and Registrar.

Mr. George Perry resigned his seat in North Oxford in favor of Mr. Mowat, who issued his first address to that constituency on the 21st of November, 1872. He was elected by acclamation on the 29th of November and continued to sit for the same constituency until July, 1896, when he joined the Laurier Government at Ottawa as Minister of Justice, with a seat in the Senate.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### THE MOWAT GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Oliver Mowat met his first session of the Legislature on January 8th, 1873, when the province had six years' experience of the working of Confederation. It was a session when the construction of railways, the improving of agricultural lands, the better administration of justice in the courts of the province and the amending of the municipal laws, received considerable attention. A stand was also taken by the government in the matter of provincial rights in so far as the disallowance power by the Dominion Government was exercised. The question involved in the settling of the northern and western boundaries of the province also loomed up at this time. The University of Toronto was reorganized, the powers of convocation having been restored, the much disputed Act respecting the appointment of Queen's Counsel by the province, was passed, and precedence at the Bar settled. The conditions which grew up under the operation of the Municipal Loan Fund Act were unsatisfactory, and legislation effecting a final settlement was enacted. In the various sessions of the first Parliament steps were taken towards the widening of the electoral franchise and for law reform. In November of 1873 the Hon. R. W. Scott resigned the Commissionership of Crown Lands to enter the new Liberal Government at Ottawa, and he was succeeded by the Hon. T. B. Pardee, and to the position of Provincial Secretary and Registrar Mr. Christopher Finlay Fraser, member for South Grenville, was called.

In November of 1873 Lieutenant-Governor Howland retired and was succeeded as Lieutenant-Governor by the Hon. John Willoughby Crawford. Mr. Crawford was the son of the Hon. George Crawford, Senator of the Dominion, and was born in the County of Cavan, Ireland, in 1817. At the age of 7 he settled in Canada and was called to the Bar in 1839, attaining eminence in banking and commercial law. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the



5th Battalion of the Canadian militia, was President of the Toronto and Nipissing Railway and President of the Royal Canadian Bank. He was elected for East Toronto in 1861, and after Confederation represented South Leeds in the House of Commons in 1867, continuing as member for that constituency until his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor. He died on the 13th day of May, 1875, in office, and was succeeded by the Hon. Donald Alexander Macdonald, a brother of John Sandfield Macdonald, who was born at St. Raphael's, Canada, in 1816. Like many of the Glengarrians he became a successful railway contractor, and gave service in the municipal sphere as warden for the Counties of Glengarry and Dundas. He entered Parliament for the County of Glengarry in 1857. After the confederation of the provinces he represented the same county in the House of Commons. In 1872 he was Postmaster-General, an office which he held until his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Ontario. He continued in office until the 29th of June, 1880, when he retired from public life, and lived at Montreal until the 10th of June, 1896, when he died there.

In the spring of 1874 Mr. C. F. Fraser became Commissioner of Public Works, that Department having then been reorganized. In this position he continued until 1894, when he retired from political life. The Hon. Mr. Currie was succeeded in the Speakership by Mr. R. M. Wells, member for South Bruce. An Act which raised a point of jurisdiction between the Dominion and the province was that respecting escheats and forfeitures passed in 1874, in connection with which the Andrew Mercer case became famous. The revision and consolidation of the public general statutes affecting the province of Ontario was undertaken, the Commission consisting of Chief Justice Draper, Justices Burton and Patterson with Messrs. Thomas Langton, C. R. W. Biggar and R. E. Kingsford. Mr. Justice Moss, Vice-Chancellor Blake and Judge Gowan were subsequently added.

At the last session of the second Legislature which ended on the 21st of December, 1874, a redistribution of seats took place, the membership being increased from 82 to 88 on the basis of the 1871 census. Parliament was dissolved on the 23rd of December, 1874, and the general election took place on the 18th of January, 1875. The financial transactions of the government formed the chief feature of the platform of the Opposition, it

being claimed that the Sandfield Macdonald surplus had been unduly encroached upon. The government's defence was that the increased expenditure was owing to new public buildings, public works, and the development of natural resources, and that the revenues kept pace. The government was sustained by a large majority, a number of acclamations being placed to their credit. The Hon. William McDougall entered the House for South Simcoe and was ranged on the Opposition side.

The first session of the third Legislature opened on the 24th of November, 1875, when the Hon. R. M. Wells was elected Speaker. It is interesting to note that at this time Mr. Meredith appears as deputy leader of the Opposition. A most important Act at this session was that known as the Crooks' Act, a new departure in the direction of government control over the liquor traffic. Under its provisions license commissioners and inspectors were appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor for the administration of a license law. The number of licenses in any municipality was limited, the fees increased, hotel accommodation defined and other details provided for. An important Act was passed also at this session by which the House was clothed with power to compel by warrant of its Speaker, the attendance of witnesses and the production of papers, protecting the members and officers of the Assembly from arrest on civil process during any session and for twenty days before and after such session, prohibiting any member of the House from receiving directly or indirectly any fee for drafting, advising upon, promoting or opposing any bill, resolution or other matter submitted or intended to be submitted to the House or any committee thereof, and any barrister, solicitor or attorney being the professional partner of a member, from accepting any such fee or reward under a penalty of \$500 over and above the amount of the fee.

During this session an important change was effected in the system of education by an enactment which substituted a Department of Education for the Council of Public Instruction, by which the office of Minister of Education was created. In a letter to Mr. Sandfield Macdonald in 1869 Dr. Ryerson advised that the Department of Education should be placed on the same footing as the other great departments of the government. He proposed that the educational system of the province should be unified from the

Provincial University to the elementary school, under the control of a Minister of the Crown, and on his voluntary retirement in 1878 the proposal was carried into effect. The change was not effected, however, without considerable discussion and opposition in the House. The danger of undue political influence was pointed out by the members of the Opposition, but the principle of the bill was supported by 45 to 25 of the members. The average majority of the government in thirty-two divisions of a party character was 22, or one-fourth of the entire House. In 1877 the work of consolidating the statutes of the province was completed. From the establishment of the Department of Education, the Hon. Adam Crooks acted as Minister in addition to being Provincial Treasurer. In 1877 he resigned the treasurer-ship, and was succeeded by the Hon. S. C. Wood, the Provincial Secretary, whose portfolio was conferred on Mr. A. S. Hardy, member for South Brant. This year, the position of Minister of Justice in the Dominion Cabinet was offered to Mr. Mowat as successor to Edward Blake, and was declined.

Some of the legislation passed in 1878 which deserves mention dealt with the magistracy, in which provision was made for the temporary appointment of police magistrates for the better enforcement of the Canada Temperance Act; an Act to give finality to voters' lists in the Parliamentary elections; an Act for the winding up of joint stock companies, bringing the law more in accord with the English practice; and an important Act to preserve the forests from destruction by fire, by which the Lieutenant-Governor was empowered to declare certain portions of the province, containing valuable pine timber, to be fire districts under special regulations.

This year Mr. W. R. Meredith, the member for London, was chosen as leader of the Opposition, the Hon. M. C. Cameron having been, on the 15th of November, 1878, appointed a Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench. The deputy leader of the Opposition was the Hon. Alexander Morris, Q.C., the well known lawyer, writer and statesman. William Ralph Meredith was born on the 31st of March, 1840, in the Township of Westminster, County of Middlesex, and was the son of John Cook Meredith, a native of Dublin and a graduate of Trinity College. The son was educated at the London

Grammar school and at Toronto University, from which he graduated in law and was called to the Bar in 1861 and began the practice of his profession in London where he soon became established as a leading lawyer, especially in Chancery work. He was elected a Bencher of the Law Society of Ontario in 1871 and created a Q. C. in 1876. In 1872 he was elected as member for London in the Ontario Legislature, as a Liberal-Conservative and soon took rank as one of the ablest of its members. He acted as deputy leader of the Opposition to the Hon. M. C. Cameron, and on the elevation of the latter to the Bench became leader. His work in the House was always of a high order, and much of the legislation passed during his time bears the impress of his views. From the political arena in which he served so well, he was, in 1894, called to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas division of the High Court of Justice for Ontario, a position which he still worthily adorns.

In the session of 1879 important changes were made in the qualification of jurors, the mode of their selection and the number required to be selected, and the law regarding grand juries for the courts of Oyer and Terminer and general jail delivery was amended, effecting a substantial reduction in the yearly outlay for the administration of justice by the county councils of the province.

The general election of 1879 was held on June 12th, the financial administration of the government being again the leading plank in the platform of the Opposition. The government was victorious at the polls, increasing its majority to 25. Among the new members were James Young, of North Brant, and John Dryden, of South Ontario, on the Liberal side, while the Conservatives were strengthened by the election of Donald McMaster, Q.C., in Glengarry. The first session of the new Parliament began on the 7th of January, 1880, when Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, member for Centre Wellington, was unanimously elected Speaker. A paragraph in the Lieutenant-Governor's speech referred to the projected new buildings for the Legislative chamber and public offices. This subject had been more or less spoken of from 1873, but in 1880 it came definitely before the House, and a resolution was carried, the division being 55 to 25 in favor of the government's



proposal to proceed with the erection of the buildings. The Creditors Relief Act was also passed during this session.

The Hon. John Beverley Robinson was appointed Lieutenant-Governor on the 8th of July 1880, and continued in office until the 31st of May, 1887. Mr. Robinson was the second son of Sir John Beverley Robinson, who figured so prominently in Canadian life from the early days of the century, and crowned his long and illustrious career as Chief Justice of Upper Canada. Mr. Robinson had a legal career and served the City of Toronto as alderman and Mayor and some years as city solicitor, and in the old Canadian Parliament as member for Toronto, and after Confederation for Algoma. He was President of the Council in the Cartier-Macdonald administration for a time.

The main legislation of the session following, 1881, which opened on January 11th, was the Judicature Act, a large measure of law reform which has been considered an enduring monument to the extensive knowledge of the law and great ability of Mr. Mowat. The famous rivers and streams bill was also passed at this session. The Bureau of Industries in connection with the Department of Agriculture was established in 1882. Its services to the various business enterprises of the province have been invaluable. A question of significance, in view of subsequent events, was raised by a series of resolutions declaring that, as many railways had been incorporated by the province and had received provincial and municipal subsidies, but nevertheless were endeavoring to escape from the control of the Provincial Legislature by obtaining Dominion recognition as being "works for the general advantage of Canada," the Legislature respectfully, but firmly, assert that no such railways should be declared to be for the general advantage of Canada, but that they should be left to be dealt with and controlled by the people of the province through the local Legislature; and that a railway constructed under provincial charter should not be declared a work for the general advantage of Canada without the consent of the Provincial Legislature by which it was incorporated, or at least without showing that such assent was refused on insufficient grounds.

At the session of 1883 a consolidation of the Municipal and Jurors' Act took place. The boundary dispute between the province and the Dominion

and the disallowance by the Dominion Government of the Rivers and Streams Act, were discussed; also motions by Mr. Meredith for the abolition of the office of Minister and the restoration of that of Chief Superintendent of Education, and in favor of the Boards of License Commissioners being appointed by the municipal councils and that these Commissioners have the power of appointing license inspectors.

The general elections for the next Parliament were held on the 27th of February, 1883, when the Liberals did not fare as well as at the two preceding general elections, the returns being 50 Liberals and 38 Conservatives. Among the uncontested elections were those of Mr. Mowat, Mr. James Young, North Brant; H. P. O'Connor, South Bruce, and W. R. Meredith, London. The election had been fought with considerable bitterness, and the campaign sheet entitled "Facts for Irish electors" made its appearance then. The Hon. S. C. Wood resigned the portfolio of Provincial Treasurer and was succeeded by Mr. James Young, whose health did not permit him to continue long in office, and he was succeeded during the same year by Mr. A. M. Ross, member for West Huron, who continued to be Provincial Treasurer until the 14th of June, 1890. The Queen versus Mercer escheat case, was argued by Mr. Mowat before the judicial committee of the Privy Council in July of this year, the decision being in favor of the province.

The breakdown in the health of the Hon. Adam Crooks necessitated his retirement from office, which caused a vacancy in the Department of Education. Mr. Mowat offered the position to the Rev. Principal Grant, of Kingston, who declined it. The vacancy was filled by the appointment of the Hon. George W. Ross, whose career had been intimately associated with the education of the province with which he had a perfect familiarity, and whose public services easily placed him among the leaders of the Liberal Opposition in the Dominion House. He brought ripe experience, energy and ability to the Department of Education and the system underwent a gradual and progressive development during his long tenure of office as Minister, while his entry to the government was a distinct strength to the Ministry. On the 21st of October, 1899, he became Prime Minister of Ontario, succeeding the Hon. A. S. Hardy.

In the session of 1884 steps were taken to reduce the number of saloon

licenses in accordance with the population of the municipalities granting them, and introducing the principle of local option, and a measure was also passed enabling married women to hold as separate property, all real and personal property possessed at the time of marriage or afterwards acquired separately from their husbands. This session, what was known as the "bribery plot" came to light. The Speaker read letters from Robert McKim and W. D. Balfour, members of the House, the first enclosing \$1,000 and the second \$800 alleged to have been given to the writers to bribe them to vote against the government. The Attorney-General stated that he believed a conspiracy was on foot to bribe Liberal members to support the Conservatives and thereby secure a majority of the House against the government. The members of the Opposition denied any knowledge of such a conspiracy and supported the Attorney-General's motion that the committee on Privileges and Elections investigate. The committee began the taking of evidence and then recommended that the investigation should be carried on by a Commission of Judges. This was concurred in and the report of the Commission was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council in January, 1885. The charge of conspiracy was found proven and the defendants were committed for trial by the police magistrate of Toronto on a charge of conspiring to corrupt members of the Legislature. In the trial which ensued the defendants were acquitted by the jury.

In 1884 the boundary dispute was practically settled, being a substantial victory for the province. The question is a large one and bristles with historical and legal points, but the net result was that the award issued by the arbitrators on August 3rd, 1878, contained a statement of the boundary line which was substantially correct, and finding thus, the Privy Council recommended the passage of an Imperial Act of Parliament to make the award binding and effectual, thus practically ending a legal fight of many years' standing, in the interests of the Province of Ontario.

In connection with what is known as the St. Catharines Milling and Lumber Company case, a constitutional question of importance came up between Ontario and the Dominion. The company had received timber licenses from the Dominion over limits lying south of the Wabigoon Lake, part of a large tract of land surrendered in 1873 by the Salteaux Indians

to the Dominion Government for the Crown. Similar licenses had been granted to others. Ontario claimed the right to the lands as being within her boundaries, and an action was taken to restrain the company from operating. The question of title to the lands was involved. The High Court gave judgment for the province and was sustained by the Court of Appeal for Ontario and the Supreme Court of Canada, and finally by the Privy Council. It was held that the Indian inhabitants were not the owners of the territory, that the land was vested in the Crown at the time of the Union, that the Indian title was a mere incumbrance and that the land with the timber and minerals was the property of the province, which, with the ownership, must assume all obligations involving the money payable to the Indians on account of their surrender of the land, part of which had been already paid by the Dominion Government.

The outbreak of the Riel Rebellion in the spring of 1885 aroused strong indignation throughout Ontario, and the call to arms was responded to by the militia most readily. In common with the troops from other places their duty was nobly done, and on their return public receptions testified both to the appreciation of the people for services well rendered to the call of duty and to their determination to maintain the integrity of the Dominion.

A great national undertaking, the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885, the last spike being driven on the 7th of November. The event was signalized by great rejoicings. Northern Ontario was traversed throughout its whole extent by the line, and a beginning made to open up its vast resources by railway communication.

In 1886 the Agriculture and Arts Act was amended and consolidated so as to meet the growing requirements of the farming interests. An important Act was passed to secure compensation to workmen on account of injuries. The law relating to separate schools was extensively amended.

The general elections of 1886 were held on the 28th of December. The questions dividing the parties were not new—the abolition of the numbered ballot, the better enforcement of the Temperance Act, labor questions and reform in the administration of Crown lands being urged by the Opposition. The close relations between the government and the Roman Catholics



of the province were described as the Lynch-Mowat concordat and were attacked, as were also the amendments made to the Separate School law in the years 1879, 1881 and 1885 as being too favorable to the Roman Catholic Church. In the course of the campaign the "Ross Bible" question was introduced, being objections taken to selections which had been agreed upon for use in the public schools by leading representatives of the churches and sanctioned for use by Mr. Ross as Minister of Education. The government took up an attitude of defence, explaining and justifying the acts of the administration. In the election, the government was sustained by a substantial majority, the numbers being 59 Liberals and 31 Conservatives, a government gain from 12 to 28. In the new Parliament Mr. Jacob Baxter, member for Haldimand, succeeded Col. Clarke as Speaker of the House.

On the retirement of the Hon. John Beverley Robinson, Sir Alexander Campbell became Lieutenant-Governor on the 1st of June, 1887. He was a resident of Kingston, was at one time a law student in the office of John A. Macdonald and afterwards a partner with Mr. Macdonald, and was an able lawyer. In 1858 he was elected to the Legislative Council and was chosen Speaker of that body in 1863. He was Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Taché-Macdonald Ministry. In 1867 he was called to the Senate and was Postmaster-General in the first government of the newly formed Dominion, becoming afterwards Minister of the Interior, Minister of Militia and Minister of Justice, in which latter position he was succeeded by Sir John Thompson, on the 25th of September, 1885, becoming again Postmaster-General until the 27th of January, 1887.

The Interprovincial Conference at Quebec in 1887, consisting of Ministers from the various provinces, was presided over by Mr. Mowat, the senior Provincial Premier. Several amendments to the British North America Act were recommended, among them being that the right to disallow Provincial Acts should be transferred from the Dominion to the Imperial Government as before Confederation, that better provision should be made for determining the validity of provincial statutes, that local works and undertakings should not, without the concurrence of the Provincial Legislature incorporating them, be transferred from Provincial to Dominion jurisdiction, that the Lieutenant-Governor of each province should have the

same power to pardon an offender convicted under a Provincial Act as the Governor-General has in case of convictions under a Dominion Act, that a certain number of members of the Senate should be appointed by the Provincial Legislatures, that the subject of bankruptcy and insolvency should be within provincial jurisdiction, that the schedule of subsidies fixed by the B.N.A. Act should be amended and the amended schedule declared by Imperial enactment to be final and absolute and beyond the power of the Federal Government to alter, and a resolution in favor of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States.

In keeping with the resolution regarding the commuting and remitting of sentences by the Lieutenant-Governor, an Act was passed by the Ontario House in 1888 declaring that the Lieutenant-Governor has and had that power within the province. As there was doubt as to the constitutionality of this Act, correspondence took place between the Attorney-General of Ontario and the Attorney-General of Canada, Sir John Thompson, resulting in a test case being submitted to the Chancery division of the High Court of Ontario, the decision being that the statute was *intra vires* of the province. This judgment was unanimously confirmed by the Court of Appeal for Ontario, by the Supreme Court of Canada and by the Privy Council, the result being that the Lieutenant-Governor of the province was declared to be as much the representative of the Crown for all purposes of Provincial Government, as the Governor-General himself for all purposes of the Dominion Government.

In 1888 a movement in favor of commercial union between the United States and Canada was launched and made considerable headway among the business people in a period of depression of trade and agriculture. Erastus Wiman in the United States and Goldwin Smith in Canada were its most distinguished advocates, but politically its effects were not materially felt, while commercially it soon passed out of view with the return of prosperous times.

An important departure in the history of Ontario agriculture was made in 1888 when the Agricultural and Arts Association was absorbed in the Department of Agriculture then formed with the Hon. Charles Drury as the first Minister. On the 19th of January, 1889, the Hon. T. B. Pardee

resigned the position of Commissioner of Crown Lands and was succeeded by the Hon. A. S. Hardy, who in turn was succeeded as Provincial Secretary by Col. J. M. Gibson, member for Hamilton. The Legislature opened on the 24th of January, 1889. The Legislature of 1890 was opened on the 30th of January, when an important Act was passed for expediting the decision of constitutional and other provincial questions by a summary reference to the High Court of Justice or the Court of Appeal.

On the 14th of February, 1890, the Toronto university was burned, and the Ontario Government gave a grant of \$160,000 towards the rebuilding. The great loss elicited much sympathy and the public subscriptions towards the work of restoration were liberal. Parliament prorogued on the 7th of April.

The issue between the parties in the general election of 1890 which took place on the 5th of June included the question raised by the "Equal Rights Movement," a movement which gained much strength in Ontario among Protestants of both parties. It arose from the refusal of the Dominion Government to disallow the Jesuits Estates Act, and the Equal Righters contended that undue political favor had been extended to the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, K.C., in the Dominion House, was the political leader of the movement, while Principal Caven headed the laymen's movement in Ontario. The Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches were greatly stirred and agitation accompanied by conventions and public gatherings continued for years. Mr. Meredith did not accept the Equal Rights platform in its entirety and therefore did not secure the full support of the movement, and Mr. Mowat carried the country by 57 to 34 members.

In 1890 a reorganization of the Cabinet took place by the acceptance of portfolios by the Hon. Richard Harcourt, as Provincial Treasurer, and John Dryden, as Minister of Agriculture, and E. H. Bronson without portfolio.

Shortly after the general election the Protestant Protective Association party and the Patrons of Industry entered the politics of the province and considerably disturbed the balance of the parties. On the assembling of the House on the 11th of February, 1891, Mr. Thomas Ballantyne, member for the south riding of Perth, was elected Speaker.

During the session of 1891 the Conservatives strongly advocated the abolition of the numbered ballot. The form of the ballot on which the votes for candidates for the Legislature were marked as adopted in 1874 was numbered with a corresponding number on the counterfoil. This number was entered in the poll-book opposite the voter's name when he received the ballot from the returning officer in the polling booth. It is obvious that by these numbers a vote could be traced and the secrecy of the ballot violated. For the numbered ballot, it was said, that the possibility of tracing the vote prevented impersonation and false votes from being cast. The Conservatives asserted that, in the hands of an unscrupulous deputy returning officer, the number on the ballot might remove the protection of secrecy, and popular sympathy was with the Conservatives, but an appeal to abolish the numbering, brought in by Mr. A. F. Wood was defeated in the House.

The General Mining Act of this year was very important, consolidating or superseding, as the case might be, the laws hitherto in force, and enunciating the principles which held the field until 1906, and under which the Bureau of Mines was established as an important branch of the government service.

The death of Sir John A. Macdonald, one of Ontario's most distinguished sons and Prime Minister of Canada, took place on the 6th of June, 1891. The event profoundly stirred the national feeling, and the tributes to his great services to the country were innumerable and sincere. The obsequies were celebrated at Ottawa and Kingston, where the remains were interred in Cataraqui cemetery on the 11th of June.

An event of great importance to the business world was the opening of the St. Clair tunnel on the 19th of September, 1891, by Sir Henry Tyler, President of the Grand Trunk Railway Company. The tunnel connects the Grand Trunk system under the St. Clair River between Sarnia and Port Huron, and is a work of great engineering skill and achievement.

An important measure dealing with the Succession Duties was passed in 1892 by which a tax was imposed on property passing either by will or intestacy. Estates not exceeding \$10,000 or property bequeathed for religious, charitable or educational purposes, and property passing to a father, mother, husband, wife, child, grandchild, daughter-in-law or son-



in-law of the deceased not exceeding \$100,000 were exempt. Estates valued from \$100,000 to \$200,000 pay 2½%; if more than \$200,000, 5%; and property exceeding \$10,000 passing to a lineal ancestor other than a father, mother, brother, sister, uncle, aunt or the descendants of any of them, 5%; estates exceeding \$10,000 passing to any other person than those enumerated, 10%. From these duties considerable revenue was derived. It was devoted to the maintenance of institutions for the insane, deaf and dumb and of hospitals and charities. An Act respecting insurance corporations was passed this year. For the first time, insurance corporations under Dominion license or charter were required to register in the province, and the same was required of all friendly societies. At the time, a great many societies doing insurance and sick and funeral benefit business were in existence on an unsound financial basis and practically independent of government control. Many of these, not being able to meet the requirements of the Act, were compelled to abandon their business, but what they lost the public more than gained in the protection afforded under the Act. This Act, with other insurance Acts, was embodied in the Ontario Insurance Act of 1897, which is the present law on the subject. The consolidating of the Municipal and Assessment Acts of this year were large and important measures. In 1892 the legality of the appointment by the province, of Queen's Counsel, was made the subject of a test case before the Court of Appeal for Ontario. The judgment, issued in 1896, upheld the jurisdiction of the province in the matter.

On the 17th of April, 1892, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie died at the age of seventy. His health had been declining for some years previously, and latterly he was unable to take an active interest in public affairs. He was a native of Logierait, Perthshire, Scotland. His father was an architect and contractor, and Alexander was designed for the same calling, beginning with a practical training in masonry. He received a thorough English education, passing from the parish school to the secondary schools at Dunkeld and Perth. The early death of his father prevented him from continuing his education on a more liberal scale, and then he found his knowledge of masonry useful. He settled in Kingston in 1842, and shortly afterwards began the business of a builder and contractor at

Sarnia. In 1852 he published and edited the *Lambton Shield*, and in 1861 was elected to Parliament for Lambton. From the very beginning of his political career he took the position of a leader on the Liberal side. He was a singularly able debater, to clear thinking adding a notably lucid style, and at times was capable of high flights of eloquence. From 1867 to 1873 he was the Liberal leader in the House of Commons, and in the latter year succeeded Sir John Macdonald as Prime Minister of Canada, a position he occupied until the 16th of October, 1878, when his government was defeated on the question of the National Policy. Shortly afterwards he resigned the leadership of the Liberal party to Mr. Edward Blake.

Sir Alexander Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of the province, died on the 24th of May, 1892, in his seventy-first year, and on the 28th of the same month the Hon. George A. Kirkpatrick was appointed to the vacancy. The latter was born in Kingstons on the 13th of September, 1841, and after a brilliant course as a student, graduated with high honors in Trinity University, Dublin, attaining the position of Moderator and silver medalist for law, literature and political economy. He was called to the Bar in 1865, became Queen's Counsel in 1880 and received the degree of LL.D. in 1884 from his Alma Mater. He was interested in military affairs and attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the militia. He succeeded his father as member for Frontenac in the House of Commons in 1870 and was elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1883.

The death of Sir Daniel Wilson, President of University College, Toronto, on the 6th of August, 1892, removed a striking figure from the educational life of the province. Sir Daniel, who had reached his seventy-seventh year, had been for a long period closely identified, not only with the university in which he was a Professor, but with educational interests generally so far as they affected Ontario, as well as with the literary and social movements of his time. He was succeeded in the Presidency by President Loudon, to whom higher education in Ontario owes a debt difficult to estimate at its true value except by those most familiar with the great expansion which has taken place under his regime.

The chief event of the year 1893 was the formal opening of the new building of the Legislature which took place on the 4th of April, the day

on which the Legislature assembled for the year. The ceremony attracted a large concourse of people and the buildings, so spacious and beautiful, were greatly admired. After a good deal of preliminary difficulties had been overcome between the years 1880 and 1886, it was decided to proceed with the erection of the buildings under the direction of Mr. R. A. Waite, of Buffalo, and in 1886 contracts were let and the work of excavation commenced. In 1892 the building was practically completed at a cost of \$1,300,000. The buildings are beautifully situated near the southern end of the Queen's Park, partially covering the site of old King's College. The centre facade measures 120 feet by 125 feet and rises to a height of nearly 200 feet. The walls are massive, and the effect of the whole is very impressive. The design is of the Romanesque type, the carved surfaces following the Celtic and Indo-Germanic schools. The stone is Credit Valley sandstone of reddish brown tinge of subdued color. The arrangement of the public offices is admirable, and the Legislative chamber is both commodious and effectively furnished and decorated. The buildings form one of a group of fine buildings which have sprung up in connection with the University, and have the advantage not only of a superb outlook, but of pleasant surroundings. In front are the statues of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, George Brown, Sir Oliver Mowat and the monument raised to the volunteers who fell in the North-West Rebellion, while at a short distance from the buildings and still in front and in view, is the statue of Sir John Macdonald, and to the west the monument to the volunteers who fell in the Fenian Raid.

The opening of the Legislature and of the buildings was a joint ceremony gracefully performed by Lieutenant-Governor Kirkpatrick, followed by the presentation to Sir Oliver Mowat of a life size portrait of himself from the brush of Robert Harris, Montreal. Among the statutes passed in 1893 was an Act respecting the registration of lands, containing some important features, and an Act to enable the electors of the province to pronounce on the desirability of prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale as a beverage of intoxicating liquors. This Act was known as the Prohibition Plebiscite, and the question was submitted to the electorate at

the municipal elections for 1894, when a substantial majority voted in favor of prohibition, showing an advance of popular opinion in that direction. An important measure also was the Act for the prevention of cruelty to and better protection of children, under which a branch of the public service known as that for the care of neglected and dependent children, was established. Legislation creating Councils of Conciliation and Arbitration for settling industrial disputes was enacted in 1894, a measure designed to meet the demands of the laboring classes.

The Hon. Christopher F. Fraser, Minister of Public Works, resigned from the Ministry on the 28th of January, 1894, through ill-health, to which he succumbed on the 24th of August. He was succeeded on the 30th of May by Mr. William Harty, member for Kingston.

On the 26th of June, 1894, the general elections were held. The contest was complicated by the presence of four parties in the field, the Liberals, the Conservatives, the Patrons and Independents, and the campaign was waged with great vigor. The government was sustained by a majority of 12 over the other three parties combined. In the new Parliament beginning the 21st of February, 1895, the Patrons gave a practically unanimous support to the government, bringing the division of parties to 62 to 25. Mr. Wm. Douglas Balfour, member for Essex, was elected Speaker of the Legislature. During the session of 1895 the portfolio of Commissioner of Agriculture, as it had been from 1888, was changed to that of Minister of Agriculture with the functions, duties and powers usual to a member of the Executive. The Bureau of Industries was connected with the Department of Agriculture. The Judicature Act was further amended and consolidated, the provisions of the measure dealing with the constitution of the Supreme Court, the jurisdiction of the High Court and Court of Appeal; rules of law; sittings and distribution of business, and many matters of procedure, as well as with county courts and county judges. This was followed by an Act for diminishing appeals and otherwise improving the procedure of the courts, a useful Act known as the Law Courts Act. There was also an Act passed respecting electric railways, dealing largely with the organization and powers of electric companies and the operating of electric railways.



On the 13th of July, 1896, Sir Oliver Mowat became Minister of Justice in the Dominion Cabinet, withdrawing from the Premiership of Ontario after an occupancy of the office extending from 1872, a period of twenty-four years. Sir Oliver was born at Kingston, Ontario, on the 22nd of July, 1820. John Mowat, his father, was a native of Canisby, Caithness-shire, Scotland, who settled in Kingston in 1816. His wife was Helen Levack, also a native of Caithness. Among Sir Oliver's fellow pupils were Sir John A. Macdonald and the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron. He studied law in John A. Macdonald's office at Kingston, and with Robert E. Burns, subsequently Judge Burns in Toronto. He was called to the Bar in 1841, and practised in Toronto, in which city he served a term in the municipal council as alderman for St. Lawrence's ward in 1857, and in 1858 for St. James' ward. His practice rapidly became extensive, and in 1856 he was created Queen's Counsel. In 1857 he was elected to the House of Assembly for South Ontario. In the Double Shuffle Administration of George Brown in 1858 he was Provincial Secretary. In 1863 he was Postmaster-General in the Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion Ministry, and in the Taché-Macdonald Administration he occupied the same position. He took part in the Quebec Confederation conference and in 1864 became Vice-Chancellor of Upper Canada. In 1872 he left the Bench and re-entered political life as Premier of the province, the affairs of which he administered with ability until his retirement in 1896. In 1892 he received the honor of knighthood (K.C.M.G.). In 1897 he was advanced to the honor of (G.C.M.G.); and during his public life had many evidences of the good-will of his fellow citizens. After acting as Minister of Justice until the fall of 1897 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, a position he held until his death on the 19th of April, 1903. Sir Oliver was a man of great ability, of high intellectual qualities, with keen insight into human nature and lively sympathy with popular aspirations, yet of a cautious and conservative frame of mind. He was a master of statescraft, and as a politician was possessed of uncommon sagacity.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### POLITICAL CHANGES.

The Hon. A. S. Hardy succeeded Sir Oliver Mowat as Prime Minister of Ontario on the 14th of July, 1896. Mr. Hardy was born at Mount Pleasant, in the county of Brant, on the 14th of December, 1837, and was descended from U. E. Loyalist stock. He was called to the Bar in 1865, and practised at Brantford, rapidly establishing a reputation as an able lawyer and acquiring a lucrative practice. In 1867 he became Solicitor for the town of Brantford, and in 1875 a Bencher of the Law Society of Ontario. In 1873 he entered the Legislature for South Brant, succeeding E. B. Wood. In 1877 he joined the Ministry as Provincial Secretary and Registrar. In 1889 he became Commissioner of Crown Lands, and on assuming the position of Prime Minister became Attorney-General, a portfolio he held until his retirement on the 21st of October, 1899, when he withdrew from political life and became Clerk of the Surrogate Court and Process, holding that office until his death, on the 13th of June, 1901. Mr. Hardy was an able speaker before the people, and a keen debater in the House. As a legislator he contributed considerably to the improvement of municipal law, in which he was well versed, and both as a member of the House and as a Minister he had many warm friends in both political parties.

The vacancy caused by the withdrawal of Sir Oliver Mowat and the promotion of Mr. Hardy was filled by the appointment of Mr. W. D. Balfour, the Speaker, as Provincial Secretary and Registrar. His term of office was very brief, his death taking place on the 19th of August, 1896, and he was succeeded by Mr. E. J. Davis, member for North York.

The Legislature of 1897 was opened by Colonel Gzowski, Administrator, and sat from February 10th to April 13th. Francis Eugene Alfred Evanturel, member for the county of Prescott, was elected Speaker. In consequence of the finding by the Judicial Committee of the

Privy Council, that the beds of all rivers and lakes (which had not been granted) were the property of the Province in which they were situated, with the waters and fish therein, and the sole right to issue fishery leases, licenses and permits to fish, and to receive fees therefor, was vested in the Province exclusively, an Act was passed by the Ontario Legislature in 1897 making provision for the administration of the fisheries by the Province, and creating a Department of Fisheries, under the administration of a Commissioner, in accordance with the powers declared to belong to the Province. Of the more important legislation of the session of 1897, the Acts consolidating and amending the Insurance Acts and those relating to loan corporations were notable.

On November 30th, 1897, the House met again, and sat until January 17th, 1898, when dissolution took place, and in the general election, which was held on the 1st of March, Mr. Hardy and the Liberal government was sustained by 50 to 44. A special session of the Legislature was held from the 3rd of August to the 12th of October, for the purpose of considering, first, the right of constables, or special constables appointed for the Provincial elections, to vote in these elections; secondly, because under the law regarding annual meetings of Parliaments, the Legislature must meet before the 16th of January, and the decisions regarding contested elections could scarcely be given and new elections held before that date, so that a large number of constituencies would be vacant (the law not allowing election trials to proceed while the Legislature is in session); third, to modify the Act of 1897 respecting fisheries so as to bring it into harmony with the decision on the fisheries question by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a decision which, while it awarded the property in the beds of lakes and rivers and the fish therein to the Provinces, divided the jurisdiction.

On the 2nd of November, 1898, James Thompson Garrow, member for West Huron, resigned, having joined the Ministry, and was re-elected. In this year also Hon. J. M. Gibson was returned for Wellington, having been defeated in Hamilton. The second session of the ninth Legislature met on February 1, 1899, and sat until April 1, with Mr. Hardy as Premier. On the 18th of October, Mr. Hardy resigned the Premiership

to accept the office of Surrogate Clerk and Clerk of Process, at Osgoode Hall, Toronto, on account of ill-health, and on the 21st of October a reconstruction of the Cabinet took place as follows:—Prime Minister and Treasurer, G. W. Ross; Attorney-General, J. M. Gibson; Minister of Education, Richard Harcourt; Commissioner of Crown Lands, E. J. Davis; Provincial Secretary, J. R. Stratton; Minister of Agriculture, John Dryden; Minister of Public Works, F. R. Latchford; Ministers without portfolio, J. T. Garrow and William Harty.

Hon. Geo. W. Ross, who now succeeded to the premiership, was born in Nairn, in the county of Middlesex, on the 18th of September, 1841, and receiving a first-class education, prepared himself for the teaching profession at an early age. His career as a student was brilliant, professional honors and diplomas falling to him with distinction. After some experience as a teacher, he became inspector of Public Schools for the county of Lambton and for the towns of Petrolea and Strathroy, in which capacity he brought about substantial improvement in the schools of his inspectorate. He was promoted to be inspector of Model Schools. The wider interests of education in the Province commanded his sympathy and service, and while still in the hey-day of his professional career he had become a conspicuous figure among the educationists of Western Ontario. He published and edited the Strathroy "Age" and Huron "Expositor." In 1872 he was returned for West Middlesex for the House of Commons. In 1883 he became Minister of Education as successor to the Hon. Adam Crooks, and, as stated, became Prime Minister and Treasurer of Ontario in 1899, at a time when the fortunes of his party were low and the outlook anything but bright. One of the most important planks announced by Mr. Ross, as part of the policy of his government, was the early settlement of the unoccupied lands of the Province and the projection of railways into Northern Ontario. His watchword: "Build up Ontario."

A formal declaration of war against Britain was made by the Transvaal government on the 11th of October, 1899, and on the 13th the Canadian government offered Great Britain one thousand troops for service in South Africa. On the day following, the government issued a militia order calling for one thousand volunteers to serve in the Transvaal war



for Great Britain. The order evoked extreme enthusiasm throughout the Dominion, and nowhere more than in the Province of Ontario. Applications for service poured in from far and near, many Canadians in the distant Western States and in the far Yukon hurrying back to their homes in order to offer their services. The result was the selection of a splendid body of men, whose departure was celebrated by demonstrations of popular enthusiasm. Organizations of ladies and societies supplied much useful material for ambulance use in the field. The troops were accompanied to the front by special staff correspondents from some of the leading Canadian newspapers.

The first contingent organized was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. D. Otter, of Toronto, with Lieutenant-Colonel L. Buchan, R.C.R.I., as Major and second in command, and Lieutenant-Colonel O. C. C. Pelletier, as Major; Major J. C. McDougall, R.C.R., as Adjutant; Major S. J. A. Denison, R.C.R., as Quartermaster; Drs. C. W. Wilson and E. Fiset, as medical officers, and three chaplains—Revs. J. Almond, J. F. Fullerton and P. M. O'Leary. The first contingent, which received the designation Second (Special Service) Battalion, Royal Canadian Regiment, embarked at Quebec on the 30th of October, 1899, and arrived at Capetown on the 29th of November. On the 16th of March, 1900, a contingent of reinforcements of one hundred men, under the command of Captain C. F. Winter and R. J. Boyd, embarked for the front.

On the 2nd of November, 1899, the Dominion government cabled to the Colonial Secretary reporting the deep emotion that had been caused in Canada by the reverses in South Africa, and offering a second contingent from Canada. The offer was declined for the time being, but on the 16th of December was accepted, and the Canadian Mounted Rifles, consisting of two battalions of mounted men with artillery, was immediately formed. The first battalion was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel F. L. Lessard, with Major T. D. B. Evans second in command, and the second battalion, under the command of L. W. Herchmer, Commissioner N.W.M.P., with Superintendent S. B. Steele second in command. The second battalion was recruited from the Northwest Territories. They left for the front in January of 1900. Following the first

and second contingents, went also Lord Strathcona's Horse recruited in Manitoba, the Northwest Territories and British Columbia, consisting of three service squadrons, numbering 512 rank and file, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel S. B. Steele.

The Ontario Legislature of 1900 met on the 14th of February, and sat until the 30th of April. Under an Act passed during this session, a Bureau of Labor was established for Ontario for the purpose of collecting labor statistics throughout the Province, and to mediate in disputes between labor and capital. During the same year the exploration of Northern Ontario was undertaken on a large scale, and for the first time the resources of the great clay belt were exhaustively investigated, and the agricultural as well as the mineral and water resources were made known to the world. In the session of 1901, from the 6th of February to the 15th of April, legislation was passed involving the incorporation of the Board of Trustees of the University of Toronto and University College, the separation of the Presidency of the University from that of University College, the reconstitution of the University Council and of the Senate, and the maintenance from the consolidated revenues of the Province of the Departments of Chemistry, Physics, Mineralogy and Geology, on the ground that advanced instruction in these subjects is concerned with the problem of the development of the mineral and other resources of the Province. This year Mr. Harty resigned as a member of the Cabinet.

In 1901 the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall made an extended tour of the great outlying parts of the British Empire and reached Canada on the 16th of September. Everywhere they were most loyally and enthusiastically received by the people. Landing at Quebec, they travelled westward by Montreal and Ottawa to the prairie Provinces and British Columbia. On their return they visited various points in Ontario, and on the 10th of October were received by enthusiastic demonstrations of welcome at Toronto, where addresses were presented to them on behalf of the Legislature, the municipality and many public organizations and institutions. On the day following, they reviewed 11,000 troops on the Exhibition grounds, which were thronged with enormous crowds of people eager to evince their loyalty to the Crown by their presence. The

city was magnificently decorated with special arches, floral and flag designs along the streets and electrical illuminations of the principal buildings and institutions, while in the evening pyrotechnical displays of fireworks of many dazzling colors produced an extremely brilliant scene.

In the session of 1902, which lasted from January 8th to March 17th, Mr. Ross introduced a bill for the prohibition of the liquor traffic, which was passed on the 15th of March. The operation of the Act was conditioned on the favorable result of a referendum, under which the question was submitted to a popular vote, to be effective only by a substantial majority of the ballots cast. The voting took place on the 4th of December, when the majority cast proved to be insufficient for bringing the Act into operation.

The general election for the Legislature took place on the 29th of May, 1902. The campaign leading thereto was remarkable for the vigor with which the great political parties fought out the issues between them. Mr. Whitney led the Conservative party with Mr. J. J. Foy, K.C., and Dr. Pyne, as his chief lieutenants. The purity of elections was placed in the forefront by the Opposition, who severely criticized the devious ways of the "machine politicians." Improvement in the system of education was also promised. On the other hand the government forces were led by Mr. Ross and his Ministers, prominently among them in the field being Mr. Stratton. The charges of the Opposition were denied, and the long record of the Liberal party was held up for the approval of the electorate. The result of the election was in favor of the Liberals, but with a small margin of four, and the Conservatives justly considered that they had at last come within measurable reach of political power.

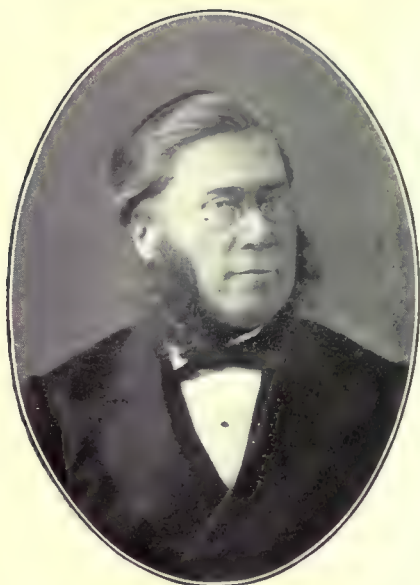
On the 9th of August, 1902, the coronation of King Edward and Queen Alexandra took place. Ontario was represented at London by the Hon. Geo. W. Ross, the Prime Minister.

The first session of the tenth Legislature was opened on the 10th of March, 1903, by Chief Justice Moss, Administrator, and sat until June 27th. Mr. Evanturel, the late Speaker, joined the government as Minister without portfolio, and was succeeded as Speaker by William A. Charlton. Immediately after the opening of the session, a sensation was

caused throughout the country by a statement made from his place in the House by Mr. Gamey, member for Manitoulin, that an attempt to bribe him to vote with the Liberal party had been made, and a charge that Mr. Stratton, the Provincial Secretary, was a party to the proposal. He handed his leader, Mr. Whitney, \$1,000 in a sealed envelope, being the money by which it had been attempted to bribe him. The charges were referred to a special Royal Commission of High Court Judges for investigation and report, a course which was strongly objected to by Mr. Whitney and the Opposition, who preferred an investigation by the Legislature. While the investigation was proceeding the House adjourned from the 31st of March until the 21st of April. The Royal Commission reported to the House on the 4th of June, 1903, the summing up being that Mr. Gamey had no personal intercourse with any member of the Ministry except the Provincial Secretary, and in so far as he was concerned, that the corrupt charges stood unproved. Legislation was largely devoted to measures relating to municipal law and local municipal institutions. Provision was made for the establishment of a Bureau for the Archives of the Province, in which the government records originating in the Departments and public institutions, and papers and documents of historical interest in connection with the settlement and development of the Province, would be preserved, classified and rendered accessible to investigators and students of history.

The session was closed on the 27th of June, 1903, by His Honor, Mr. William Mortimer Clark, K.C., who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor on the 21st of April, 1903. He is the son of the late John Clark, the founder of the Caledonian Bank of Scotland. His Honor was born on the 24th of May, 1836 at Aberdeen, and was educated at the West End Academy, and Marischal College of that city. He studied law at Edinburgh University, and was admitted as a Writer to H. M. Signet (W.S.). He came to Canada in 1859, and was called to the Bar of Ontario in 1861. He was created a Q.C. in 1887. He always stood high in his profession. Politically he has been a moderate Liberal and a staunch British loyalist. In the Equal Rights movement he took a strong position as a supporter of Mr. Dalton McCarthy. He has been a liberal





HON. SIR OLIVER MOWAT, G.C.M.G.  
Lieutenant Governor.



HIS HONOR W. MORTIMER CLARK, K.C.  
Lieutenant Governor.



patron of literature, art and scientific research, being interested in learned societies, and especially in Toronto University as a Senator. To charity and benevolence he has been a constant friend, and to the Presbyterian Church, of which he is a member, he has been a tower of strength, his particular interest being in Knox College. Of its Board of Management he has been chairman since 1880. A fervid Scot he is a past President of St. Andrew's Society, and a learned student of the history and literature of his native country. In 1866 he married Helen, sister of the late John Gordon, president of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway. Their occupancy of Government House has been distinguished by the exercise of rare hospitality dispensed with a dignity and charm which have endeared them to the people.

The second session of the tenth Legislature was opened on the 14th of January, 1904, and lasted until the 26th of April, during which considerable legislation of importance was placed on the statute books, including a municipal taxation measure, an Assessment Act and Provincial guarantees to the James' Bay Railway. Mr. Whitney strongly advocated more liberal support to the University of Toronto, and concluded his speech on the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, by the statement,—“We do not propose to take any revenge for exclusion from office. We propose to do justice to the reasonable and righteous demand of the University of Toronto, and to furnish school books to the children. We will trust the people of Ontario, and in doing so we will believe that the people of Ontario will trust us in return.” The Premier replied that he believed in meeting the demands of that institution gradually, as the resources of the Province grew. There had been remarkable expansion in the University of recent years, rendered possible by the assistance given by the government, and it would continue to give liberally. During the fall of the previous year the Clergue industries at Sault Ste. Marie collapsed, and the government helped the company with a guarantee of \$2,000,000, under which wages and pressing claims were met, and steps taken for the reorganization of the industries affected. Following the session a commission was appointed, consisting of H. J. Pettypiece, M.P.P., Judge Archibald Bell and Professor Adam

Shortt to investigate the question of railway taxation within the Province, in answer to the charge that the railways were not paying their fair share of taxation, and that their property should be assessed on the same basis as other property, by the various municipalities. Under the new railway legislation which had been passed, the Railway Committee of the Ontario government, consisting of Messrs. Latchford, Harcourt and Dryden, was appointed in 1904.

The political strain was bearing heavily on the Liberal party, whose majority in the House was still further reduced during the year, and Mr. Ross decided to make an early appeal to the country. On the 17th of November Mr. Stratton, Provincial Secretary, resigned from the Ministry, and a reconstruction took place as follows: Mr. Ross, Premier and Treasurer; Mr. Latchford, Attorney-General; Mr. Harcourt, Minister of Education; Mr. Charlton, Commissioner of Public Works; Mr. Dryden, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. A. G. McKay, member for North Grey, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Mr. George P. Graham, member for Brockville, Provincial Secretary; Messrs. Gibson and Ewanturel, Ministers without portfolio. These changes were announced on the 22nd of November, and on the 23rd a Liberal convention was held at Toronto at which about five thousand delegates attended. At this convention Mr. Ross and his newly formed Ministry were endorsed, as was the policy which the government had pursued for some time past, with an advance in the direction of prohibition, railway taxation and the greater development of Northern Ontario.

Meanwhile the Conservatives had not been idle. Following a conference attended by three hundred representatives from the constituencies held on the 8th of September, a large convention was held on the 24th of November in Toronto. Mr. Whitney's course was strongly approved of and the policy he outlined for the future was endorsed. It included law reform, legislation to meet the needs of Northern Ontario, opposition to railway grants except in special cases, public sale in open competition of pulpwood rights and timber limits, increased grants for agriculture and education, a commission of teachers to advise the Minister of Education, municipal acquisition of public utilities, giving municipalities a share in







HON. J. P. WHITNEY, LL.D., M.P.P., ETC.  
Prime Minister of Ontario.

taxes levied upon corporations, and a thorough and impartial enforcement of the liquor license laws.

The field being thus cleared, the dissolution of the Legislature took place on the 13th of December, 1904. The nominations were made on the 18th of January, 1905, and the general election took place on the 25th. The result was a sweeping victory for Mr. Whitney and the Conservative party.

#### THE CONSERVATIVES IN POWER.

Mr. Whitney was sent for and the new government assumed office on the 8th of February with the following Ministry: J. P. Whitney, Prime Minister and Attorney-General; J. J. Foy, Commissioner of Crown Lands; A. J. Matheson, Provincial Treasurer; R. A. Pyne, Minister of Education; Nelson Monteith, Minister of Agriculture; J. O. Reaume, Commissioner of Public Works; W. J. Hanna, Provincial Secretary; Adam Beck, J. S. Hendrie and W. A. Willoughby, Ministers without portfolio.

This was the first Conservative government since Confederation, that of John Sandfield Macdonald in 1867 being a coalition government, Macdonald himself being an Independent Liberal. The preceding general elections for the Province had taken place in 1867, 1871, 1875, 1879, 1883, 1886, 1890, 1894, 1898 and 1902, and the Premiers of the Province within that period were John Sandfield Macdonald, Edward Blake, Oliver Mowat, A. S. Hardy and G. W. Ross.

Mr. J. P. Whitney, who thus came into power as the head of the first Conservative government of the Province of Ontario, was born in the township of Willamsburg, Dundas county, near the battlefield of Chrysler's Farm, on the 2nd of October, 1843. The family was descended from the Whitneys of Herefordshire, England, a branch of which settled in America about 1640, and their descendants, as U. E. Loyalists, settled on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Mr. Whitney was educated in the local Public schools, and in the Grammar school at Cornwall, then directed by the Rev. H. W. Davies. He studied law in the office of John Sandfield Macdonald, and was admitted to the Bar in 1876, on which he began the practice of his profession at Morrisburg. As a young man he

was connected with the volunteers at Cornwall in the Trent affair, and was on active duty for five months at the time of the first Fenian raid, at Cornwall. From the ranks he rose step by step to be Lieutenant-Colonel. He entered the House as member for Dundas in 1888, and succeeded Mr. G. F. Marter, as leader of the Opposition, in 1896. He is a King's Counsel and an honorary Doctor of Laws of Toronto, Trinity and Queen's Universities.

The first session of the eleventh Parliament met on the 22nd of March, 1905, and continued until the 26th of May. Mr. J. W. St. John, member for West York, was elected Speaker. The opening ceremonies were very impressive, and the new government received a hearty popular welcome. The question of extending the Provincial boundaries along the western shore of Hudson's Bay was referred to in the Speech from the Throne. The address in reply was moved by Messrs. W. H. Hoyle and J. P. Downey. Among the important acts passed were those granting aid to Toronto University, for the promotion of a great public hospital in Toronto, abolition of the numbered ballot, the creation of a new department of the government, designated President of the Council, and the changing of the designation of Commissioner of Crown Lands to Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines, and of Commissioner of Public Works to Minister of Public Works. On the 30th of May Mr. Whitney assumed the post of President of the Council, and Mr. Foy became Attorney-General, and Mr. Frank Cochrane, of Sudbury, became Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines.

An Electrical Power Commission was appointed, consisting of the Hon. Adam Beck, M.P.P. London; P. W. Ellis, Toronto, and George Pattinson, M.P.P. for South Waterloo, to consider the practicability of distributing electrical power from Niagara Falls and other water powers in the Province to centres of industry within the Province, and in how far the government could aid in the matter. The expansion of the University and its needs had been widely discussed for years, and in order to consider the whole question of reorganization, a Royal Commission was appointed by the government, consisting of J. W. Flavelle, chairman; Chief Justice Meredith, Goldwin Smith, Byron E. Walker, Rev. D. B.



Macdonald, Rev. Canon Cody and A. H. U. Colquhoun, secretary. Evidence was exhaustively taken, and an admirable report prepared, which was laid before the House on the 6th of April, 1906. The Legislature of 1906 sat from the 15th of February to the 14th of May. In this session the mining and power policy of the government was developed, and the Railway and Municipal Board created—a body clothed with extensive powers of a most important character. The reorganization of the University of Toronto was also effected, the Act being based on the report of the Royal Commission.

The Hon. Geo. W. Ross was called to the Senate of Canada on January 15th, 1907, returning to the Parliament in which he first served, though not in the popular chamber. On the assembling of the Legislature of 1907, the members of the Opposition elected the Hon. Geo. P. Graham, member for Brockville, as leader, and he bids fair to uphold the best traditions of the party to which he belongs.

A sad event clouded the Easter recess of this year in the sudden illness of the Honorable Mr. St. John, the Speaker. He underwent a surgical operation, and after a brave struggle for life, lasting two weeks, he succumbed and died on the 7th of April, 1907, deeply mourned throughout the Province. His place as Speaker was filled by the election of the Honorable Thomas Crawford, member for West Toronto, an estimable and highly respected citizen, to the position of First Commoner.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE MILITIA.

Not the least interesting chapter of the history of the Province of Ontario is that relating to the origin and development of its defensive force—the Militia.

Previous to the cession of Canada by France to England the white population within the limits of the present Province of Ontario was so small and scattered that the rigid and productive militia laws of New France, which were based upon the feudal law of fiefs, had no practical application to this portion of the colony, except in the immediate vicinity of Frontenac (Kingston), where a small militia force was embodied by the French authorities.

After the cession a peculiar state of affairs prevailed with respect to the Canadian Militia. With the British flag supreme throughout this part of the Globe, and with Europe at peace, the question of providing for the defence of the newly acquired colony was not taken into consideration. "The keeping up of a militia at this juncture is not necessary," an official proclamation of the day, by General Murray, declared.

Garrisons of British regulars were stationed at Montreal, Quebec, Kingston, Three Rivers, Sorel and a few other centres of population. The officers and men of the militia of the old régime were ordered to surrender their arms, and take the Oath of Allegiance to His Britannic Majesty, which formality being complied with, the arms were in some cases restored, in others placed in magazines for use in case of emergency.

An official enrollment, the first in what later became the Province of Upper Canada, was effected in 1788, and showed an aggregate of 4,213 of all ranks.

The two Provinces created by the Constitutional Act of 1791 were given the individual control of their respective militia forces, and it is not surprising, considering the character and antecedents of Governor Simcoe and the vast majority of the recently-arrived U. E. Loyalist popu-

lation, who had just passed through most rigorous military service, that at an early period in the career of Upper Canada as a separate Province intelligent attention was given to the subject of organizing an efficient provincial defensive force.

The Province was set apart from Lower Canada in 1791, and the first Parliament of Upper Canada met for the first session in 1792. The first Act passed at the second session in 1793 was "An Act for the Better Regulation of the Militia in this Province" (33rd George III., Chapter I.).

Up to this time, according to Section XXXIII. of the Constitutional Act (31st George III., Chapter XXXI.), all the militia laws, statutes and ordinances which had been in force in the original Province of Quebec continued to be of the same force, authority and effect in the Province as if the Act in question had not been passed.

The original Upper Canada Militia Act was drafted by Governor Simcoe himself, and provided for the organization of the provincial militia on a system very closely indeed approximating to that then existing in England.

In furtherance of his wish to adopt with as much completeness as possible the English system, Simcoe introduced by this Act the office of Lieutenants of Counties, an office held in England by noblemen or gentlemen of loyalty and distinction as military deputies of the king. Simcoe divided the Province into counties or ridings, appointing a Lieutenant in each, whose duty was the delimitation of the militia districts, with general oversight and power for the recommendation of officers. The law provided that every man between sixteen and fifty years of age was to be considered a militiaman. On obtaining the proper age he was obliged to enroll himself under penalty of a fine of four dollars for neglect. The whole Province was divided by the Lieutenants of Counties into regimental and company districts, and every company had to be inspected by its captain at least twice a year. No pay was provided for these parades, but officers and men failing to parade were fined respectively eight and two dollars for each offence.

The underlying idea was that if the authorities knew exactly what

able-bodied men there were in the province, and where they lived, in case of emergency they might be called out for military service, and organized and drilled, as occasion required. There was no provision for the training of officers and non-commissioned officers—a most obvious shortcoming for any practical militia enactment—but it must be remembered that a goodly proportion of the most influential settlers of Upper Canada, from whom officers and non-commissioned officers would naturally be drawn, were men who had served their king and country long and faithfully in the ranks of British Regular or Colonial regiments in the old colonies.

It was in July, 1793, that Toronto (the name had been changed to York) received its first permanent British garrison. Detachments of the corps of Queen's Rangers proceeded from Newark to York, and were joined in due course by the Governor himself and the rest of the regiment. The first military function of any account appears to have taken place on August 27th, 1793, when, by order of the Governor, the Union flag was raised at noon and a royal salute of 21 guns fired by the troops and answered by the shipping in the bay in honor of the Duke of York's victories in Flanders.

During the early years of York's existence its military garrison appear to have had a variety of occupations to engage its attention. We read of the Queen's Rangers building roads, constructing huts, store-houses and a landing pier, and converting the garrison creek into a navigable canal, with sluices, etc. Official documents still in existence show that the soldiers were compensated to some extent for these heavy fatigue duties by liberal allowances of rum.

The Queen's Rangers had been raised for service in Upper Canada by Simcoe, and named after and clothed like a fighting corps bearing that title which had performed conspicuous service under his command during the Revolutionary War. The original Queen's Rangers were raised among the loyalists of the revolted American colonies in 1777, and participated in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, the costly price Britain paid for losing for a short time the command of the sea.

In 1794 an amendment to Simcoe's first Militia Act, regarding the age limit, was passed, raising the extreme service age from fifty years to



sixty. This amendment was due to the anti-British agitation at the time prevailing in the United States, as a result of the machinations of the notorious Genest, the Ambassador of the French Directory in the United States, and General Wayne, after defeating the Shawnees, declared it to be his intention to attack some of the British posts in the then far-West. It was during this crisis that the first call was made upon the Upper Canadian Militia for active service, Simcoe calling out six hundred men, two hundred of whom were placed in garrison at Detroit, then considered a part of Upper Canada, the remainder being disposed along the Niagara frontier. At this time there were not more than twelve thousand people, men, women and children, in the whole of Upper Canada. The same year a number of stands-of-arms were distributed among the militia at the public expense. Previous to this the militiamen had been expected to provide their own arms.

The year 1794 also saw the organization of the Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment, the first battalion of which was recruited exclusively in Lower Canada; the second battalion, of nine companies, drawing most of its officers and men from the Upper Province, chiefly among the United Empire Loyalists. This famous corps, was really a regiment of the British regular army recruited and officered in Canada, and wearing a uniform resembling that of the British line regiments even to the scarlet coats with blue facings worn by all ranks, and the quaint, tall, conical grenadier cap of the grenadier companies. This regiment, disbanded in 1802, proved the nursery of many good officers and non-commissioned officers of the militia of 1812.

Meantime, thanks to the military instinct of the first Governor and to the military spirit which animated the soldier-settlers, the development of a workable militia system proceeded steadily throughout the whole of Upper Canada. In 1801 the Militia Act was amended to a trifling extent, but the change was not productive of much good.

By 1805, with Britain fighting on in her old grim way in Europe, almost isolated, with Canada practically denuded of regular troops, and with the spirit of hostility to Britain and her loyal North American colonies developing apace in the United States, the question of national

defence had again assumed serious importance. The Upper Canada Militia were especially warned to hold themselves in readiness, and some 4,000 stands of arms were distributed among them. A return of the militia showed that there were 652 officers and 7,947 non-commissioned officers and men enrolled, but also revealed the disquieting fact that of the whole number only 200 had received any training for several years.

During the succeeding year or two events indicating the impossibility of averting war with the United States followed each other in rapid succession. When the Parliament of Upper Canada met in 1808 a Militia Act was passed amending and consolidating all the former ones. A salary of £200 sterling a year was voted for an Adjutant-General of Militia, the nucleus of a permanent staff. This Act provided for a much more thorough organization within the militia, and enabled the Governor to march the force out of the Province to the assistance of Lower Canada when invaded or in a state of insurrection, or in pursuit of an enemy who may have invaded this province. This Act, moreover, made provision for a certain amount of training. The King's birthday, June 4th, was set as the date of the annual muster, and the captains were compelled to call out their companies not less than twice, or oftener than four times each year, for armed inspection and training. Each man was required to provide himself with arms and ammunition, the penalty for neglect being a fine of five shillings in peace, and of forty shillings in times of war. In the case of men being incapable of providing themselves with arms, they were issued to them by the Government under certain restrictions. There was no provision for pay.

This important Act (48 George III., Chapter I., "An Act to explain, amend, and reduce to one Act of Parliament, the several laws now in being for the raising and training of the Militia of this Province") received the assent of Lieutenant-Governor Gore, March 16, 1808.

Major-General Brock, who succeeded Governor Gore in 1811, was one of those who anticipated hostilities, and formed his plans for the defence of Upper Canada some months before the declaration of war.

Congress passed the bill empowering the President to declare war against Great Britain, June 18th, 1812.

Three months before war was declared, February, 1812, the formation of two flank companies from each militia regiment was authorized by the Legislature.

The object was to organize and drill the men in each district immediately available for actual service. This time the volunteers were required to drill six days each month, no pay being provided. This enrollment of service companies was part of the project of the sagacious Brock for preparing the Province for defence. The flank companies were so quickly filled with volunteers that Brock proceeded at once to extend the system. He applied for the men to be served with rations from the Imperial stores on drill days, and also asked for uniforms. As it was, the militiamen were instructed to provide themselves with a jacket, or short coat of dark colored cloth, and a round hat.

On the declaration of war Brock at once called out the flank companies, which produced a force of 800 men. These companies within three months were to cover themselves with glory at Detroit and Queens-ton Heights. Many of these men provided their own arms, but there were more volunteers without weapons pouring in than there were arms to issue, for the arsenals were but poorly provided. Many of the men were wretchedly clothed, and many without shoes.

The first actual operation of the war in Upper Canada after the declarations of hostilities appears to have been the despatch by General Brock of two companies of the 41st Regiment, then in garrison at Toronto, to Fort George, the detachment being en route within three hours of the receipt of the news.

It is unnecessary here to enter into details of the service rendered during the campaign by the militia of Upper Canada, except to point out that militiamen took part in all of the operations of the war, and bore a distinguished part in the long series of bloody battles, including Queens-ton Heights, Stony Creek, Beaver Dam, Chrysler's Farm, Lundy's Lane, and Fort Erie. A considerable portion of the militia called out on active service were chiefly useful as irregulars, scouts, sharpshooters, etc., very important functions in such a campaign; but there were some of the Upper Canada corps, such as the Battalion of Incorporated Militia raised in

1813, and disbanded March 10, 1815, and the Glengarry Light Infantry, raised in 1811 by Colonel George Donnell, formerly of the 8th King's Regiment, which fought through the campaign in the battle line, shoulder to shoulder with the regular line regiments, regiments whose fine discipline, manœuvring capacity and steadiness in the rude shock of battle was never counted upon in vain.

Towards the close of the war it was the fashion to speak of the incorporated militia as the King's Canadian Legion. In 1814 a general order was issued prescribing the uniforms of the militia to be similar to those of the regular army, scarlet, and with blue facings, the same as worn by the "Royal" regiments.

After the conclusion of the war of 1812-1814, the old territorial militia system was kept up on paper, lists of officers were periodically published, and the ceremony of the annual muster, which was more of a picnic than anything else, kept up.

In 1829 an important step was taken providing for the division of the militia into Active and Reserve forces. The method of accomplishing this is set forth in the following interesting order:

Militia General Order,

York, Upper Canada, 16th May, 1829.

No. 1. His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to direct that in future the several regiments of militia in this province shall consist of two battalions each, the first battalion to be composed of men not exceeding forty years of age; the second or reserve battalion of such men as may be within the limits of the corps, from that age to the period established by law.

No. 2. The attendance of the reserve battalion may be dispensed with on next day of assembling.

No. 3. The establishment of the first battalion will be eight companies of light infantry (when they can be formed of thirty men each). These will be divided into a right and left wing.

No. 4. One company in each wing will be armed with rifles.

No. 5. Young men under the age of eighteen, enrolled for the militia,



will not be assembled with the battalion, but commanding officers will make arrangements for their being instructed in small divisions in their own homes.

No. 6. It is recommended that the militia fines, which are placed at the disposal of colonels of regiments for the incidental expenses of the corps, may be expended in remunerating one sergeant in each company, to be employed in drilling the young men who are not called out with the battalion.

No. 7. Colonels will be responsible that the fines are demanded from every individual who may be absent on the days appointed by law for the assembling of the militia.

Interest in the question of the national force was rudely revived by the stirring times of the rebellion of 1837-1838. The local military organizations which assisted the regular troops in the suppression of the first uprisings and filibustering expeditions were, with the exception of a few regularly organized and privately equipped bodies like the Governor-General's Body Guard of Toronto, nothing else but extemporized volunteer corps organized on the spur of the moment under special authority and under special or no terms of service, officers and non-commissioned officers being sworn in, selected, appointed, armed and accoutred on the emergency.

After the first alarm the established militia organizations were used to raise an effective force, no less than five battalions of incorporated militia, organized and uniformed like troops of the line, being raised, some of which were not fully disbanded until 1843. Besides these there were twelve battalions of Provincial Militia on duty for various periods, and 31 corps of artillery, cavalry and rifles. The militia lists at the close of the rebellion showed an establishment of 106 complete regiments. While the excitement produced by the rebellion was still maintained, in 1839, an important Militia Act (2nd Victoria, Chapter IX.) was passed, which provided for the establishment of mounted corps, artillery, light infantry, rifle and marine companies quite distinct from the territorial militia regiments.

The year 1841 was one of considerable importance to Canada and the

Upper Canada Militia. The Act providing for the Union of the two Canadas, passed by the British Parliament in 1840, came into effect by Royal Proclamation, February 10th, 1841, and thenceforth the militia became a national instead of two distinct provincial institutions. By this Act the House of Assembly, in some respects the forerunner of our Dominion Parliament, was conceded complete control over the revenue in all its branches, and the supervision of the entire expenditure of the country, including, of course, the militia vote.

Up to 1841 the militia of the two sister provinces had been organized on different but somewhat similar systems. Universal liability to service was the underlying principle in both, and the ballot was always available in both to raise any active force required to be embodied in the event of the number of volunteers offering being insufficient. But there were some points of divergence.

In Upper Canada the militia was composed of all the male inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 60, and they had as a matter of duty to muster once only each year, and merely for enrollment. Colonels, however, had the optional right to assemble their commands one day in each month for drill and inspection, but they seldom, if ever, did it.

In Lower Canada the service age was 16 to 60, and there were three compulsory muster days each year, namely, in June, July and August. The object of these musters was not merely enrollment, but "to review arms, to fire at marks, and for instruction in the exercise." In Lower Canada, moreover, in line with the practices of the French régime, the militia officers, and even non-commissioned officers, continued to exercise important functions in connection with the civil administration, the maintenance of highways and bridges, the enforcement of the statute labor laws, coroner's inquests, etc. By an Act passed in 1793 (34 George III., Chapter VI.), captains and other senior officers of the Lower Canada Militia were empowered to act as coroners.

The first act of the Parliament of United Canada affecting the militia (4 and 5 Victoria, Chapter II., "An Act to amend the militia law of that part of this Province formerly constituting the Province of Upper Canada") merely provided for the amendment of two clauses of

the old Upper Canada Act, that affecting Quakers and others having conscientious scruples against military service, and that relating to the collection of fines, in default of militia service, from aliens.

With this exception the old laws of the two formerly distinct provinces continued to remain in force until 1846.

This was the period of the outbreak of anti-British feeling and war talk in the United States over the Oregon boundary dispute, when the slogan of the agitators was the historic formula, "Fifty-four-Forty-or-Fight." Naturally the unsatisfactory state of the militia laws, with one code in force in one part of the united Province and a different one in the other, was realized, and on June 9, 1846, assent was given to a comprehensive and elaborate Militia Act (9 Victoria, Chapter 28).

This Act was supposed to be a consolidation of the militia laws of the two former provinces; but the influence of the old Upper Canada laws predominated, and a very large proportion of the clauses of the new statute were adopted in their entirety from the laws in question. The militia were relieved of various civil duties which had been a feature of the Lower Canada laws, and the service age limit was fixed at from 18 to 60, divided into two classes, 18 to 40, first class; 40 to 60, second. An enrollment period for men of both classes, extending from the 1st to the 20th of June, was provided for. An active quota, ordinarily not to exceed 30,000 men was provided for. Enrollment for this quota was to be voluntary, except in case the quota was not filled, when the ballot could be resorted to. In case of invasion or war the Governor could call out the whole militia. In the event of actual service one-half the men of the active quota, to be determined by ballot, were to be relieved from service at the end of twelve months' service; the other half to remain on duty until the end of the second year. Substitutes were allowed, and the Governor authorized to form "Volunteer Regiments or other corps of Militia," Dragoons, Artillery, or Light Infantry. The first class assembled for muster and discipline one day each year, June 29.

This was a temporary act, terminable in three years, but subject to re-enactment like the old English Army and Militia Acts, a reminder of the national dread of military domination.

All the works and lands in Canada held by the Imperial government were transferred to the government of Canada, except at five posts, namely, Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Niagara and Sorel, which were to be retained by the Home Government so long as regular troops remained in garrison at these points. At this time the Imperial authorities announced it to be their intention eventually to remove all the regular troops in Canada, except the garrisons of Halifax, and a naval base in British Columbia.

The Canadian government bound itself to enroll and maintain a small Active Militia force for internal purposes, and to act as auxiliaries to the British regular troops in the event of foreign war or invasion. This force was to be composed of men engaged in the ordinary avocations of civil life, but held equipped, officered, and fairly well drilled in the elements of military work, and available for service at short notice.

To provide for the raising and training of this force, and for the more satisfactory organization of the whole militia force, a new Militia Act was drafted and passed, and assented to May 19, 1855.

This Act (18 Victoria, Chapter 77), one of the most important of the Canadian Militia Acts, provided that the Governor should be ex-officio Commander-in-Chief of the Provincial Militia. Two of the divisions of the militia, "Sedentary" and "Active," were provided for.

The sedentary militia was to consist of all male inhabitants, with a few exceptions, between the ages of 18 and 60. In time of peace no actual service or drill was required of the Sedentary Militia. This militia was divided into two classes, "Service Men" and "Reserve Men," the Service Men class again being sub-divided into "1st Class Service Men" and "2nd Class Service Men." All the Service Men (from 18 to 40 years of age) were required to attend one muster a year, the Queen's birthday in Upper Canada; June 29 in Lower Canada. The Reserve men were exempt from attending muster. The 1st Class Service men was composed of unmarried men and widowers without children, the 2nd Class Service men of married men and widowers with children. In the event of the Sedentary Militia being called out for service, volunteers from the Service men were first to be taken, then the 1st Class Service



men drafted, followed, if necessary, by the 2nd Class Service men, and finally, the Reserve men. Arms for the Sedentary Militia were to be kept in armories in various centres. The "Active or Volunteer Militia" force was not to exceed 16 troops of cavalry, 7 field batteries, 5 foot companies of artillery, and 50 companies of riflemen, or 5,000 officers and men altogether. The organization of engineer and marine companies was also authorized. Arms and accoutrements, such as the Commander-in-Chief may direct, were to be issued at the expense of the Province. Field batteries were to perform an annual training of twenty days, ten of which were to be continuous. Ten days annually training was exacted of other volunteer militia units, and a fairly liberal scale of pay was provided. This Act contained for the first time a provision for the Volunteer Militia being called out in aid of the civil power. Members of the Volunteer Militia were exempted from serving as jurors and constables, seven years service entitling volunteer militiamen to such exemption in perpetuity.

The Act came into force on July 1, 1855, and was to continue in operation for three years, and from thence until the end of the next ensuing session of Parliament and no longer, "provided that if, at the time when this Act would otherwise expire, there should happen to be war between Her Majesty and the United States of America, then this Act shall continue in force until the end of the session of the Provincial Parliament next after the proclamation of peace between Her Majesty and the said United States."

The following year an amendment to the Act was passed. This contained the important provision that the discredited muster day of the Sedentary Militia might be dispensed with, and the organization of unpaid volunteer corps was authorized. Meantime the provisions of the Act of 1855 had been taken such good advantage of that early in 1856 the full number of corps authorized had been organized, and in several cases equipped at the expense of the officers and men themselves. Immediately after organization, all ranks set to work with enthusiasm to perfect themselves in drill, and, thanks to a considerable extent to the regular instructors available, rapid progress appears to have been made.

In 1840 the Royal Canadian Rifles Regiment had been organized in

Canada. The regiment was in no way connected with the militia, being an Imperial corps, and recruited among veterans who had not served less than seven years in line regiments. As might be supposed the men were a remarkably sturdy and generally fine lot. The regiment performed garrison duty until 1871, when it was disbanded. This corps did its part in keeping up some military spirit in Canada previous to 1855, and, moreover, did good service to the newly organized active militia organizations, by providing them with very efficient instructors.

In Toronto several rifle companies were organized before the end of the year in which the Act was passed, although they were not gazetted until 1856. Before the end of the latter year there were four good rifle companies existing in Toronto. Considerable impetus was given to the work of organizing the "Active Force" in Canada by the indignation aroused over the atrocities of the Indian mutiny, and the authorization given by the Imperial government in 1856 to Sir Edmund Head to accept as a contribution to the British army the offer of a regular locally-raised regiment, made by the people of Canada. This was the origin of the 100th Royal Canadian Regiment, now the first battalion of the Leinster Regiment.

In 1859 still another Militia Act (22 Victoria, Chapter XVIII.) was passed, the most important point in it being a provision for the organization of the isolated independent companies into battalions of infantry and rifles wherever possible. The establishment of the volunteer corps was reduced and the provision for pay curtailed. The schedule, rising from one dollar a day for non-commissioned officers and men, remained the same, but pay was only allowed for thirty men out of the authorized strength of fifty per company, commanding officers having the option of distributing the pay pro-rata among all the men. The drill term was reduced to twelve days for field batteries, six for other units.

On the 26th of April, 1860, the six rifle companies existing in Toronto, were consolidated into a regiment, which was given the designation of the Second Battalion Volunteer Militia Rifles of Canada. This corps, now known by its historical title, "The Queen's Own Rifles," is thus the senior infantry regiment of the Active Militia of Ontario.

In 1862, partly as a result of the "Trent Affair" excitement, a Royal Commission was appointed to discuss the question of a more effective organization of the militia, and it recommended, among other things, that an active force of 50,000 men should be raised, the period of annual training to be twenty-eight days. Upon this recommendation the Cartier-Macdonald administration drafted a bill, but on its being submitted to Parliament it was rejected, and the government resigned.

The Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald of the succeeding administration drafted a less stringent Militia Bill, and also a separate Volunteer Bill, both of which received the support of Parliament, and were assented to October 15th, 1863. The "Militia Act" (27 Victoria, Chapter II.), divided the militia into three classes, 1st Class Service Men, 2nd Class Service Men and Reserve, and provided that the service militia might be called out for six days drill each year, the men to receive pay at the rate of fifty cents a day. Further provisions of this Act included the establishment of a Militia Department under a responsible Minister, the establishment of military schools in connection with the British regular regiments then in Canada for the training of officers, and the laying down of the rule that officers must have qualifying certificates to secure promotion, the authorization of drill associations or cadet corps in universities and schools. Officers of the regular army outranked militia officers, and when called out on actual service the militia were to be given the same rates of pay as corresponding ranks in the regular army.

The second Act (27 Victoria, Chapter III., "An Act Respecting the Volunteer Militia Force") indicated a desire to keep the volunteer service quite distinct from the militia, as in Britain, where there had been a marvellous revival of the old volunteer movement in 1859 and 1860, as a result of the menaces of French invasion at the time of the excitement over the Orsini conspiracy, the British volunteer force, in a few months, expanding from 70,000 to 180,000 men.

This Canadian "Volunteer" Act provided for a force of 35,000 men, exclusive of commissioned officers. Uniforms and arms were to be supplied by the country, and the arms were to be kept in armories or in the personal charge of commanding officers. Section 34 provided that

"Volunteers shall always be considered senior to officers of militia of the same rank." Volunteer officers were required to qualify for their commissions before a Board of Examiners, separate from the Militia Boards. When called out for actual service volunteers were to receive pay at the same rate as the British Army, and they were liable to be called out in aid of the civil power. There was no provision for drill pay as in the militia, but an appropriation of \$2,000 per annum was made for prizes to be competed for by corps for proficiency in drill, discipline and target practice. A further allowance was also made of not less than \$50, nor more than \$400 for battalion, as an efficiency grant, the aggregate sum, however, not to exceed \$5,000. The excitement of the Fenian raids of 1866 gave a great impetus to the volunteer force, which by its ready response to the call to actual service, and by its really good work in the field, asserted its claim to be considered the first line of defence of the country.

A new Militia Act (31 Victoria, Chapter XL., "An Act respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada") naturally followed very closely upon the consummation of Confederation, and received assent May 22, 1868. This Act contained provisions for the enrollment and continuance of the old territorial militia, and divided all the militia into two divisions, "Active" and "Reserve." The volunteers created under the Acts of 1863 became part and parcel of the militia as "Volunteer Militia," forming the first class of the "Active Militia." As a matter of fact, the volunteer militia rapidly became the only "Active Militia," and the official designation of any part of the country's defensive force as "Volunteers" has since gradually disappeared. The Act provided that in time of peace 40,000 militiamen should be trained annually, the "Volunteer Militia" to have from eight to sixteen days' training each year, receiving pay at the rate of 50 cents for men and 75 cents for horses. The development of the militia system since the passage of the Act in question has been a matter of federal rather than of provincial history. It will have been remarked that the old Upper Canada militia system was really the foundation upon which the Dominion militia force was raised, and practically the same principles which underlaid the militia legislation of Upper Canada are still maintained in the latest Militia Act. Unlike



the old provincial laws, the present Federal Act (passed in 1904) provides for the maintenance of a small permanently embodied force (2,000 strong) of Active Militia of all arms, practically a small regular army. Practical training of the Active Militia is provided for, a training period of thirty days' duration being authorized at the discretion of the government. The direct administration of the militia is, in sympathy with the new British system, vested in a Militia Council.

But underlying the whole system is still the great principle of universal liability to service, and the practice of according encouragement to voluntary service and trying to foster a wholesome military spirit among the civilian population.

As the old militia laws of Upper Canada were the basis of the original Dominion militia system, so has the Ontario Militia been in many respects the backbone of the present Active Militia. Of the ninety infantry regiments at present enrolled throughout the Dominion no less than 43 belong to the Province of Ontario, and of the sixteen cavalry regiments seven are raised in Ontario.

One of the two Canadian rifle regiments raised for the Red River expedition in 1870, the 1st battalion, was recruited in Ontario, and the Canadian Voyageurs who took part in the Nile campaign in 1884, were commanded by an officer of the Ontario Militia, Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. Denison, of the Governor-General's Body Guard. Ontario contributed considerably more than half of the force which was on service in the Northwest in 1885, namely, B. Battery, R.C.A., Kingston; C. Company, I.S.C., Toronto; the Governor-General's Body Guard, Queen's Own Rifles and Royal Grenadiers, Toronto; the Ottawa Sharpshooters, 7th Fusiliers, London; the Midland Provisional Battalion and the York and Simcoe Provisional Battalion. Col. (now Brigadier-General) W. D. Otter, one of the most distinguished officers of the Ontario Militia, commanded the Battleford column, and many other officers of Ontario corps held important commands and staff appointments.

To the contingents which represented Canada in the South African campaign the Ontario districts contributed twice as many officers and men as those of any other province. Both the first and second in command of

the first contingent, Colonel Otter and Colonel Buchan, were Ontario officers, and in all the other contingents officers from the province held high commands and with general acceptance.

Not only has the military spirit of the original soldier-settlers of the province been well maintained, but the militia of the Province retains the reputation for efficiency and loyalty which it gained in the days of small things under the limited provisions of the original militia law of the brave old pioneer governor.

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*Alfred Laurier*



# BIOGRAPHIES.

## THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR WILFRID LAURIER, G.C.M.G.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who has stood at the head of the Government of Canada since 1896, with exceptional distinction and success, was born at St. Lin, in the Province of Quebec, on the 20th of November, 1841, and passed from the parish school to L'Assomption College. In 1860 he began the study of law at McGill University and in the office of the Hon. R. Laflamme. He graduated, with the B.C.L. degree, in 1864 and was called to the Bar in the same year. He took up the practice of law and continued it for three years when failing health necessitated a change of residence from the city and he became a editor of a Reform newspaper named *Le Defricheur*, at L'Avenir, in the Eastern townships. On the recovery of his health he resumed the practice of law at Arthabaskaville at which place he continued to reside until he became Prime Minister of Canada in 1896. He succeeded in building up a substantial law business and was recognized as an able pleader in civil and criminal cases. He was created a Queen's Counsel in 1880, and was one of the commissioners who revised the Code of Civil Procedure of the Province of Quebec.

His political life began in 1871 when he was returned for the Legislature of Quebec for Drummond and Arthabaska. He at once sprang into prominence in the House and province. His oratory was distinguished by grace and elegance, his opinions by boldness of conception and excellent judgment. He thus laid the foundation, in the Legislature, of his future leadership in Quebec and the political representative of the French-Canadian race. In 1874 he withdrew from the Legislature and was returned by the same constituency to the House of Commons, where he was a marked man from the beginning of his tenure. His ability as a finished speaker was

recognized in the larger area as readily as it had been in the Legislature, and a no mean authority described him then as "the most remarkable Parliamentary orator now possessed by Lower Canada." In 1877 he was appointed Minister of Inland Revenue in the Mackenzie administration, and on seeking re-election as a Minister he was defeated in Drummond and Arthabaska. Quebec East was then opened and he was elected for that constituency, which he has continued to represent ever since. In 1878 when the Mackenzie government was defeated Mr. Laurier had won the position of Liberal leader in Quebec, and in the intervening years gradually gained ground until with the disappearance of his great opponent the Hon. J. A. Chapleau from the stage of active politics his ascendancy was complete. On the retirement of the Hon. Edward Blake from the leadership of the Liberal Opposition in the House of Commons in 1887, Mr. Laurier succeeded him and visited the various provinces in the interests of his party. He made friends rapidly and in a few years established himself firmly as leader. His political model was Gladstone, and his policy on the tariff question was "Free trade, as it is in England." As leader of the Opposition he was supported by able lieutenants, such as Sir Richard Cartwright, David Mills, John Charlton, L. H. Davies, William Mulock, William Paterson and other aggressive and active politicians. The chief questions agitating the country were those arising from the Jesuits' Estates Act, the commercial union movement, the Manitoba school question and the official use of the dual language in the North-West Territories. On these questions public feeling was deeply stirred and Mr. Laurier showed great political skill in his management of them. The process of disintegration of the Conservative party began shortly after the removal by death of the great leader Sir John A. Macdonald, and the sudden death of Sir John D. Thompson brought victory within the reach of the Liberals. In the general election of 1896 the Liberals were returned to power by a large majority and Mr. Laurier was entrusted with the task of forming an administration. He gathered around him an exceptionally strong Cabinet, among his colleagues being Sir Oliver Mowat, W. S. Fielding and A. G. Blair, three provincial premiers. As Prime Minister he exercised from the commencement of his regime complete authority over the affairs of the Dominion. The genial, courteous, gentle-





*R. L. Baden.*

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man, the suave politician, the man of "sunny ways," has been the man of iron will and firm purpose, and no colleague, no cause, however strong, could resist his dictum. Yet this firmness in essentials is associated with a kindliness of disposition and considerateness that is often displayed in his personal relations. Of the measures for which his government has been responsible it is impossible to write at any length here. One of the first was the settlement of the Manitoba school question by a compromise which has thus far stood the test of time. The preferential tariff with Great Britain was an important measure, adopted in 1897; the creation of the Department of Labor, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway scheme, and the North-West autonomy bills are measures of unusual scope which will be associated with his government.

He represented Canada at the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, and received a most flattering welcome in the old land. The honor of a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George was conferred on him and he was admitted a member of the Privy Council of Great Britain. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge conferred honorary degrees on him, and the Cobden Club its famous "free trade" gold medal. On this occasion he visited France, and received at the hands of the President the appointment of a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. During his visit to Britain at this time he obtained from the British government the denunciation of the commercial treaties between Britain and Belgium and Germany, so that the preferential tariff between Canada and Britain might operate without being extended to Belgium and Germany. On his return to Canada many public receptions were accorded to him and honors showered upon him, among them being the honorary degree of LL.D. from Toronto and Queen's Universities.

Sir Wilfrid, in 1868, married Miss Zoe Lafontaine of Montreal, to whose "tact, judgment, and enthusiasm," he confesses he owes in no small measure the success which has crowned a life-long devotion to public duty.

#### ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN.

Robert Laird Borden, of Ottawa, leader of the Conservative party in

the House of Commons, was born at Grand Pre, King's county, Nova Scotia, on the 26th of June, 1854, a son of Andrew and Eunice J. (Laird) Borden. The paternal ancestors came originally from the County of Kent, England. All the Bordens in the United States and Canada are descended from Richard Borden, who emigrated to New England in 1636. His grandfather, Perry Borden, was a son of Perry Borden, Sr., who emigrated from Tiverton in Connecticut to King's county, Nova Scotia, in 1759. The wife of Perry Borden, Jr., was of Irish descent. The maternal grandfather, John Laird, was a son of Robert Laird, who emigrated from Scotland to Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century. John Laird was a schoolmaster in Horton, King's county, Nova Scotia, for many years and married Julia Lothrop, of New Haven, Connecticut.

Robert Laird Borden was educated in public and private schools, principally at Acacia Villa school. He began teaching when only fourteen years of age and followed that profession for six years. In 1878 he was admitted to the bar of Nova Scotia, having studied in the office of Weatherbe & Graham, the former Chief Justice and the latter judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia at the present time. Thus after thorough preliminary training he began practice in Halifax, removing two years later to Kentville, Nova Scotia, where he became a member of the firm of Chipman & Borden. When Sir John Thompson was appointed to the bench of Nova Scotia in 1882 he became junior member of the firm of Graham, Tupper & Borden, successors to Thompson, Graham & Tupper, and in 1889 became senior member of the firm upon the appointment of Mr. Graham to the bench. The firm then became Borden, Ritchie, Parker & Chisholm. He continued as senior member of the firm until the 31st of March, 1905, when he gave up the practice of his profession in Nova Scotia. He had been prominent as a representative of the bar and was a member of the council of the Barristers' Society of Nova Scotia for twenty years, while for ten years or more he served as president of the same society. In 1890 he was appointed K.C.

Mr. Borden did not take an active part in politics until 1896, when he was nominated as a candidate with T. E. Kenny in the Conservative interests for Halifax county, being elected in that year and again in 1900. In

February, 1901, he was elected by the Conservative members as the leader of the party in the House of Commons and continued to fill that position until the general elections of 1904, when he was defeated in Halifax county. He then tendered his resignation as leader to the Conservative cause, but it was not accepted. He was elected by acclamation for Carleton county, Ontario, on the 4th of February, 1905, Edward Kipp having resigned for that purpose, and Mr. Borden has continued as leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons ever since, exercising widely felt influence over public affairs and standing loyally by the principles which he deems of the greatest good in advancing the interests of the party and the province at large.

His business connections make him a director of the Bank of Nova Scotia, with which he has thus been associated for about eight years, and he is also a director of the Eastern Trust Company and the Crown Life Insurance Company.

On the 25th of September, 1889, Mr. Borden was married to Miss Laura Bond, a daughter of the late T. H. Bond, of Halifax, who was a merchant. Mr. Borden belongs to no societies, save that he is an honorary member of the Canadian Club of Ottawa and takes a warm interest in its work. He has received honorary degrees from the University of Queen's College and St. Francis Xavier College. He belongs to Halifax Club of Halifax and the Rideau and Laurentian Clubs of Ottawa, and is a member of the Church of England. His name is accounted a valuable one in business circles, while in political life he has won that distinction which arises only from recognition of real worth as manifest in his loyal advocacy of the principles and policies which are instituted and which he believes to be right.

HON. WILLIAM STEVENS FIELDING, M.P., LL.D., D.C.L., P.C.

Hon. William Stevens Fielding, Minister of Finance for the Dominion of Canada and a resident of Ottawa, was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in November, 1848. He is a son of the late Charles Fielding, and his wife Sarah, daughter of David Ellis, of Sackville, Nova Scotia. He was educated

in the public schools of Halifax and became connected with the *Morning Chronicle* of Halifax in 1864, in which connection he made consecutive advancement, ultimately becoming managing editor, from which position he retired in 1884. He was also the Nova Scotia correspondent for the *Toronto Globe*. His active entrance into politics came with his election to represent Halifax county in the Nova Scotia legislative assembly at the general election of 1882. He declined the premiership on the resignation of Sir John Thompson in July of the same year. He afterwards entered the Pipes administration without portfolio. On the resignation of Mr. Pipes in 1884 he became Premier and Provincial Secretary and was again elected a member for Halifax. He was re-elected in 1886, 1890 and 1894, a fact which indicates the high position which he occupies in public regard as well as his devotion to the interests which he champions. After the general Dominion election of 1896, when the Liberal party was returned with a majority, on the invitation of Sir Wilfred Laurier he resigned, in July of that year, the premiership and his seat in the Provincial Legislature and accepted the portfolio of Finance Minister and was elected by acclamation to the House of Commons for Shelburne and Queen's on August 5, 1896, and re-elected in 1900 and 1904. He introduced the new preferential tariff in the House of Commons in the session of 1897 and moved the resolution during the session of 1898, amending it so as to make it an Imperial British preference.

In 1897 the Hon. William S. Fielding visited England to float a new Canadian loan, which was obtained on better terms than any ever before secured by Canada. He was one of the Canadian delegates to the colonial conference held in London in June and July, 1902, and attended the coronation of the king. He has since gone abroad, visiting Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria and Italy during the winter of 1904-5. He holds the record for budget speeches, having introduced eleven consecutive financial statements in the Dane parliament, which has not been attained by any other Finance Minister since the Confederation.

In 1876 Mr. Fielding was married to Hester, daughter of Thomas A. Rankine, of St. John, New Brunswick, and they have five children: Janet, Florence M., Zillah Rankine, Henry Charles and Edith May. Mr. Fielding



is a governor of Dalhousie University at Halifax. Various honorary degrees have been conferred upon him. He received that of LL.D. from Queen's University, Kingston, and McGill University at Montreal; and that of D.C.L. from Acadia University of Nova Scotia. Mr. Fielding was president of St. George's Society for several years. He is a member of the Rideau Club of Ottawa, of the Halifax Club and the City Club of Halifax, and belongs to the Baptist Church. He is a statesman whose thorough grasp and understanding of a situation is shown by the able manner in which he discusses and handles the questions which come up for settlement in the various political positions that he has filled. He has wielded a wide influence in public life and his course has been largely commended.

#### HON. WILLIAM TEMPLEMAN, M.P., P.C.

Hon. William Templeman, filling the position of Minister of Inland Revenue, has a public record which has extended over a long period and in all his official service he has been found faultless in honor, fearless in conduct and stainless in reputation. He was born in the village of Pakenham, Ontario, in September, 1844, a son of William and Helen Templeman. He was educated at the public schools and has devoted his time and talents to newspaper work. In 1867 he established the *Almonte Gazette*, which he published for some time. In 1884, however, he removed to Victoria, British Columbia, and became connected with the *Victoria Times*, which he has since continued to publish. Through the field of journalism and by personal effort he has done much to mold public thought and opinion and has been honored with various positions of political preferment. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the House of Commons at the general elections of 1891 and 1896 and at a bye election in 1896, but was called to the Senate in 1897. Sworn of the Privy Council, he entered the Laurier administration in February, 1902, without portfolio. On the transfer of Hon. L. P. Brodeur to the department of marine and fisheries in February, 1906, he was appointed Minister of Inland Revenue and was elected for Victoria, British Columbia, on the 6th of March of that year, George Riley, who held the seat, retiring to allow him to secure a seat in the Commons.

THE HON. SIR FREDERICK WILLIAM BORDEN, K.C.M.G., P.C.  
B.A., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., M.P.

The Hon. Sir Frederick William Borden, was born at Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, in May, 1847, a son of Doctor Jonathan and Maria F. Borden, the latter a daughter of Charles Brown of Horton, Nova Scotia. He supplemented his preliminary education by study in King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, from which he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1866. He prepared for a professional career in Harvard Medical School, Boston, Massachusetts, and graduated in 1868, and practised at Canning, Nova Scotia, where he also acted as agent for the Halifax Banking Company. In 1869, he was appointed assistant surgeon of the Sixty-eighth Battalion, and through promotion became surgeon and lieutenant-colonel in October. During the same year he was appointed a member of the Provincial Board of Health.

In 1901, he was appointed honorary colonel of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. He was first returned to the House of Commons as member for King's county, Nova Scotia, at the general election in 1874, and has since then represented the same constituency continuously except during the years 1883-1886 inclusive, having been elected ten times and defeated once.

He was appointed Minister of Militia and Defence in the Laurier administration and sworn in as a member of the Privy Council in July, 1896. He is a member of the Imperial Defence Committee, and was created by King Edward on the occasion of His Majesty's coronation, a Knight Commander of the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George. He is also a Knight of Grace of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

Sir Frederick Borden was married twice. In October, 1873, he wedded Julia M. Clarke, a daughter of J. H. Clarke of Canning, Nova Scotia. Following her death he was married in June, 1884, to Bessie B. Clarke, of Canning. By his first marriage he has two daughters, Elizabeth M. and Julia Maude, the latter, in 1906, married Leslie S. Macoun, of Ottawa. Their only son, Lieutenant Harold Lothrop Borden, gave his life in defence

of the interests of the mother country. At Canning, N.S., a monument has been erected in his memory, bearing this inscription:—

“To commemorate the patriotism and courage of

LIEUT. HAROLD LOTHROP BORDEN,

who was killed at Witpoort, South Africa, July 16th, 1900,  
while leading his men to victory.

(Erected by friends in King's county and elsewhere).”

The only son of the Honorable Sir Frederick W. Borden, K.C.M.G., Minister of Militia and Defence, and Julia M., his wife, daughter of the late John H. Clarke, Esq. He was born at Canning, May 23rd, 1876. He was a graduate in arts of Mount Allison University '97, and had entered his third year in medicine at McGill University. Beginning his military career as a trooper in the King's Canadian Hussars in 1893, he earned rapid promotion and was appointed major in command in 1899. As member of the Queen's diamond jubilee contingent in 1897, he received the jubilee medal. At the outbreak of the war, he volunteered his services, and later having surrendered his rank as major, was appointed to a lieutenancy in the Royal Canadian Dragoons, Second Contingent. Before leaving home he said: “I will not send those under me anywhere where I will not go myself.” How faithfully he kept his word!

Lord Roberts, Commander in Chief, reported his death substantially as follows: “Lieut. Borden was killed while gallantly leading his men in a counter attack upon the enemy's flank, at the critical juncture of an assault upon our position. He had twice before been brought to my notice in despatches for gallant and intrepid conduct.” The two occasions referred to were specially reported to the Commander in Chief July 2nd, 1900, in a list of names now in the War Office as follows: “Lieut. H. L. Borden: Gallant conduct in swimming the Vet River under fire, 5th May, and in capturing some of the enemy's waggons on 30th May.

“Semper Honor Nomenque Tuum Laudesque Manebunt.”

Sir Frederick is a Liberal in politics, and a Freemason, and has for

about thirty-seven years been a member of Scotia Lodge, No. 28, R.N.S., of which he was Worshipful Master for three years. In his professional capacity he is connected with the Ontario College of Physicians and Surgeons, having been elected to membership by a unanimous vote. He is also an honorary member of the Society of Army Surgeons of the United States. In a profession where advancement depends upon individual merit and ability, he has gained distinction, winning the recognition of the laity, the profession and the government. He is a member of the following clubs in Canada: "Rideau," Ottawa; "Laurentain," Ottawa, "Halifax," Halifax, N.S.

#### HON. ROBERT FRANKLAND SUTHERLAND, K.C.

Hon. Robert Frankland Sutherland, who has gained prominence as one of the distinguished citizens of the Dominion, having been elected Speaker of the House of Commons on the 11th of January, 1905, was born at Newmarket in April, 1859, his parents being Donald and Jane (Boddy) Sutherland. He passed through successive grades in the public and high schools at Newmarket and on the removal of the family to Windsor became a student in the high school of that city. Later he attended the Toronto University and the Western University, and thus, with broad literary knowledge to serve as the foundation upon which to rear the superstructure of professional learning, he took up the study of law under the direction of the firm of Cameron & Cleary. Later he studied under White and Ellis, of Windsor, and Blake, Lash & Cassels of Toronto. He was called to the Bar in 1887 and his first professional connection was with the firm of Cameron, Cleary & Sutherland. The firm is now Sutherland, Kenning & Cleary. He was created a queen's councillor in 1898 and almost from the beginning of his connection with the bar has had an extensive law practice, bringing him into active relation with much of the litigation tried in the courts of his district. He prepares his cases with great thoroughness and care, is logical in argument and clear in his deductions and in the trial of causes has won many notable forensic victories.

Hon. Robert F. Sutherland has also gained wide distinction in political







Robert Saffray

circles. He has served the people of Windsor in many capacities, has been a member of the city council, chairman of the library board and secretary of the Board of Trade. He was elected a member of Parliament for North Essex at the general election of 1900, was re-elected in 1904 and on the 11th of January, 1905, was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons and now presides over the deliberations of that body. His comprehensive knowledge of parliamentary law and procedure, combined with his freedom from personal bias in all of his rulings, makes him largely an ideal presiding officer. In politics he is well known as a leader of the Liberal party.

In 1888 Mr. Sutherland was married to Miss Mary Bartlet, a daughter of the late James Bartlet of Windsor, who was a contractor and a member of one of the oldest families in Windsor. Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland have two daughters. Fraternally he is connected with the Masons and the Foresters and also belongs to St. Andrew's Society and the Sons of Scotland. In religious faith he is a Presbyterian and is now serving as elder in St. Andrew's Church at Windsor. As a young man he took great interest in outdoor sports, especially cricket, and won more than local fame as a wicket keeper and batter when he played in the Windsor and Detroit games. His intellectual force, developed by wide study and research not only in the line of his profession, but also in the realm of politics and in those fields of thought which bear upon the progress of the province and the country at large, has gained him a widely recognized position of leadership.

#### HON. ROBERT JAFFRAY.

Hon. Robert Jaffray, called to the Senate in 1906, has for many years exerted a widely felt influence in journalistic, commercial and financial circles, being associated with many corporate interests that have had direct bearing upon the business development of the country. He has thus contributed to general prosperity as well as to individual success. A resident of Toronto for more than a half century, he cast in his lot with its citizens upon his arrival in Canada in 1852. He was born January 23, 1832, at Bannockburn, Scotland, a region of historic prominence made memorable by the victory of Robert Bruce over the English forces at that point.

When twelve years of age he lost his father. He continued as a student in the schools of Bannockburn and Stirling until fifteen years of age, when he entered business life in Edinburgh, being apprenticed to J. R. Dymock, a grocer of that city. For five years he was identified with commercial interests in his native land and then sought the opportunities of Canada, which was entering upon a period of marked industrial and commercial progress. Men of enterprise and strong determination were taking advantage of its rich natural resources and the country was being rapidly improved.

Since 1852 Robert Jaffray has resided continuously in Toronto, which at the time of his arrival was a small city of between twenty and thirty thousand inhabitants. He here entered business life in connection with his brother-in-law, J. B. Smith, who was then engaged in dealing in groceries and provisions at the corner of Yonge and Louisa streets, then the most northerly store on Yonge street. For a long period thereafter Mr. Jaffray remained a representative of commercial interests of this character. He acted as manager of the business for five years and was then admitted to a partnership, while in 1858 he became sole proprietor. He bent every energy to the upbuilding of the business, carefully noted the indications of trade, sought to win public support by an attractive business system and by methods which neither sought nor required disguise, and as the years passed his patronage grew to large proportions. After he had placed his mercantile interests upon a safe and substantial basis he began branching out into other lines of activity, which became so increased that in 1883 he withdrew from the mercantile field to concentrate his energies upon other interests.

Mr. Jaffray had become identified with the Northern Railway Company, and for several years was one of the directors during the regime of the Mackenzie government. He represented especially on the board the interests of the Canadian government, which was the creditor of the railway for considerable sums of money at various times advanced to it. He was largely instrumental in securing the re-payment of this money and his representations to the government resulted in the appointment of a royal commission to investigate the affairs of the railway.

Mr. Jaffray was also for a number of years a director of the Midland



Railway and bore an active part in its re-organization and in the amalgamation of that road with the Nipissing, Grand Junction & Victoria road and the Whitby and Port Perry road and the absorption of all of these into the Grand Trunk system. Indeed, Mr. Jaffray has figured prominently in the era of railroad building and development in the Dominion, becoming director of various lines and contributing to their successful conduct through his wise counsel and a uniformly sound and sane business judgment. He has also been associated with the directorate of various insurance companies and land corporations. The most of his important business interests, however, have been represented by his long continued connection with the directorate of the *Globe* newspaper, the Imperial Bank of Canada, the Toronto General Trusts Corporation, the Canadian General Electric Company and the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company.

Perhaps no business association has kept Mr. Jaffray so continually before the public as his identification with the *Globe*, which dates from 1880, when he was elected one of its directors. In 1888 he succeeded to the presidency upon the elevation of James Maclellan, K.C., to the bench, and since that time has remained as the chief executive officer, covering a period of almost two decades. A man of Mr. Jaffray's energetic and enterprising spirit could never be a mere figurehead. He is a moving force in every line of business with which he is connected, the value of his opinions being widely recognized and their adoption followed by gratifying results. When he took charge of the paper he perhaps did not formally adopt "progress" as a watchword, yet he made it an effective working force in the conduct of the journal. He familiarized himself with the business in every detail and has been not merely a follower of advancement in the field of newspaper publication, but a pioneer in inaugurating new methods and in meeting the wants of the public in this direction. He carried the paper through the critical epoch in its history caused by a disastrous fire, which entirely destroyed the building and plant. He proposed ways and means, the practical utility of which was immediately recognized by his associates and which enabled the *Globe* to emerge from the period of difficulty and depression into one of remarkable prosperity. He has seen its circulation more than doubled and its sphere of influence correspondingly increased and has

followed whatever he believed to be the best interests of Canada, making the paper the champion of every plan and measure which works for general improvement and upbuilding.

Mr. Jaffray would be quite a successful man had his efforts extended no further than his mercantile and journalistic interests, but these represent but a small part of his business. In 1885 he became a director of the Imperial Bank of Canada, and in February, 1906, when changes instituted by the death of T. R. Merritt, late president of the bank, caused the holding of an election for bank officers, he was chosen for the vice-presidency. He has likewise been instrumental in gaining for the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company its reputation as one of the greatest industrial concerns in western Canada, and since 1898 has been its vice-president. To him belongs the honor of formally opening the first colliery on the mainland of British Columbia. One of the more recent enterprises with which he is actively associated is the Temiskaming Railway. He was requested by the late government to act as chairman of the commission charged with the construction of the new railway and held that position until the advent to power of Mr. Whitney, when he resigned. In the meantime the line had been constructed to New Liskeard and is proving an unexpected mine of wealth to the new government.

One of the strongest evidences of public-spirited citizenship is the interest which the individual takes in politics. No matter how extensive or how complex are his private business interests he should ever find time for active participation in the political work of his district and province, supporting those measures which promise the solution of intricate national problems or tend to advance national eminence. Mr. Jaffray, during more than half a century of residence in Toronto, has kept thoroughly informed upon the issues of the day, and, moreover, has given earnest support to those which his judgment and careful consideration endorses. He has been a consistent member of the Reform party and has numbered among his closest friends such renowned Liberals as Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Hon. George Brown, Hon. Edward Blake and Sir Oliver Mowat. He has usually avoided political service, but few men in private life have had such direct effect in influencing the course and policy of the party. In 1890 he received

appointment from the provincial government to a membership in the commission of the Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park and has delighted in the execution of the duties connected therewith. In 1906 he was called to the Senate by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He is especially well qualified for the duties which devolve upon him owing to his connection with and comprehensive understanding of the commercial and industrial interests of the country, the labor questions, the natural resources, the possibilities for development and the demands of the public for legislation of various kinds. In connection with his journalistic interests he has indeed been a thorough student of the signs of the times, ever keeping abreast with the best thinking men of the age and speaking many a word through the columns of the *Globe* that has been a direct and effective force in molding public thought and action.

#### JOHN McDUGALD.

John McDougald, Deputy Minister of Customs, was born in Blue Mountain, Nova Scotia, in March, 1848, a son of Dougald and Elizabeth (Frazer) McDougald, who came from Inverness-shire, Scotland, to Canada. In the grammar schools of New Glasgow John McDougald acquired his education. He entered business life in connection with mercantile pursuits and for some years was thus associated with commercial interests. He has been prominent in public affairs and for many years was a member of the county council. In 1881 he was nominated the Conservative candidate and elected a member of the Dominion Parliament for Picton, succeeding Hon. James McDonald on the latter's elevation to the chief justiceship of Nova Scotia. Mr. McDougald continued to represent that constituency until 1896, when he was appointed to his present position as Deputy Minister of Customs. He is well qualified for the duties that devolve upon him and in their discharge displays system, method and thoroughness, so that his public service entitles him to general commendation.

In 1882 occurred the marriage of John McDougald and Margaret J. McLeod, a daughter of Roderick McLeod of Westville, Nova Scotia. They have two sons, Roderick Bryson and Charles W. Mr. McDougald is a member of the Presbyterian Church and a champion of all those interests which tend to elevate humanity and work for the common good.

## WILLIAM JOHN GERALD.

William John Gerald, Deputy Minister of Inland Revenue, is a native of Prescott, Ontario. He was born in 1850, of English parentage, being a son of William and Charlotte (Richardson) Gerald, the latter a daughter of William Richardson of Bath, England. The father and mother deceased.

William J. Gerald pursued his early education in the schools of Prescott and afterwards attended St. Joseph's College at Montreal. He entered the civil service in 1867 and throughout the greater part of his life has been continuously connected with public affairs in the discharge of such duties as make history. On the 1st of January, 1880, he was appointed collector of inland revenue for the division of Brantford and on the 1st of April, 1881, was promoted to collector at London. In 1883 he was made inspector of tobacco factories for the Dominion and in 1887 was transferred to the inside service of the department as assistant commissioner and inspector of tobacco factories. In 1895 he received the additional appointment of chief inspector of inland revenue and succeeded to his present position in June, 1901. It is a noticeable fact that this appointment has been attained through the process of promotion in recognition of individual merit and capability. Having entered the service when but seventeen years of age, his public work forms a connecting link between the past and present officials of the service.

Mr. Gerald was married in 1869 to Miss Elizabeth Hainsworth Billyard, a daughter of William Billyard, civil engineer of Windsor, Ontario. They have two daughters: Addie H., the wife of Worthington Smith, vice-president and managing director of the Colonial Lumber Company of Pembroke, Ontario; and Ethel L. Gerald. In his fraternal relations Mr. Gerald is connected with the Ancient Order of United Workmen and the Knights of Pythias. In religion he is an Anglican. Prominent and popular in social circles, he is president of the Lake Barnard Fishing Club and of the Leeds and Grenville Old Boys' Association. Investigation into his public service indicates a fidelity to duty that is most commendable and a competent performance of the tasks assigned him which has led to his advancement step by step.



## THOMAS BARNARD FLINT, M.A., LL.B., D.C.L.

Thomas Barnard Flint, Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada, was born at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1847, a son of the late John Flint and Ann (Barnard) Flint his wife. Both the paternal and maternal ancestors of Dr. Flint were among the earliest settlers from New England to that part of the province. Dr. Flint pursued his education successively in the schools of Yarmouth, in the Wesleyan College and Academy in Sackville, New Brunswick, and in Harvard University at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was graduated with the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1867 and Master of Arts in 1872. Harvard University conferred upon him the degree of Bachelor of Law in 1871. He was by Mount Allison University in 1903 granted the degree of Doctor of Civil Law (*honoris causa*). Having determined to make law practice his life work, he entered upon active preparation for the profession as a student in the law office of the late Judge J. W. Ritchie of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and continued his course in Harvard Law School. He entered upon his profession as a barrister at Yarmouth in 1872 and in due course secured a lucrative and extensive practice. He served as high sheriff of the county of Yarmouth from 1883 until 1886 and during the following four years was Assistant Clerk of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia. At the general election of 1891 Dr. Flint was elected as liberal member for Yarmouth to the House of Commons in Ottawa and re-elected in 1896 and 1900. From 1896 until his appointment as Clerk of the House of Commons he was among the leading Liberals in Parliament from the Maritime provinces. From 1900 until 1902 he acted as Chairman of the Select Committee on Standing Orders and after the death of the late Sir John Bourinot he was in November, 1902, appointed Clerk of the House of Commons. During his career as a member of the House of Commons he was recognized as an active worker and an able speaker, a careful student of parliamentary rules and an effective adviser in much important constructive legislation. He has edited the third edition of Bourinot's Parliamentary Procedure and Practice, a standard authority on those subjects.

Dr. Flint is a prominent Freemason, having been grand master of the grand lodge of Nova Scotia for three consecutive terms beginning in 1897. He is an Anglican in religion and possesses that force of character that has won him a high position in the various departments of professional and public life into which he has directed his efforts. He was married in 1874 to Mary Ella Dane, a daughter of the late T. B. Dane of Yarmouth.

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HENRY ROBERT SMITH.

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Robert Smith, sergeant-at-arms in the Dominion House of Commons since 1892, was born December 30, 1843. He is the eldest son of the late Hon. Sir Henry Smith, K.B., of Rose Lawn, Kingston, Canada, who came to this country with his father, who was an officer of the British army.

Lieutenant-Colonel Smith acquired his education in the Kingston grammar school and is a graduate of the Royal School of Artillery, and in 1859 entered the civil service. He was appointed deputy sergeant-at-arms in 1872 and was extra aide-de-camp to the Earl of Derby when Governor-General of Canada. His military record comprises service on the Canadian frontier from 1866 until 1870 (for which he received medal and two clasps); in the northwest campaign in 1885 (dispatches and medal); and also service as aide-de-camp to Lieutenant-General Sir E. Selby Smith and to Lieutenant-General Luard, C.B. He was an honorary aide-de-camp to the Earl of Minto and occupies a similar position in connection with the present Governor-General Earl Grey. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith is likewise filling the office of justice of the peace. He is well known in official circles and in the different positions which he has filled his course has been an honor to the people who have honored him.

Colonel Smith takes an active interest in sport, especially shooting and fishing. He is a member of the Rideau club of Ottawa and of the Fourteenth club at Kingston. In 1887 he wedded Mary Gurley, the widow of the late Major Barrow of the Royal Canadian Rifles. Mrs. Smith died on Jan. 31st, 1907.





*Mr. Kuo-chung Kuo*



## . WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING, M.A., LL.B., C.M.G.

It is a noticeable fact in the history of the world's progress that it is the young men who are the leaders in business life, who are molding public policy and shaping the destinies of provinces and of nations, in which connection W. L. Mackenzie King is deserving of more than passing mention. He was born in Berlin, Ontario, in December, 1874. His father is John King, K.C. His mother, Isabella Grace Mackenzie, is a daughter of William Lyon Mackenzie, who was the leader of the Reform party in Canada during the '30s in the early struggles for responsible government which culminated in the rebellion of 1837. He was recognized as one of the foremost factors in this movement in Upper Canada and left the impress of his individuality upon public thought and action. In 1834 he was mayor of the city of Toronto and he represented the county of York in Parliament both before and after the rebellion, while during his last years he was representative for Haldimand.

John King, father of our subject, is a prominent lawyer and a lecturer at the law school in Toronto. He is also the author of a number of treatises on the law of libel, being instrumental in shaping the laws on that subject both in the Dominion and provinces. For years he has been a member of the senate of the University of Toronto and his superior intellectual attainments, keen discernment and comprehensive understanding of many of the movements and measures which have direct bearing upon the weal or woe of the Dominion have gained him a foremost place in the ranks of those who are molding its destiny.

William Lyon Mackenzie King was educated in the model and high schools of Berlin and in 1891 matriculated at the University of Toronto. He won first-class honors on all subjects in the department of political science during his undergraduate course and in 1893 was winner of one of the two Ed. Blake scholarships open to students in arts and law. He continued his university course and was graduated with the highest honors in 1895, winning the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

During the succeeding year Mr. King was a member of the staff of the *Toronto Globe*, at the same time completing the university course in law,

being graduated with honors in June, 1896, and receiving the degree of Bachelor of Law. Through the following year he held the position of Fellow of political economy at the University of Chicago and in 1897 he received the degree of Master of Arts from Toronto University. For two years thereafter he occupied the position of Henry Lee Fellow in political economy at Harvard University at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the honorary degree of Master of Arts was there conferred upon him in 1898, and in 1899 he was awarded a traveling fellowship with leave to study abroad. In the spring of 1899 he passed the examinations required for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard. He spent the academic year of 1899 and 1900 in England and other parts of Europe as traveling Fellow of Harvard University, studying industrial conditions in England, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy. While in the last named country in June, 1900, he received notification of his appointment as instructor in political economy on the staff of Harvard University and almost at the same time received a cablegram from the Dominion government offering him the position of editor of the *Labor Gazette*, which after some negotiation he accepted and returned at once to Canada, arriving in Ottawa on the 22nd of June. By the 1st of September following the first number of the *Labor Gazette* was presented by the Minister of Labor to the trades and labor congress meeting in Ottawa.

Mr. King has always taken a keen interest in the welfare of the industrial classes—a tendency which he has perhaps inherited from his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie. While in Toronto University and on the *Globe* staff he took an active interest in local industrial conditions in Toronto, and while connected with the University of Chicago he resided for a considerable time at Hull House, a social settlement in the slums of that city, in order to study at first hand the elements of life in such districts that he might be better able to present his views on such subjects and work for practical results. In England he spent considerable time in the labor department of the British government in original research and he also remained for several months at one of the social settlements in London, studying the industrial conditions of the working classes. He likewise passed considerable time in the same way on the continent. On the 15th

of September, 1904, he was appointed Deputy Minister of the Department of Labor by order of the Governor in Council. In this capacity he has acted as conciliator in over forty strikes, including the most serious and complex in the different industries in the Dominion. He has been very successful in nearly all of these in bringing employer and employed to terms of an amicable agreement. As this department was brought into operation by the present administration, to Mr. King belongs the credit of making it the valuable factor that it is to-day in the industrial economy of the country. He has refused several very lucrative offers from various sources both in the United States and Canada. His interest largely lies in the study of industrial life in all of its phases and earnest effort for the betterment of conditions that exist, and an inculcation of a more thorough understanding among employes and employers each of the other.

Mr. King has acted on several important government commissions, and has prepared for the government a number of reports which have been made the basis of subsequent legislation. In 1898 he was appointed a commissioner to investigate the methods adopted in Canada in carrying out government clothing contracts, and his report on this subject, with the recommendations which it contained was made the basis of a resolution of the House of Commons for the suppression of the sweating system which has since developed into what is known as the "Fair Wage" policy of the government in connection with all public contract work. While in Europe Mr. King held a similar commission from the government to report on the methods in which government clothing contracts were being carried out in the countries of Europe. In 1893 he acted as secretary of a Royal commission appointed to enquire into industrial disputes in the Province of British Columbia, and in 1907 was appointed chairman of a Royal commission to enquire into difficulties between the Bell Telephone Company and its employees. His investigations in 1895 into the manner in which persons were induced to come to Canada under false representations and the reports made on this subject led to the enactment of legislation in the Dominion with a view to preventing false representations to induce persons to come to Canada. In the fall of 1906 Mr. King was sent, as a special commissioner, to England, with a view to secure similar legislation from the

British Parliament, which legislation was enacted as a consequence of this mission. A report on the Lethbridge coal strike, the most serious industrial conflict in Canada during 1906, prepared by Mr. King and the recommendations which it contained, were made the basis of a bill which has been introduced in the House of Commons, known as "The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act."

In addition to his government work Mr. King has done considerable literary work and his published volume entitled "The Secret of Heroism" has run through three editions. He is a fluent, forcible writer, presenting his thoughts with clearness and cogency, indicating a thorough mastery of the subject under discussion. He is gifted as a public speaker, his oratorical power being manifest on many occasions, notably in the presentation of social and industrial questions, arising from his broad and thorough study, for which he seems specially fitted by natural predilection and personal inclination.

Mr. King is a member of the Canadian Society of Authors and of the Academy of Political Social Science. He was instrumental in organizing the Canadian Club in Ottawa in 1900 and was its president in 1904-5, during which time Prince Louis of Battenburg was one of the distinguished guests of the club. He is likewise a member of the Rideau Club and of the Champlain Society. He holds membership in the Presbyterian Church and his political views are set forth in this review, his position on such questions being the outcome of careful consideration and clear judgment resulting from a most comprehensive understanding of public needs and possibilities for accomplishment through the field of legislative enactment.

On June 1, 1906, Mr. King was created a Companion of the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George by His Majesty King Edward VII.

### JOHN FRASER.

John Fraser, auditor-general of the Canadian government, was born in Glengarry in 1852. His father, James Fraser, was connected with agricultural and commercial pursuits in Lochgarry, while his mother, Mrs.







John D. H.

Isabella Fraser, was a daughter of Allen MacDonald, of Dundee, Quebec.

John Fraser was educated in the public schools of Glengarry, and after putting aside his text-books spent three years as a salesman in the store of D. A. MacDonald, late Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. He then engaged in the produce business in Lancaster, Ontario, where he remained for two years. During the greater part of the time for the past third of a century he has been connected with the Dominion government service. In 1875 he entered the civil service at Ottawa as clerk in the finance department, where he gradually rose to a chief clerkship and superintendent of the Dominion government savings banks. In 1902 he was appointed chief accountant and Dominion bookkeeper, and on the 1st of August, 1905, was appointed to his present position—that of auditor-general of Canada—on the retirement of John Lorne McDougall. His rise has come gradually and in recognition of individual merit, as he has demonstrated his ability through the faithful performance of the duties at hand.

Mr. Fraser was married in 1876 to Miss Mary Jane Atchison, a daughter of Robert Atchison, of Ottawa, now deceased. They have nine children, six sons and three daughters: William A., Arthur A., Robert J., Allen J., Harold J., Charles D., Lillie A., Ethel M., and Florence E. The eldest daughter is the wife of J. P. Dixon, secretary and treasurer of the Railway Accident Insurance Company. The family are of the Presbyterian faith.

#### HON. GEORGE W. ROSS.

Senator Ross occupies a commanding place among Ontario's public men. Possessed of a rare aptitude for affairs he at an early stage in his career entered public life, and has since stood in the political arena a leader of public thought, and an administrator, growing in political stature and in personal esteem.

Mr. Ross was born in the County of Middlesex, Ontario, of Gaelic parents. His father, James Ross, and his mother, Ellen Mackinnon, were natives of Ross-shire, who settled in Ontario in 1832. Mr. Ross's birthday was the 18th of September, 1841. His early surroundings were Highland-Scotch and the Gaelic language was the vernacular of most of the families

in the neighborhood. The future Premier thus had the advantage of bilingual knowledge, an accomplishment likened by the late Principal Douglas to a man standing firmly on both feet. The home influences were sturdily and genially Scottish—of the Presbyterian type; and much of the earnestness of purpose, determination and persistence with which Mr. Ross has faced the problems he had been called on to solve, may be traced to this source. His education was obtained in the public and Normal school. He matriculated in law at Albert University, graduated with the LL.B. degree in 1883, and was called to the Bar in 1887. At an earlier stage he was a public school teacher, an Inspector of Public Schools for the county of Lambton, and for the towns of Petrolea and Strathroy. He was also Inspector of the County Model School system, and in Western Ontario held a recognized place as an educationist. He conducted the *Strathroy Age*, the *Huron Expositor*, and the *Ontario Teacher*, at different times with success. His energies were also directed to the promotion of the temperance cause, in connection with which he became the head of the large organization, the Sons of Temperance of North America, in 1879. He founded the Temperance Colonization Company in 1882; and was elected president of the Temperance and General Life Assurance Company in 1885.

He entered the House of Commons as member for West Middlesex in 1872 with the reputation of ability of a high order. He supported the Liberal party, and at once justified the expectations which had been formed of him as an aggressive legislator, and a keen debater. The times were stormy. The Canadian Pacific Railway charter had been granted and Mr. Huntington's charges had been made. Political controversy was bitter, and Mr. Ross, while not conspicuous in the heated discussions of the day, impressed the House and the country with his ability. In 1873 Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, who had formed his government, appealed to the country, and Mr. Ross was re-elected for West Middlesex by acclamation. Mr. Mackenzie had no warmer supporter. He gave considerable attention to matters of trade and business and his contributions to the debates of the House on these subjects were valuable then and interesting still. In the discussions on the temperance question, then agitating the country and the House, he, as was to be expected, took a strong position, supporting the demand for



the prohibition of the liquor traffic. In November, 1883, he became Minister of Education for the Province of Ontario, in the Mowat government, and was elected to the Legislature for West Middlesex. As head of the Department of Education for the long period of sixteen years, he gave what many will regard as his life-work to his native province. Certainly the system of education developed enormously under his administration, so that while the outlines of the structure raised by Dr. Ryerson could still be discerned, the changes growing gradually with the needs of the day were so far-reaching as to constitute almost complete reconstruction. To follow the various changes effected, in their order, would require much space, but Mr. Ross, thoroughly familiar with the work of the schools, and with educational problems, brought professional knowledge to bear on the operations of his department, in their entirety, improving the machinery and bringing into harmony diverse interests and warring influences. Under his hand a consolidation of the Public, High and Separate School Acts, and the Act respecting Mechanics' Institutes was effected, a large piece of legislation, for which he deserves the full credit. It was not final: nor can such legislation be final in a progressive country. Education must ever lead human progress; but Mr. Ross's measures were eminently practical and according to the educational ideals of the time, as those they superseded were in their day. One of his great measures was university federation, a scheme by which, with Toronto University as the centre denominational colleges and universities became affiliated, such as Victoria, Knox, Wycliffe and St. Michael's. This scheme, consummated after much public discussion, has made possible the great development of the University of Toronto as a national institution which has been the most striking feature of the educational life of Ontario during the last decade.

Outside the duties of his department Mr. Ross was called upon by his chief, Mr. Mowat, to devote much attention to public affairs generally. He represented the government on special occasions in the absence of the Prime Minister, at public functions of importance such as the banquet to the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, at Toronto, the great Board of Trade anniversaries, laying of foundation stones, etc., when it was thought well that a strong Canadian note should be sounded by Ontario's most elo-

quent and patriotic son. Thus, when the time came when Sir Oliver Mowat left the provincial for the Dominion arena, Mr. Ross's name was associated closely with that of Mr. Hardy in the leadership of the Liberal party, and in 1899 when Mr. Hardy withdrew from the Premiership, there was but one voice in the country as to who his successor should be. Mr. Ross accepted the position at a critical time in the fortunes of the Liberal party. At Confederation John Sandfield MacDonald was selected as Premier of Ontario. He was a Liberal and his government was a coalition one. Blake and Mowat who succeeded were out and out Liberals, as were Hardy and Ross. From the beginning of the province as a member of Confederation there had been no Conservative government. Old questions had passed away; old partizans also, and the feeling was gradually but surely gaining ground, that the Liberals should not enjoy office forever; and with the disappearance of Mowat from the provincial stage many Liberals considered that a change of government might not be disadvantageous to the country. Mr. Ross could not be unaware of the growing change, but he did not shirk the conflict and accepted the onerous position of Prime Minister when conditions were decidedly unfavorable to his party. He infused new life into the Liberals and succeeded in rallying them to his support with a good deal of the old-time vigor and enthusiasm. He was not, however, strongly supported by some of the influential leaders, and the temperance party taking advantage of his advent to power pressed their views home upon him, expecting that as a life-long friend of temperance he would stake his whole chance on their policy in its extremest form. Mr. Ross was strongly in favor of drastic temperance legislation, but his party was weak and becoming weaker and divided radically on the question of prohibition, to which many of them including some of his own colleagues were irretrievably opposed. The situation was confessedly difficult, yet Mr. Ross was able during his administration to add some important measures to the statute book and to enhance his reputation as a public man. Northern Ontario claimed his attention and in 1900 he organized a system of surveying the all but unknown great clay belt north of the height of land, the real beginning of the present development of the north. The government railway followed, a work conceived in the interest of the newly explored

north. The Niagara power development was also a large question which he grappled with successfully, while much legislation of a less striking, but most useful character was enacted.

As Prime Minister he visited Britain as representative of Ontario at the coronation of King Edward, and in travelling through the old land was cordially received at many places. This opportunity he turned to account in the interests of closer trade relations between Britain and Canada, a subject in which he has taken a deeply patriotic interest for many years.

In 1905 the Liberal party suffered defeat at the polls and Mr. Ross became the leader of the Opposition. For some years his health had not been satisfactory, and while it would not be reasonable to suppose that he welcomed defeat as a drastic prescription for rest, yet the respite from the incessant toil of office came at a time when it was greatly needed for physical reasons. On the 15th of January, 1907, he was called to the Senate of Canada, a sphere in which it is already becoming apparent his ability and exceptional experience of public affairs will not lie fallow.

A distinguishing feature of his public career has been his British patriotism. Loyal to Canada and to her interests, he nevertheless is proud of his British citizenship. In walking on the streets of Toronto he feels as much a citizen of the British Empire, he once said, as if he were walking on the streets of London pursuing his daily avocations. He has done as much as any man by pen and voice to foster a true, Imperial spirit in Canada. As a member of the British Empire League he has given voice to the strongest arguments in favor of preferential trade with Great Britain. One sentence indicates his point of view: “. . . the colonist who perhaps dreamed that on this side of the Atlantic or under the southern cross there might be established a new nation, wearing the livery of a republic, now feels that to recognize the Sovereign of the United Kingdom as his Sovereign is the highest honor to which he can aspire, and to wear the badge of British citizenship is the highest distinction to which he can attain.” The addresses he delivered throughout the country from time to time have the same sterling ring, and his political followers and admirers have been greatly influenced by his views. But Canada has had no more ardent son in our times than Mr. Ross. As Minister of Education he aimed at schools

in which character should be built up and the young equipped morally as well as mentally that so Canada might be blessed with a great people. Speaking to a Scottish gathering at Montreal he thus set forth his own ambition: "And now let me ask what is education doing for us? Will those who are passing through our schools and universities be inspired with such devotion to their country that when they enter upon the great arena of citizenship they will bring to the contest the ripeness of Scottish scholarship, the clearness of Scottish intellect, and the solidity of Scottish character? I hope so. We will need them all in the race for national autonomy on which we have entered. If we are to hold the northern half of this continent, and hold it we must, or fill dishonored graves, every means by which the resources of the country, mental as well as material, can be increased, must be utilized. Culture must be wedded to patriotism; science to industry; morality to energy; independence of character to confidence in the future of Canada. And why? That Canada may be honored in the courage, loyalty and devotion of her sons."

Mr. Ross wrote extensively on educational questions and always clearly and forcibly. The periodical press of the day absorbed much of the product of his pen. Of more permanent work not a few volumes stand to his name—the history of the school system of Ontario (International Series, Appleton); the schools of England and Germany; and a biography of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, in collaboration with Mr. William Buckingham. Among his published essays those on "Literary Factors in Canadian Life," "Formative Forces of Canadian History," "Our National Outfit," "Citizenship and Higher Culture," and "Preferential Trade," have attracted considerable attention and are in demand by the collector.

As a public speaker Mr. Ross has few equals in Canada, in a wide range of subjects. To a splendid memory and clear thinking he adds the ripe fruit of wide reading and the command of apt quotation from the masters. His speeches flow smoothly in natural sequence, never forced, never labored; always epigrammatic, usually lively and full of color; and rarely below the highest level. Political opponents may charge him with many political shortcomings but the most extreme of them will own him an able man and a remarkable orator.



Senator Ross is proud of the race whence he is sprang. He has all the attributes of the lively, impetuous, irresistible Celt. The light imaginative touch, the optimism, the sanguine temperament and the disinterested chivalry of that people. He is a leader among them, ever welcome at their gatherings, their eloquent spokesman, philosopher and friend. He has remained faithful to the religious ideals of the Gaelic fireside of East Williams and has given devoted service to the church of his fathers. He is an elder in Old St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, and has represented the General Assembly on important occasions such, for instance, as the meetings of the Pan Presbyterian Council.

#### HON. GEORGE ALBERTUS COX.

The specific and distinctive office of biography is not to give voice to a man's modest estimate of himself and his accomplishments, but rather to leave the perpetual record establishing his character by the consensus of opinion on the part of his fellowmen. The financial history of Ontario and the Dominion would be very incomplete and unsatisfactory without personal and somewhat extended mention of those whose lives are interwoven so closely with the industrial, commercial, financial and political development of the country. When a man or a select number of men have set in motion the occult machinery of business which materializes into a thousand forms of practical utility or where they have carved out a fortune or a name from the common possibilities, open for competition to all, there is a public desire which should be gratified to see the men, so nearly as a portrait and a word artist can paint them, and examine the elements of mind and the circumstances by which such results have been achieved.

The subject of this review finds an appropriate place in the history of those men of business and enterprise in Ontario whose force of character, whose sterling integrity, whose fortitude amid discouragements, whose good sense in the management of complicated affairs and marked success in establishing large industries and bringing to completion great schemes of trade and profit have contributed in an eminent degree to the development of the vast resources of this great country. George A. Cox is, in its broadest

sense, a self-made man, being both the architect and builder of his own fortune and not only as a financier has he won an eminent position, for in political circles as well distinguished honors have been accorded him.

Mr. Cox was born in Colborne, Northumberland county, Ontario, May 7, 1840, of English parentage. His early education was obtained in the public and grammar schools of his native place and when a youth of sixteen he started out in the world on his own account. By his unaided efforts he has risen to the position of distinction which he now occupies. Honor and prosperity awaited him, but the future was not revealed to the boy who had to work hard to gain a livelihood in those early years. He began as a telegraph operator with the Montreal Telegraph Company, and after two years was given charge of the company's agency at Peterboro, Ontario, where he remained for thirty years as a citizen, although he had long since ceased to be a telegraph operator and was engaged in the development of large business undertakings. Soon after his removal to Peterboro he added an express agency to his business and became the local representative of the Canada Life Assurance Company and of the Western Assurance Company. Not only was his business ability there recognized, but his fitness for leadership and his loyalty to the public good were characteristics which became known to his fellow townsmen, who elected him to the office of mayor. He served for seven consecutive years, being returned four times by acclamation—a fact which is indicative at once of his business-like and progressive administration and of his personal popularity.

In 1878, at the request of the creditors of the Midland Railway of Canada, Mr. Cox undertook the management of that road, which was then in financial difficulties, and during his presidency the line was completed, re-laid with steel and, through the amalgamation of several smaller roads, was transformed into an important system, which sold at a large profit to the Grand Trunk Railway Company.

One of the prominent characteristics of Mr. Cox's successful business career is that his vision has never been bounded by the exigencies of the moment, but has covered as well the possibilities and opportunities of the future. This has led him into extensive undertakings, bringing him into



GEORGE A. COX.





marked prominence as a financier. His connection with the Midland Railroad demonstrated his ability as an organizer and in the fields of labor where initiative is demanded. In 1884 he founded the Central Canada Loan & Savings Company and became its first president, which position he still retains. He has been a leading member of the directorate and is now president of the Canada Life Assurance Company, was for seventeen years president and is now a director of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, is president of the British America and Western Assurance Companies and of the Toronto Savings & Loan Company—corporate interests which have figured very prominently in the financial life of the Dominion. He is also president of the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company and a director of the Dominion Iron & Steel Company, two of the largest and most important industries of the country; is a director of the Toronto Railway Company, the National Trust Company, the Canadian General Electric Company, the Dominion Coal Company and various other extensive and prominent business concerns. He was actively associated with the work of directing the affairs of these different companies until the present year, 1907, and his labors were most effective in promoting their substantial growth and development; but at a recent date Mr. Cox announced his intention of retiring from the more exacting and onerous official positions he holds. He has no thought of abandoning financial activity, but proposes merely to transfer the executive work to other men, retaining an advisory position as a director, and is, therefore, perfecting his arrangements to retire from close connection with business management. He has figured for many years most prominently and honorably in financial and industrial interests and has been one of the real upbuilders and promoters of Canada's present greatness. In this connection the *Toronto Globe* recently said of him: "In his constructive financial genius, Senator Cox is eminently worthy to rank with the great builders of the Dominion. If wealth has come to him it has been by building up enterprises whose success has contributed to the wealth of the community as well as to his own. Great creative ability, forethought, patience and business sagacity have been the chief qualities which have enabled him to make such a conspicuous success." While financing many

other important undertakings he lent all the force of his energy and organizing capacity to the promotion of the Grand Trunk Pacific, a railway that will connect some four thousand miles in older Canada with the new Dominion in the west. Moreover, he stood as a notable figure in connection with the surmounting of the San Francisco earthquake disaster by the Western Assurance Company and the British America Assurance Company. At that time fifty insurance companies were forced into liquidation. Senator Cox came forward with his contagious optimism, his financial influence, his money and his determination to pay every loss in full, and the result was achieved. The course which he pursued was typical of his entire life: the meeting of every responsibility that devolves upon him, the shirking of no obligation.

In 1862 Mr. Cox was married to Miss Margaret Hopkins of Peterboro, who died in January, 1905. He had three sons and two daughters, of whom the second son recently died. The sons have already displayed much of the business capacity and ability of the father and have contributed largely to the success of various financial enterprises. In church membership Senator Cox is a Methodist. He is, moreover, a broad-minded man whose philanthropy and benevolence are strong elements in his life, and yet his charity and his good deeds are always performed without ostentation or display. He is a man of broad sympathy and of kindly spirit, affable to all with whom he comes in contact and of unfailing courtesy. His political record is as honorable as has been his business career. He was twice a candidate of the Liberal party in the west riding of his county. In 1871 he was elected for West Peterboro, but the election being declared void a new one was held and he was defeated by a majority of one. He unsuccessfully contested the same riding at the general election of 1887. On the 13th of November, 1896, he was called to the Senate, a distinguished honor well merited. His retirement from active service in the field of business will leave him more opportunity for political and public work—a field in which he can and will accomplish great good. A man of unswerving integrity and honor, one who has a perfect appreciation of the higher ethics of life, he has gained and retained the confidence and respect of his fellowmen and is distinctively one of the leading citizens not only of Ontario, but of the Dominion, with





*Fredrick Nicholls*



whose interests he has been long identified. He is truly entitled to be classed with the "Builders of Canada," and if his work has been less spectacular than achievements in the political field it has been none the less effective and none the less important.

### FREDERIC NICHOLLS.

Frederic Nicholls is the central figure in the field of industrial development in Canada. He is in closer touch with a larger number of the leading enterprises of the country than any other man in the Dominion and the co-related interests of trade in its various departments is due to his keen insight and powers of organization. His opinion is regarded as authority upon industrial conditions in the Dominion, and without financial assistance or outside aid or encouragement he has arisen to the commanding position which he to-day occupies. Each step in his career has been one in advance, bringing him a broader outlook and greater opportunities. He did not learn the lessons of business life from experiment, which always involves expensive blunders, but has ever made a close study of conditions and problems before embarking upon any enterprise and has therefore brought to the solution of every question sound opinions and thorough understanding. Canada acknowledges its indebtedness to him for the stimulating example, the strong purpose, the intellectual force and executive ability he has shown in aiding so materially in the upbuilding of Canadian industry and making this country self-reliant and industrially independent.

The life record of Mr. Nicholls began in England, November 23, 1856. As a boy in London, while attending school, he became interested in the subject of electricity and among his boyish accomplishments was the making of an arc light by means of a Bunsen battery. He afterward had the benefit of two years' technical training in Stuttgart and in 1874 sought business opportunity in the new world. For five years thereafter, while occupied with some business cares, he yet gave the greater part of his thought to the acquirement of knowledge concerning industrial and political conditions in this country. He was a resident of Ottawa and questions of moment dis-

cussed in the capital awakened his keenest interest and deepest consideration. The most far sighted could not have dreamed, however, that the young man, scarcely out of his teens, occupying positions of little importance in Ottawa, would one day be the prominent figure in the control of industrial life in Canada. That he has attained such a position is indicated by his connection with the leading enterprises of the country as shown in the following list:—

President—Albion Power Company, Albion, New York.

Director—Canada Car Company, Limited, Montreal.

Vice-President and General Manager—Canada Foundry Company, Limited.

Director—The Canadian Bank of Commerce.

Second Vice-President and General Manager Canadian General Electric Co., Limited.

Vice-President—Canadian Lake & Ocean Navigation Company, Limited.

Director—The Canadian Northern Railway Company.

President—Canadian Shipbuilding Company, Limited.

Director—The Canadian Northern Ontario Railway Company.

Director—The Canadian Northern Quebec Railway Company.

Vice-President—Clifton Hotel Company.

Director—Dominion Iron and Steel Company.

Vice-President and Managing Director—Electrical Development Company of Ontario, Limited.

President—Electrical Transmission Company of Niagara Falls, New York.

Director—Imperial Rolling Stock Company, Limited.

Director and Secretary—The London Electric Company, Limited.

Vice-President—Niagara Falls, New York, Gas and Electric Light Company.

President—The Niagara, St. Catharines & Toronto Railway Company.

President—The Niagara, St. Catharines & Toronto Navigation Company.

Vice-President—Rio de Janeiro Tramway Light & Power Company.

Vice-President—Great Northern Railway of Canada.

Vice-President—Sao Paulo Tramway, Light & Power Company.

President—Toronto Niagara & Western Railway Company.

Vice-President and Managing Director—Toronto & Niagara Power Co.

Vice-President—Toronto & York Radial Railway Company.

Director—Toronto Electric Light Company.

Vice-President—Toronto Railway Company.

Director—Trenton Electric Light & Water Company.

Director—Western Assurance Company.

Director—British America Assurance Company.

President—Ontario Dock Company.

President—Buffalo, Lockport & Rochester Railway Co.

Director—Roman Stone Co.

But to take up the story of his life more in detail, in 1879 he went to Toronto and within a short time became acting secretary of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association during the absence of the secretary, A. W. Wright. The association had already become a body with some history, having taken a leading part in developing the national policy and founding "Tory Toronto."

Canada, at the period of Mr. Nicholls' arrival, has been described as an industrial Siberia, in which he spent several years in making himself familiar with the resources of the country and studying its need. Then at the critical moment he launched himself into the work of development, and to-day the results of his labor stand as a lasting monument to his name. Mr. Nicholls is a Conservative. On removing to Toronto and becoming connected with the Manufacturers' Association he felt that his views were largely in accord with principles advocated by that organization. He had already begun to make a close study of the tariff, continuing his researches and investigation until in later years he became an expert authority. Because of his fiscal enthusiasm he was chosen secretary of the association in 1882. Some at that time predicted, because of his interest in the tariff, that he would enter public life, but little dreamed of the influence which he

would exert upon the possibilities of the country in a relation that has had more to do than any other means in promoting its industrial and commercial growth. About that time Mr. Nicholls could easily have obtained a constituency as a lieutenant of Sir John A. Macdonald, but he awakened public attention through another channel—that of journalism. With a young man's enthusiasm for the principles in which he believed, thoroughly alive to the needs of the country, its defects as to trade laws and its possibilities for business development, in January, 1882, he purchased a paper published in Ottawa called the *Industrial World*. He removed the plant to Toronto, changing the name of the paper to the *Canadian Manufacturer*, and made it the organ of the Manufacturers' Association, Mr. Nicholls continuing his active connection with the Association as its secretary until the year 1890. He has been the pioneer in inaugurating many important movements, not the least of which was that of advocating a protective tariff in Canada, being one of the first editors to take such a step. Endowed by nature with strong intellectual force, with mental tendencies which are analytical and inductive, he made a special study of economic conditions in Canada. He saw the effect of free trade in England, of reciprocity in the Dominion, and realizing that neither were effective in producing the results desired, he gave most earnest attention to the mastery of tariff from every standpoint. As editor of the *Manufacturer* he became perhaps the best practical authority in Canada on the tariff. In 1887 the *Manufacturer* contained a number of interesting cartoons which showed up the weakness of the trade system in vogue under the laws of the country. Mr. Nicholls wished to bring his doctrines before the public, but he could not afford to publish a paper merely for this purpose. He must make that paper pay. Having studied the theory of tariffs, he knew who the men were that needed tariff in their business. He was his own advertising solicitor, subscription canvasser, business manager and editor, and while performing all the duties connected therewith he became advertising agent as well and secured an advertising patronage that made the *Manufacturer* a profitable journal and also served the double purpose of bringing the interests of tariff before the commercial world.

While still connected with the paper Mr. Nicholls enlarged the field of



his activity. In 1886 he made another venture into the business world and in conjunction with Mr. Howland opened what was known as the Permanent Exhibition (machinery) on Front Street, Toronto. It was in that year that the first electric car was ever run in Canada. In fact it was the beginning of the era of electrical development, and Mr. Nicholls' fertile brain took up the study of progress along those lines, becoming not a follower but a promoter. The Permanent Exhibition was the first thing of its kind in Canada; the first time that any one firm undertook to act as selling agents in one office and showrooms for a large number of Canadian manufacturers.

Business development and the enactment of trade laws go hand in hand. At this time (1886) there had been eight years of National Policy, most of which had been devoted to securing the acceptance of a protective tariff, and one of the first fruits of the preachings of the National Policy party was this aggregation of Canadian manufacturers, presided over by Frederic Nicholls. A year before the close of the Permanent Exhibition—1890—Mr. Nicholls severed his connection with the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in order to concentrate his energies upon other fields. The decade of the '80s had witnessed the introduction of electricity as a lighting force, while in the '90s it became a motive power in trade. The difference between Mr. Nicholls and others was that while many men prominent in business watched curiously or with indifference this development of electricity he recognized its power and foresaw its possibilities. In 1888 he became interested in the subject from a national standpoint and organized a syndicate for the purpose of investigating the possibilities of electrical development in Canada. This syndicate consisted of ten men, each subscribing a thousand dollars to a central fund, and one of the first results of the organization was the formation of the Toronto Incandescent Light Company, which laid the first underground wires in Canada. This incandescent system solved the problem which had resulted from the arc system, bringing electrical lighting into the homes, churches and places of business as well as upon the streets. The next forward step made by Mr. Nicholls was in following out a developed mental idea and keeping in mind the central principle of consolidation. He recognized the fact that it would be an economic advantage for a company dealing in electricity to undertake its

own construction works, and therefore he advocated and carried forward to successful organization the Toronto Construction & Electrical Supply Company, which became the Canadian agents of the Thomson-Houston Electric Company. To Mr. Nicholls is also due the fact that American competition in the field of electrical development was limited. The Edison General Electric Company, in the '80s, built a plant at Peterboro. Mr. Nicholls desired that Canadian capital should control a fair share of all electric work in this country and enjoy its profits. He therefore entered into decidedly active competition with the Edison Company with the result that that company sold out to the Toronto Construction & Electrical Supply Company and the amalgamation of the two interests constituted the nucleus of the present Canadian General Electric Company, which reaches out to all parts of Canada. Under the new management the business grew with astonishing rapidity and to-day the output is more than five million dollars, an increase of more than a thousand per cent. in less than a decade, and this production affords employment to about four thousand men.

It was in 1892 that the first trolley line was run in Toronto. The year before Mr. Nicholls abandoned his Permanent Exhibition, and in 1903 withdrew from the field of journalism, for he felt that he had accomplished his purpose in regard to a protective tariff, working for national interests as well as individual welfare. It was his purpose, on retiring from the newspaper field, to become a factor in the operations connected with the introduction of electricity as a motive power. He had practical knowledge of electrical engineering, but he knew that others could be secured for such work and he turned his attention to the financial questions involved. He saw that in many places electricity was supplanting steam and he recognized too that the transmission of power contained almost as great possibilities as the generation of power. The central station idea was evolved—the principle that once having a plant for the generation of power it pays to run it with a constant and as far as possible a full load. Thus was presented the commercial side of this technical problem. Mr. Nicholls studied the question, mastered the situation and moreover had the ability to present it clearly to capitalists, who recognized the truth of his assertions and the opportunities that thus opened before them. Another phase of the question

also presented itself. There was the generation and the transmission and now he took up the study of the application of power. He recognized that these interests should be worked in conjunction and the result to-day may be seen in the successful operation of the various allied electrical interests which owe much to his constructive ability.

Concurrently with the development of the operating of electrical companies covering so wide a field he has built up manufacturing enterprises which have been able to supply the demand created by former activities. In 1900 the Canadian General Electric Co. purchased the Canada Foundry Co., which business was developed so rapidly under the new management that in 1903 the present mammoth works of the Canada Foundry Company were built, and thus the idea of trade centralization as promulgated by Mr. Nicholls took tangible form. This again brought Mr. Nicholls into prominence as the central figure in the vast aggregation of allied interests which stand midway between production and transportation.

As one climbs a mountainside and gets into a clearer air and a broader view, so in his advancement Frederic Nicholls saw greater opportunities and enlarging possibilities. Each forward step had brought him more adequate and accurate understanding of the conditions of the trade world, and now there was presented a new question in addition to that of the generation, transmission and application of electrical power, and that was the combination with each of hydraulics. The water powers of Canada were awakening public attention which was focused upon Niagara. Americans began utilizing Niagara as an immense power and Canada said that it must be international. The Electrical Development Company came as a result of the interest in hydraulics and when public attention felt that Canada must have its share of the forces of Niagara he took up the subject with all of the enterprise that has secured its phenomenal growth, and to-day the Electrical Development Company has its machinery with its hundred thousand horse power at the Falls. As a logical sequence also came the Toronto-Niagara Power Company with its miles of copper wire and steel towers, and this was the initial step towards Mr. Nicholls' connection with the Toronto & Hamilton Railway Company; his presidency of the Niagara, St. Catharines & Toronto Railway Company; the Hamilton

Steamboat Co., the Canadian Shipbuilding Company, and his presidency of the Electrical Transmission Company, Niagara Falls, New York.

To the field of railway development Mr. Nicholls naturally turned his attention. He was associated with Mackenzie & Mann when they acquired the Lake Manitoba Railway & Canal Company and began to build the Canadian Northern, of which road he is a director. He afterwards became a director and vice-president of the Toronto Street Railway and the vice-president of the Toronto & York Radial Railway Company, and he is altogether an active member of thirty-two boards of directors. These are not separate and individual, but most of them are a co-related group through the efforts and organizing power of Frederic Nicholls. He saw that co-operation meant the greatest success, that one line of business could be directly beneficial to another, and he became a director of the Imperial Rolling Stock Company, Limited, and of the Canada Car Company. Through his instigation the Canada Foundry Company began the manufacture of locomotives, and to-day its output is used by the Canadian Pacific Railroad, the Canadian Northern and other Canadian roads, and locomotive building and bridge building are to-day important departments of the work of the Canada Foundry Company. Mr. Nicholls realized too that railroad building should be correlated with other interests and this was managed through his connection with the Dominion Iron & Steel Company of Nova Scotia, which at the time when he became a stockholder and officer was making a strenuous effort to keep from passing into liquidation. Mr. Nicholls joined Mr. Plummer in building up the business, and the company is to-day turning out four hundred and fifty tons of steel rails per diem.

It would seem that such a field of labor would satisfy any man, that his resources would be exhausted and his ability taxed to the utmost, but Mr. Nicholls seems limitless in his power in the world of manufacture and industrial development and again he found scope for his tireless energy in ship building. In 1903 the Canadian Shipbuilding Company, which had already constructed ship yards at Bridgeburg, on the Niagara River, bought the business of the Bertram Shipbuilding Company in Toronto, and this company has since constructed some of the largest and fastest vessels ever built in Canada.



This is not all, for Mr. Nicholls became an associate with other Canadian capitalists in developing power and traction interests in South America. They began operations in Sao Paulo and Rio Janeiro and he is now vice-president of the Rio Janeiro Tramway, Light & Power Company, as well as vice-president of the Sao Paulo Tramway Company.

Mr. Nicholls has been spoken of as a human dynamo. He has certainly radiated a force which has revolutionized business in Canada. The small syndicate of ten men organized in 1888 to investigate the possibilities of electrical development in Canada has become a coterie of financiers controlling a vast system of co-related interests. No matter in how much fantastic theorizing one may indulge as to the causes of success, it lies in the fact of a recognition of the subjective potential and the utilization of objective forces with an economy that produces minimum expenditure of time, power and capital in producing maximum results. This is the picture of Frederic Nicholls, who to-day stands pre-eminent as the type of business development, progress and prosperity in Canada.

To know only this side of Mr. Nicholls' nature, however, would be not to know the man. While his accomplishments seem marvelous and almost phenomenal he has not developed along business lines to the exclusion of the development of other sides of his nature. He is fond of outdoor sports, including yachting, riding, fishing and shooting. He is Vice-Commodore of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club and owner of the Canada's Cup yachts "Temerarie" and "Crusader." He is a devotee of horseback exercise and his library contains many trophies of his rod and gun. He belongs to the Toronto Club, the Toronto Hunt Club, Toronto Golf Club, Lambton Golf Club, Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Mount Royal Club, St. James Club of Montreal, Manitoba Club of Winnipeg, and the Lawyers' Club and Transportation Club of New York. His interests extend to matters relative to general welfare along educational, political, charitable and moral lines. In politics he is a Conservative and is justice of the peace of the township of York. He is consul for the Kingdom of Portugal, vice-chairman of the Board of Endowment and Finance of Trinity University, a director of Ridley College of St. Catharines and a director of Havergal Ladies' College.

Mr. Nicholls was married in 1874 to Florence, the eldest daughter of

the late Commander Graburn. His summer residence, Parklands, is situated on Lake Simcoe, Ontario, and his winter residence, "The Homewood," is one of the finest in Toronto, including extensive conservatories and orchid houses, while in every room are found paintings of the world's greatest artists, in which Mr. Nicholls takes the greatest delight, being largely a connoisseur on such subjects. Music and literature also have their charms for him, but his deepest interests have been found in the great problems which effect the weal or woe of Canada, and the Dominion has no more enthusiastic advocate of its interests than Frederic Nicholls.

#### WILLIAM MACKENZIE.

William Mackenzie, a man remarkable in the breadth of his wisdom, in his indomitable perseverance and his strong individuality, has, without special advantages at the outset of his career, become the greatest railroad builder of Canada. His life record began in 1849, his birth occurring on his father's farm at Kirkfield, Victoria county, Ontario. He is descended from Scotch ancestry and in his life has manifested many of the sterling traits of the Scotch race. After attending the public schools of his district and the Lindsay grammar school he finally qualified as a teacher, and when a young man attended the Military School in Toronto and is now honorary lieutenant-colonel of the Forty-fifth Victoria Regiment. It was his desire to become a member of the Bar, but the expense of the training blocked his way, and after following school teaching for some time he turned his attention to commercial pursuits, opening a small general store in an Ontario village. Each step in his career has been carefully and thoughtfully made and has been a forward one. Possessing a mind open to impressions and quickly recognizing possibilities, he has utilized the means at hand and, moreover, has molded conditions to his own use. The opportunity offered for a profitable connection with the lumber business. When the railroad builders invaded the neighborhood in which he lived he secured small contracts for supplying them with timber and erected a sawmill in order to carry out his agreement. In 1884 he went to British Columbia and secured his first large contract—to supply timber for the bridges, tunnels



Wm Mackenzie





and track of the Canadian Pacific, then under construction in the Rocky mountains. He set up four saw mills to do the work, and in 1886 he built for the company the great snow sheds on the eastern slope of the Selkirk range. Later in the same year, in connection with D. D. Mann he constructed a part of the company's line through the State of Maine. When the Grand Trunk was building the Toronto and Nipissing and the Victoria divisions of its present system, Mr. Mackenzie undertook a portion of these works and since that time has figured prominently as a railroad contractor. A few years after completing their contracts in connection with railroad construction for the Canadian Pacific the firm of Mackenzie & Mann built the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake & Saskatchewan Railway from Regina to Prince Albert, and also the line of three hundred miles extending from McLeod in Alberta to Edmonton and crossing the Canadian Pacific at Calgary.

In 1896 the firm acquired the charter of the Lake Manitoba Railway & Canal Company for a line from Gladstone, Manitoba, to Lake Winnipegosis and began construction of the road. An old charter for a line to Hudson Bay was also acquired and in the spring of 1899 the two were amalgamated under the name of the Canadian Northern Railway. The Manitoba, South-eastern, the Ontario & Rainy River and the Port Arthur, Duluth & Western roads were absorbed at the same time. Since then the Canadian Northern has been steadily extended in various directions until it now has about twenty-five hundred miles of road in all. Mr. Mackenzie and his associates in business, however, are not content with this achievement, great as it is. It is their plan to rival the Canadian Pacific and the prospective Grand Trunk Pacific by building a third great trans-Canadian railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a line of which their present properties will of course form a part. They already control a railway which will soon constitute the shortest and most direct route between Quebec and Ottawa, with connections to Montreal, and they are building certain lengths of railway in Quebec and Ontario which will ultimately link these to the Canadian Northern and the direct trans-continental line. They are also building a line northward from Toronto which is intended to reach James Bay. In the last few years Mr. Mackenzie and his partners have operated largely in the

far east and have built two railways in Nova Scotia. The first is on Cape Breton Island and is sixty miles in length, being operated under the name of the Inverness Railway & Coal Company. The second is the completion of the Halifax & Southwestern Railway, extending down the Atlantic coast of the province. Thus as the years have gone by Mr. Mackenzie has extended his operations until they have grown to mammoth proportions. Each forward step has brought him onto a higher plane with a broader outlook. He has noted the indications of the times, has watched the trend of immigration and has forestalled public demand for railroad transportation by the building of lines which have opened up new districts with rich natural resources, thus greatly enhancing the wealth of the country. His have been "massive deeds and great" in one sense and yet his entire life accomplishment but represents the results of the fit utilization of the innate talent which is his and the directing of his efforts in those lines where mature judgment and rare discrimination lead the way.

Mr. Mackenzie's Canadian enterprises also include a large lumber industry in British Columbia and a cattle ranch of twenty thousand acres in Alberta. Even the whole of Canada does not offer large enough scope for his energy. About seven years ago he took over an electric railway franchise that some one had obtained from the municipality of Sao Paulo, Brazil, and organized the Sao Paulo Tramway, Light & Power Company, the capital being seven million, five hundred thousand dollars. He is also at the head of the Rio Janeiro Tramway, Light & Power Company, also formed by Canadian capitalists, which is doing for the Brazilian capital what he has done for the coffee centre of Sao Paulo. The gas companies and most of the tramways have been taken over. The mule power has been replaced by electric power and large water powers are in course of development. In this case the authorized capital and bond issue amounts to twenty-five million dollars each. Finally Mr. Mackenzie's firm, in association with Mr. Holt, have undertaken with a state guarantee of ten per cent. to furnish the City of Monterey in northeastern Mexico with water works and sewers, besides taking over the tramways—the latter following as a matter of course. In his own country he is identified with many corporate





D D Mann



interests of similar character, being president of the Toronto Railway Company, holding the street railway franchise of the city, the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company and the Winnipeg General Power Company. One of the strong elements in his success has been his ability to co-ordinate forces and to bring into a harmonious union seemingly conflicting interests. He is pre-eminently a man of action and there is in him a weight of character, a native sagacity, a far-seeing judgment and a fidelity of purpose that command the respect of all.

In early manhood Mr. Mackenzie wedded Margaret, daughter of John Merry, late of Kirkfield, Ontario, and a member of a distinguished English-Irish family. He has nine sons and daughters, the sons being: Roderick J., Alexander W. and Joseph M., all of whom are associated with their father in business, the first named being partner and manager of construction. In religious faith Mr. Mackenzie is a Presbyterian. He has refused to become actively connected with political interests, although frequently offered Parliamentary honors. He is an ardent Imperialist and sympathizes with all that makes for the unity and permanence of the British empire. He has a princely mansion surrounded by a stately park in the north of Toronto, which he calls Benvenuto. The frequent journeys to the old world which his business enterprises have necessitated have familiarized him with the country and, together with his wealth, have enabled him to gratify a strong, natural taste for art, as a consequence of which his Toronto home is adorned with some of the best paintings to be found in Canada.

#### DONALD D. MANN.

The story of D. D. Mann is not easily put into words. Born in Halton county, in the Province of Ontario, of Scotch parents, he is a Canadian, or a Scotch-Canadian, as you will. His father, Hugh Mann, and his mother, Helen Macdonell Mann, migrated to this country in 1843 from Inverness, Scotland, and settled on a farm near the village of Acton, where Mr. Mann was subsequently born some ten years later, and passed his youth very much as all Ontario farmers' sons—hard at work in the summer and in school attendance during the winter. Fortunately, the local school was for the

most part well administered. Robert Little, after school inspector for the county of Halton, was for some time master of the Acton school, and to his capable instruction Mr. Mann has always attributed some of his success in after life.

Donald Mann was born to assume the initiative. At the age of thirteen or fourteen he took small wood contracts from the neighboring farmers, and at eighteen he commenced to look abroad for his future. He went into the Ontario and Michigan lumber woods and spent eight years in taking out logs and tie timber, and, what was more valuable, in learning how to handle men. Then the great West claimed him. The work of constructing Canada's first transeontinental railway was in progress and Mr. Mann joined the force of railway builders engaged in this great undertaking, first as the manager for a firm of sub-contractors, and subsequently on his own account. In 1880 he assumed his first railway contract, and from this time forward to the completion of the road he followed the great railway, with tireless energy, across the plains, into the Rockies and through to the Pacific Coast. The story of the building of the great transeontinental road—the Canadian Pacific Railway—with its tragedies and its humors, remains to be written, and, when this is done, the story of the early manhood of Donald Mann will have been told.

To attempt a detailed statement of the works in which Mr. Mann has been engaged would be beyond the compass of this sketch. Contract followed contract with lightning rapidity. In 1886, in association with H. S. Holt, he built the first section of the Hudson Bay Railway, which, curiously enough, he was destined to own in company with a later partner—Mr. William Mackenzie—as a portion of the Canadian Northern system. In 1887 his partnership was formed with Mr. Mackenzie, and, under different firm names, he was engaged in constructing the Canadian Pacific in Maine, the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake & Saskatchewan Railway to Prince Albert and the Calgary & Edmonton Railway.

In 1896 the farmer's son, who had proceeded from contractor's boss to be one of the principal railway contractors in Canada, if not in the railway world, took a further step and resolved not only to build, but to own rail-

ways. The construction in 1896 of a railway one hundred and twenty-five miles in length under the charter of the Lake Manitoba Railway & Canal Company was the inception of what subsequently became the Canadian Northern Railway system extending, under the names of the Canadian Northern Railway, the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway, the Canadian Northern Quebec Railway, and the Halifax & South Western Railway, through a considerable portion of the Provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia. When the history of the Canadian Northern Railway has been written, it will contain the story of Donald D. Mann's life in its maturity.

To have been one of two men who have financed and constructed and are carrying on the operation of a railway system of over 4,000 miles in length, one would naturally assume would be a life's work, but, in addition to the Canadian Northern Railway Mr. Mann has many interests. There are huge coal mines in the county of Inverness in Cape Breton and a railway in connection with the colliers of sixty odd miles in length; the Winnipeg Street Railway; the electric railway, sewers, water supply, light, heat, power and other public utilities in the City of Monterey, Mexico; and many other undertakings in which Mr. Mann has assumed the initiative or a very considerable part in the promotion, construction and management.

Perhaps no other man has had so varied an experience in railway construction matters. He has visited China and several of the States of South America in his quest for railway undertakings. He has been interested in enterprises all over the Dominion of Canada and in portions of the United States, and from his experiences has naturally built up a storehouse of information.

Mr. Mann has been successful beyond measure—almost everyone knows that much of him. What sort of a man he is, few know. He is naturally of a taciturn disposition; he talks but little. If he were asked why he was so silent, he would probably answer because he had nothing to say, and here we have one of the secrets of his success. He wastes little time over affairs, or for that matter, people, of no consequence. He has an object to accomplish and proceeds by the most direct method to that

object. A man of big, strong physique, he has been able to stand the stress and strain of modern commercial endeavor, and, through his knowledge of men and affairs, cool judgment and perseverance, combined with a strong personality, he has succeeded in gaining a position in the first ranks of modern finance and industry.

#### EDWARD ROGERS WOOD.

One of the noticeable features of the era of prosperity that has come to the Dominion of Canada during the last quarter of a century is the number of comparatively youthful men who have attained to positions of prominence in industrial and financial progress that everywhere marks the commercial life of the Dominion. A half century ago it was the men who had reached or passed the prime of life who were in control of important business interests, but in this age of progress, rapid development and strenuous endeavor, the young man has become a force in the body politic and the markets of finance and commerce. Of this class Edward Rogers Wood of Toronto is a splendid representative.

A native of Peterboro, Ontario, he has but recently passed the fortieth milestone on life's journey, the date of his birth being May 14, 1866. His father, John Wood, who came from County Fermanagh, Ireland, to Canada, in 1847, was a public school teacher and in the schools of his native town the son pursued his education, putting aside his text-books to become a factor in business life as an operator with the G.N.W. Telegraph Company. Upon the organization of the Central Canada Land & Savings Company, in 1884, he entered the employ of that corporation, and his ready mastery of the duties entrusted to him and his unfaltering fidelity led to successive and rapid promotions until he became vice-president and managing director of the institution. The success of the company is attributable in no small degree to his efforts and his discrimination in the settlement of intricate financial problems and his broad outlook over the field of finance. Such a position as that to which he has attained would seem a sufficient measure of success to many a man of less resolute purpose and more limited abilities, but Mr. Wood has reached out into other fields and his name is now associ-





*E. R. Hood*



ated with some of the most extensive and important corporate interests in the Dominion. He is the vice-president of the National Trust Company and director and treasurer of the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, and director of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, of the Western Assurance Company, of the Canada Life Assurance Company, of the Sao Paulo Light & Power Company, and of the Mexican Light & Power Company.

On the 15th of July, 1891, at Peterboro, Mr. Wood was married to Miss Agnes Euphemia Smart, and they have one daughter, Mildred P. S. Wood. He has pleasant social and club relations, but his time and energies are practically absorbed in business and his life demonstrates the possibilities that lie before a young man, energetic, industrious and clear headed. His record shows that one of the necessities for an important place in the business world is not necessarily age and years of methodical preparation, but rather a genius for devising and executing the right thing at the right time, joined to every day common sense. He is energetic, prompt and notably reliable and his course excites the respect of his business associates and the admiration of all who know aught of his history.

#### SIR WILLIAM RALPH MEREDITH.

The Hon. Sir William Ralph Meredith, whose unfaltering fidelity to principle as well as his marked intellectual force and professional ability has made him one of the most honored citizens of the province, is now Chief Justice of the Common Pleas of Ontario. He was born in the township of Westminster, Middlesex, Ontario, March 31, 1840, pursued his early education there and in the London district grammar school. His literary training was received in Toronto University, from which he was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1872 and he studied for his profession under the late Thomas Scatcherd, Q.C., M.P., and was called to the Bar in 1861. He practised for some years in partnership with his former preceptor and as a pleader made a notable record, possessing the analytical faculty to an unusual degree, while his great powers in cross-examination, combined with the convincing earnestness of his presentation of his cause, soon made

him widely and favorably known among the members of the Ontario Bar. He became city solicitor, was elected a Bencher of the Law Society and was made a Queen's Counsel by the Ontario government in 1875. He had the same honor conferred upon him by the Marquis of Lorne in 1880 and as the years progressed he was accorded a large and distinctively representative clientage. In 1888 he was appointed an honorary member of the Law Faculty of Toronto University.

The same year Sir Meredith removed to Toronto and was subsequently appointed corporation counsel and head of the legal department for the city. In 1889 he received from his Alma Mater the honorary degree of Doctor of Law. During his professional career as a pleader at the Bar he was engaged in many important cases, both criminal and civil, including the mysterious Biddulph murder case and the McCabe poisoning case, in both of which he specially distinguished himself. His political record, too, has been characterized by steady progress and crowned by high honors. He was first elected to the Legislature in 1872, succeeding Mr. (now Sir) John Carling, who withdrew from provincial politics, in the representation of London. Judge Meredith is said to have immediately become a power in the house. He took a firm stand in behalf of the interests of the workingmen and was one of the first advocates of manhood suffrages, advancing his ideas upon the subject in 1875. His name was also identified with the legislation by which wages to the amount of twenty-five dollars were exempt from seizure; with the Mechanics' Lien Act; with the Workingmen's Compensation for Injuries Act, and other measures of a similar character, all of which proved extremely beneficial. In 1878 he was elected leader of the Opposition, succeeding the late Sir M. C. Cameron, who was raised to the Bench in that position. His promotion was long a foregone conclusion, as his colleagues had recognized his great strength in the country and his accurate and far-sighted knowledge of political questions and issues. Not long after this event the boundary award was made and the agitation which immediately arose rendered his task a difficult one. The discussion between the parties was very heated and an endeavor was made to cast upon Judge Meredith the responsibility of having supported the claims of the Domin-



ion as against those of the province. He insisted, after the rejection of the award by the Dominion Parliament, that the question be submitted to the Privy Council, and the event ultimately proved his contention to have been correct and the course that he had proposed the only safe one that could have been taken.

In the disallowance agitation of 1882 he again appeared to be on the unpopular side. He, however, did not hesitate to affirm the conviction that a strong central government was vitally necessary to a strong confederation and to deprecate any efforts on the part of provincial governments to weaken it for selfish ends. Throughout the reverses with which he met at the polls he never abandoned this principle. He also took strong ground on the question of education. He enunciated the principle that to place a political head over the education department is to make it a political machine and so greatly lessen its influence for good. During his last campaign on many occasions he expressed his views on this matter. He fought for a ballot in the separate schools and against the exercising of undue clerical influence in educational matters. His newspaper discussion with Archbishop Cleary attracted wide attention and to a great extent defined the line of cleavage between the parties. His opinions in this connection are too well known to need repetition here. His course during his last session in the Legislature was marked by a number of stirring debates, during which Judge Meredith often displayed an intimacy with the smallest details of departmental expenditure and at the same time a comprehensive grasp of the legislation before the house, which astonished even his intimate friends, who were familiar with his habits of study and extended investigation. In 1883 he was presented by his party friends in the Legislature with a solid silver service in acknowledgment of his eminent public service. A more signal tribute to his talents and effective efforts was paid by the government itself in making provision for a salary of two thousand dollars a year to him as leader of the Opposition. This, however, he declined to receive.

His Lordship was raised to the Bench as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas of the High Court of Justice of Ontario, October 5, 1894. One of the

first cases tried by him was that of Hendershott and Weller for murder, and both men were convicted and afterwards executed. His decisions indicate strong mentality, careful analysis, a thorough knowledge of the law and an unbiased judgment. The judge on the Bench fails more frequently perhaps from a deficiency in that broad mindedness which not only comprehends the detail of a situation quickly and that insures a complete self-control under even the most exasperating conditions than any other cause; and the judge who makes a success in the discharge of his multitudinous delicate duties is a man of well rounded character, finely balanced mind and of splendid intellectual attainments. That Judge Meredith is regarded as such a jurist is a uniformly accepted fact.

He was elected Chancellor of the University of Toronto, first by acclamation and has since twice received the same honor and is now Chancellor and a member of the Board of Governors. In 1886 and 1896 he was appointed a member of the commission for the revision of the provincial statutes and is a member of the commission now engaged in this revision. He is also vice-president of the National Sanitarium Association and as a young man he served for some years as an officer in the London Light Infantry. He received the honors of knighthood in 1896. In 1862 Sir William Ralph Meredith wedded Mary, daughter of Marcus Holmes of London, Ontario.

#### WILLIAM KERR GEORGE.

William Kerr George holds and merits a place among the representative business men of Toronto, and the story of his life while not dramatic in action is such a one as forms a typical example of that alert Canadian spirit which has enabled many an individual to rise to a position of influence and renown solely through their native talent, indomitable perseverance and singleness of purpose. In making record of such a life contemporary biography exercises its most consistent and important function.

William Kerr George, president and managing director of the Standard Silver Company, Limited, of Toronto, was born in the City of Kingston, Ontario, August 26, 1861. His father was the Rev. James George,



*W. K. George*





D.D., a graduate of Glasgow University, who became a distinguished minister of the Presbyterian Church, and at various periods of his career held charges at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Scarboro, Ontario and Stratford, Ontario. He was for some time acting principal of Queen's University of Kingston, and was thus closely associated with intellectual and moral progress in the province. He married Janet Kerr, a native of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Their son, William Kerr George, attended successively Kingston Collegiate Institute, Galt Collegiate Institute and Toronto University. Alert and enterprising, watchful of business opportunities, at the time when Winnipeg was enjoying a period of rapid advancement and development, he went to Manitoba in 1882 and became one of the founders of the town of Souris. There he became a member of the firm of Hall, George & Company in the conduct of a mercantile enterprise. In 1887 he removed to Chicago and was identified with manufacturing interests in that great metropolitan centre until 1894, when he came to Toronto and organized and established the Standard Silver Company, Limited, with which prosperous concern he is still actively connected as president and managing director. The business was established for the manufacture of silver and silver plated articles. It entered upon an era of rapid and substantial growth, the trade now extending throughout the Dominion with a large export trade to the West Indies, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, England and Egypt. For the purpose a six story building is utilized, with one hundred and twenty-five feet frontage on Hayter street. Employment is furnished to about one hundred and seventy-five people in the factory, with ten traveling salesmen upon the road. The products of the house proved to be a most marketable commodity, and although the business was established on a small scale it soon grew to great proportions, its development being due to the splendid reputation borne by the house for absolutely reliable goods of a high class. The products are always of a superior order, no inferior silver or plated ware being placed upon the market, and the reputation which the company has made in this direction is one of the strongest elements in its constantly growing success.

The name of William Kerr George is well known in commercial circles as a promoter of civic business enterprises and general trade conditions. He is also managing director of Simpson, Hall, Miller & Company, Limited, and has been a moving force in the work of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. He was honored with its presidency for the year of 1904-5, having previously held the offices of first vice-president for 1903-4, Ontario vice-president for 1901-2 and 1902-3 and first chairman of the Toronto branch of the Association in 1901. As president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association he headed the Association's great trip to England in 1905, and was prominent in bringing the trade interests of Canada before the British people. He and his colleagues were most hospitably received in the great cities of Britain and were the guests of the French government while visiting at Paris. They were received at Windsor by King Edward VII., and by the mayors and corporations of many of the English towns, who thoroughly appreciated the importance of the visit of Mr. George and the business men by whom he was accompanied. He is likewise president of the Canada National Exhibition of Toronto and vice-president of the Sterling Bank.

Mr. George was married in Toronto in 1892, to Miss Rachel H. Lee, and their family now comprise three daughters, Jean, Grace and Rachel. Mr. George is president of the National Club and a member of the Toronto Hunt Club, Ontario Jockey Club and Caledon Mountain Club. He has always taken an active interest in manly outdoor sports of all kinds and his name is closely associated with the history of the Canadian national game of lacrosse in the west. He was captain of the Souris Lacrosse team, champions of Manitoba in 1887, and of the Calumet Lacrosse team of Chicago, champions of the United States in 1889 and again in 1890. But while he recognizes the value and real benefit as well as pleasure which comes from such sports and which is derived from periods of rest and recreation he is pre-eminently a business man, who by his own energy, perseverance and indomitable strength of character has achieved a reputation that entitles him to rank among the leading manufacturers of the Dominion. One of the most active men, never idle, keeping his wealth in motion for





John L. Blair



the interests of his own business and the city in which he lives, his name in commercial circles is a tower of strength and is one with which the word fail has no association.

### JOHN L. BLAIKIE.

John L. Blaikie, financier, whose strict conformity to a high standard of business ethics has won for him an unassailable reputation in financial circles, where he has figured prominently for almost half a century, was born a few miles from Melrose, Roxburghshire, Scotland, May 9th, 1823. Educated partly at Melrose and at Edinburgh, he put aside his text-books and entered business life in an office in Edinburgh and subsequently at London, England, where he remained for four years, leaving there for Glasgow, Scotland, where he resided twelve years, during which period he became intimately acquainted with many gentlemen of wealth and prominence in various departments of commercial life. In 1885 he formed a partnership with an intimate friend of his, Mr. Wm. Alexander, who had for some years been a resident of Toronto, Canada, the firm being Blaikie & Alexander. Mr. Blaikie then removed to Toronto which has been his home ever since. The firm of Blaikie & Alexander, financial agents and stock brokers conducted a very large and successful business in lending money on mortgage security for many years and at a time when money was very scarce and rates of interest very high. Both Mr. Blaikie and Mr. Alexander were pioneer residents of York county, and Toronto was but a small city when they began business here. Mr. Alexander has lived in California for many years, but Mr. Blaikie retains his residence in Toronto, where he has now lived for almost a half century, witnessing the growth and development of the city from a small and inconsequential town into one of distinct commercial, industrial and financial prominence. There have been eras of financial depression as well as of prosperity, and the firm of Blaikie & Alexander were operating here at the time of the memorable money stringency when interest was paid at whatever rate the financial agent demanded. The firm, however, pursued a policy strictly in keeping with the principles of honor and honesty, which had been instilled into them in youth. Borrowers were

often willing to pay twenty-five per cent., but the firm never accepted a higher rate of interest than ten per cent., which was then regarded a low rate for money, regarding usurious charges as a dishonorable business method and maintaining strictly a principle, which brought them financial success and secured for them the honor and respect of their fellowmen and won them a position in public regard which was most commendable and desirable. By their connection with wealthy men in England and Scotland this firm secured all the money they required and as financial agents did a profitable business for British capitalists and for themselves.

For over thirty years Mr. Blaikie has retired from active business pursuits, but is serving as either president or director of several companies and corporations. For thirty-eight years he has been president of the Canada Landed & National Investment Company, being a record probably unequalled by any other man connected with any financial institution as president in the Dominion. The company has become one of the most prosperous institutions of its kind in the city. In fact there has not been one esoteric phase in the entire business career of Mr. Blaikie, who by the consensus of public opinion is accounted one of the most honorable and honored residents of Toronto. His recognized ability, enterprise and sound business judgment have led him to be sought for official service in connection with other corporate interests, and at the present writing he is president of the North American Life Insurance Company, president of the Consumers' Gas Company and a director of the Toronto General Trusts Company.

In 1861 Mr. Blaikie was married to Miss Annie Todd, of St. Andrew's, Scotland, and five of their seven children are yet living, namely: Jean, the widow of the late W. C. B. Rathbun; Frank, a resident of St. Catharines; Mary, wife of the Rev. Dr. W. G. Wallace, M.A., D.D.; George W., of the firm of Fergusson & Blaikie, stock brokers of Toronto; and Miss Florence.

Mr. Blaikie is one of the three members living who were of the original Board of Directors of the Young Men's Christian Association in London, England, founded by Sir George Williams in 1844. He is also one of the very few men living who witnessed the funeral of Sir Walter Scott, in 1832, the event making a lasting impression on his mind and the recollection still remaining clear to him notwithstanding that seventy-five years have since

passed. While he has taken part in the development of important business interests he has not concentrated his efforts and energies upon financial affairs to the exclusion of other interests but has recognized the need for and possibilities of advancement along lines relating to the intellectual and moral progress of his community and these have received his support and co-operation. In an analyzation of his character and life work we note many of the sterling characteristics which have marked the Scotch nation for many centuries—perseverance, reliability, energy and unconquerable determination to pursue a course that has been marked out, and above all an incorruptible honesty. It is these sterling qualities which have gained Mr. Blaikie success in life and made him one of the valued and substantial citizens of Toronto.

#### JAMES JOSEPH FOY.

James Joseph Foy, Attorney-General of the Province of Ontario, has made steady progress toward prominence in a profession where advancement depends upon individual merit and ability. He has practised successfully for more than a third of a century in Toronto, his native city. He was born in 1847, a son of Patrick and Catharine (Mallaney) Foy. The father, a native of Ireland, came to Canada in 1836 and established himself in business in Toronto as a merchant, his remaining days being passed in the capital city, where his death occurred in 1868 when he was fifty-six years of age.

James Joseph Foy was educated in Toronto, attending St. Michael's College and later Usher College at Durham, England. He studied law with Crawford Crombie, K.C., as his preceptor and was called to the Bar in 1871, since which time he has been an active practitioner in the courts of Toronto. He was elected a Bencher of the Law Society in 1882, and was created a Queen's Counselor by the Marquis of Lorne in 1883. He practised for some years in partnership with J. Stewart Tupper, Q.C., and John A. Macdonell, Q.C., and in the legal profession has displayed those traits of character which are essential requisites to success at the Bar. In addition to his law practice he is interested in the Toronto General Trusts Com-

pany and the Scottish Ontario & Manitoba Land Company, of both of which he is a director.

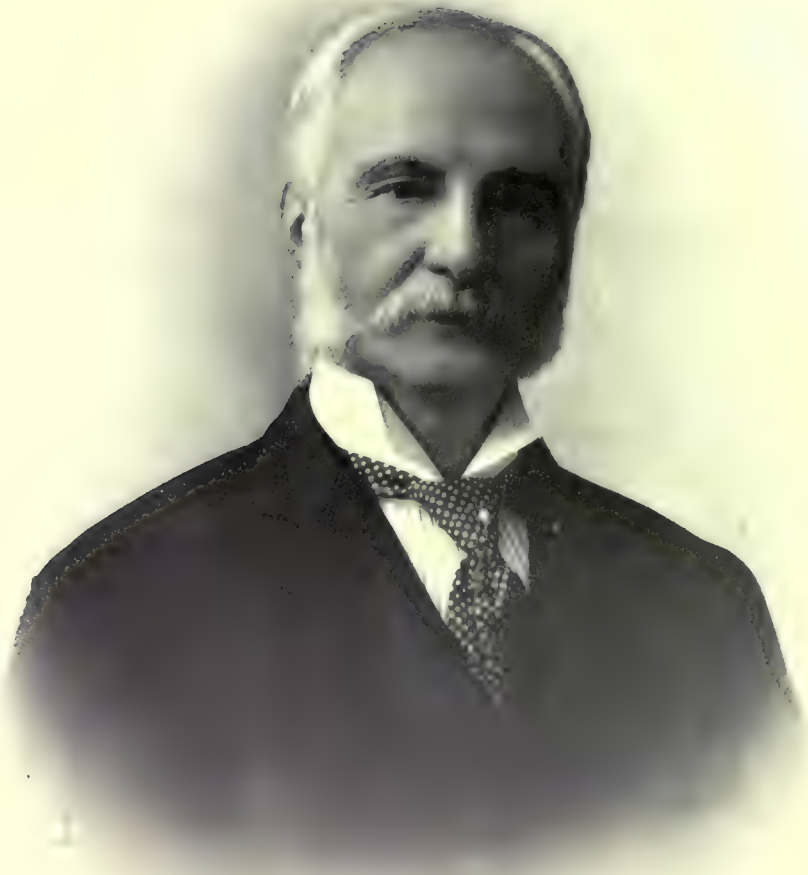
In 1879 Mr. Foy was married to Miss Marie Cuvillier, a daughter of the late Maurice Cuvillier, a merchant of Montreal. They have three daughters and two sons, and the family are pleasantly located at No. 90 Isabella street. They are communicants of the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. Foy holds membership relations with various social and political organizations, including the Toronto Club, the Albany Club, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club and the Golf Club. He has also been chairman of the Liberal-Conservative Club for many years, being a staunch Conservative in his political views and adherence. He was Commissioner of Crown Lands from February, 1905, until June of the same year, when he became Attorney-General. In 1896 he was elected a delegate to the Irish National Convention at Dublin, and he has been president of the county of York Law Association.

#### JOHN WOODBURN LANGMUIR.

John Woodburn Langmuir was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, on November 6th, 1834, his parents being members of well-known county families. He was educated at Osborne's Academy, Kilmarnock, Scotland, and when fifteen years old came to Canada and was articled—in old Scotch custom—for five years with the firm of Miller Bros., Picton, Ontario, who at that time carried on a large mercantile business in Picton and in Kingston. After a sound commercial experience at both establishments of the firm, he was, in 1853, enabled to acquire the Picton branch of the business. In connection with it he built up a large business as a grain merchant and a ship-builder for the lake marine, which in those days was very extensive. In 1858, when only twenty-four years of age, his fellow townsmen honored him by electing him mayor of Picton, an office which he filled with great credit to himself and benefit to the community.

In 1868 the Sandfield-Macdonald administration, the first government after the confederation of the newly constituted Province of Ontario,





*J. W. Langmuir*



appointed him Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities for the province. It was thought that the work was too great for any one man, but Mr. Langmuir showed them that it depended upon the kind of man, not the number of men, and, needless to say, the work was done well. During three administrations he performed the onerous duties of the post and the reports of his work are the authentic history of Ontario.

When Mr. Langmuir resigned his office he associated himself with a group of prominent gentlemen in the formation of The Toronto General Trusts Company, being the pioneer organization in Canada for the management of estates and trusts by a corporate body instead of by individuals. Of this corporation—now The Toronto General Trusts Co.—Mr. Langmuir is still managing director. In the world of finance he has won for himself a reputation of rare probity and sound judgment.

He was appointed Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Prison and Reformatory System of Ontario which sat in 1891. He served for years as Chairman of the Board of Commissioners of Queen Victoria, Niagara Falls Park. He is also president of the Homewood Retreat Association at Guelph. Mr. Langmuir was also appointed by the Dominion government a member of the Royal Commission on Insurance.

During his younger days he took an interest in military affairs and rose to the rank of major in the 6th Battalion, a commission he filled while the regiment was on active service during the Fenian Raids of 1866. Mr. Langmuir has travelled extensively and is a man of culture, a humane man, and a man much loved by the many with whom his various duties and pleasures have brought him in contact. He is a member of the Toronto Club and of the Grosvenor Club, London, England. Is a Presbyterian, having been a member of St. Andrew's Church, King Street, Toronto, since it was first built, and serves as Chairman of the Board of Management.

Mr. Langmuir has been married three times and has a family of nine children. First to Emma Lueretia, daughter of the late Dr. Fairfield of Prince Edward; second to Elizabeth Harriet, daughter of the late John Ridout, Registrar of York, and third to Catharine Mary, daughter of the late Mr. Bloodgood, of New York.

## HON. HUGH MACMAHON.

No compendium such as the province of this work defines in its essential limitations would be complete without extended reference to Judge Hugh MacMahon, whose career has reflected credit and honor upon the province and the country that has honored him. Endowed by nature with high intellectual qualities, he has so developed his powers as to gain recognition as one of the foremost lawyers and jurists in the Dominion, and one whose entire life has not an esoteric phase, being an open scroll inviting the closest scrutiny. True, his have been "massive deeds and great" in one sense, and yet his entire life accomplishment but represents the result of the fit utilization for the innate talent which is his and the directing of his efforts in those lines where matured judgment and rare discrimination lead the way.

Born in Guelph, Ontario, his natal day, March 6, 1836, he is a son of the late Hugh MacMahon, P.L.S., a native of Cootehill, county Cavan, Ireland, who in the year 1819 came to Canada. The family belonged originally to Monaghan, and during the troublous times of the last of the reigning Stuarts held important positions in their native country. Two members of the family were Colonel Art Oge MacMahon, who was James II.'s Lord Lieutenant of Monaghan, and Hugh MacMahon, who was lieutenant-colonel of Gordon O'Neil's Charlemont Regiment of Foot. This member was engaged afterward in the service of France and belonged to the famous Irish Brigade.

Hugh MacMahon wedded Anne McGovern. A man of high scholastic attainments, he personally superintended the education of his son and namesake, who, on laying aside his text-books, entered public service as an assistant engineer under the late Lieutenant-Colonel Gallwey, C.E. He was employed on the survey of the Prince Ottawa ship canal and afterward on the work of construction on that portion of the line at Chats Rapids, but while making rapid and substantial advancement in the profession of civil engineering he determined to direct his labors into other channels, and in 1857 began preparation for the practice of law.



Judge MacMahon was called to the Bar in 1864 and opened an office in Brantford, where for five years he engaged in general practice as a partner of his brother, the late Thomas B. MacMahon, afterward county judge of Norfolk. A removal to London was followed by a most successful connection with the Bar of that county. In fact his legal business became of such extent and importance that he was accorded by the consensus of public opinion a position as a foremost representative of legal practice in the west. In 1876 he was created Queen's Counselor by the Ontario government, and a similar honor was conferred upon him by the Marquis of Lansdown in 1875. The history of the courts in their most important phases largely presents a history of the professional career of Hon. Hugh MacMahon. In 1877 he represented the Dominion government in arbitration between the Ontario and Federal governments, touching the western and the northwestern boundaries of Ontario, and in 1884, when the matter was carried to the Privy Council he was sent to England with Christopher Robinson, Q.C., and D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., on behalf of the Dominion government. He won distinction as a criminal lawyer in some of the most sensational trials of the nineteenth century. He was remarkable among lawyers for the wide research and provident care with which he prepared his cases. At no time was his reading ever confined to the limitations of the question at issue; it went beyond and compassed every contingency and provided not alone for the expected, but for the unexpected, which happens in the courts quite as frequently as out of them.

Judge MacMahon sought a broader field of labor in Toronto in 1883, and continued in successful practice in that city up to the time of his appointment as a puisne judge of the Common Pleas Division of the High Court of Justice of Ontario, November 30, 1887. Upon the Bench his course has been in harmony with his record as that of a man and lawyer, characterized by the utmost fidelity and a masterful grasp of every question presented for solution. Devotedly attached to his profession, systematic and methodical in habit, sober and discreet in judgment, calm in temper, diligent in research, conscientious in the discharge of every duty, courteous and kind in demeanor, and inflexibly just on all occasions—these qualities

have enabled Judge MacMahon to take first rank among those who have held high judicial office and made him the conservator of that justice which is a safeguard and the defence of our national institutions. His reported opinions are monuments to his profound legal learning and superior ability. They show a thorough mastery of the questions involved and rare simplicity of style and an admirable terseness and clearness in the statement of the principles upon which the opinions rest.

In 1864 occurred the marriage of Judge MacMahon and Isabel Janet, the eldest daughter of the late Simon Mackenzie of Belleville, Ontario. A contemporary biographer has said: "In private life he is known as a man of culture and refinement whose judgment as a connoisseur in art is highly regarded in professional circles." He is, moreover, a man of broad, scholarly attainments and has prepared able articles for the press on historical and other subjects. Prior to his elevation to the Bench he was at one time Liberal candidate for the House of Commons, first for the people of London at the general election of 1872, and again for the county of Kent at the general election of 1878. His religious faith is that of the Roman Catholic Church.

#### JOHN HOSKIN, K.C.

John Hoskin, who has attained a position of eminence at the Chancery Bar and moreover figures prominently in connection with various corporate interests and as a supporter of many philanthropic movements, was born at Holsworthy, England, in May, 1836, a son of Richard Hoskin, also of that place. His education was acquired in London, and when a young man of eighteen years he sought his fortune in the new world, attracted by the broad opportunities that are always afforded in a new but rapidly developing country. Determining upon the practice of law as a life work, he has been a barrister of Toronto since called to the Bar in 1863, and in his practice has made a specialty of Chancery work, in which he has gained much more than local distinction. He is a barrister of marked ability, with thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence, strong in argument, logical in his deductions and in the presentation of his

case showing most thorough and careful preparation. Since 1877 he has been a member of the firm of McCarthy, Osler, Hoskin and Creelman, and in 1874 was appointed guardian *ad litem* and official guardian of infants, which office he resigned a short time ago. He was created a Queen's Councillor by the Earl of Dufferin in 1873 and was first elected a Bencher of the Law Society of Upper Canada in 1876.

Moreover Mr. Hoskin outside the strict path of his profession has proved himself a man of superior ability, whose labors have been directly beneficial to the city and province in many ways. He is a senator of Toronto University, which honored him with the degree of Doctor of Law in 1889, and was elected Chairman of the Board of Trustees of that institution, vice Hon. E. Blake, appointed Chancellor in 1892, and recently Trinity College conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. His keen discrimination and sound business judgment have been sought in the control of various corporate interests and his name is on the directorate of various financial concerns, including the Canada Life Assurance Company, the Bank of Commerce and the British America and Western Assurance Companies. He is likewise a vice-president of the Canada Landed & National Investment Company and president of the Toronto General Trusts Company and a director of the Toronto Gas Company. In 1895 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the vice-chancellorship of Toronto University.

Mr. Hoskin is a man of deep sympathy and wide humanitarian interests, which have led to his co-operation in many philanthropic and Christian works. He realizes in marked degree individual obligation and responsibility and his recognition thereof finds tangible evidence in effort, which has been followed by direct and lasting results for the benefit of mankind. He has been spoken of as a man of great business experience, of fine ability and good judgment.

In 1866 occurred the marriage of Mr. Hoskin and Miss Mary Agnes Mackenzie, a daughter of the late Walter Mackenzie, barrister at law of Castle Frank, Toronto. Mr. and Mrs. Hoskin occupy a beautiful home, The Dale, at Rosedale, Toronto, and hold a prominent position in social circles where true worth and intelligence are received as the passports into the best society.

## FREDERICK J. SMITH.

The name of Frederick J. Smith is well known in real estate circles in Toronto, in which connection he has a most extensive clientage. He has developed his business along modern lines, displaying the spirit of enterprise and energy which are characteristic of the age and which have been the dominant factors in the commercial upbuilding of Toronto. It was in this city that Mr. Smith first opened his eyes to the light of day on the 1st of August, 1861. His father, Henry Smith, came to Canada in 1850 and for many years was identified with the Robert Wilkes Company, which afterwards became the firm of Smith & Fudger, wholesale dealers in fancy goods. He was also associated with the Goldsmith Stock Company, of which he was the promoter, and in his business life made substantial progress. He died April 21, 1896.

At the usual age Frederick J. Smith entered the public schools of Toronto, but put aside his text-books there when quite young and began the study of architecture, serving a regular apprenticeship to the profession. He decided not to devote his life to that calling, however, and turned his attention to the real estate business under the direction of T. H. McCall, a builder and real estate agent. He was afterward engaged with the firm of Butler & Lake as bookkeeper and in 1885 opened a real estate office on his own account. Gradually he developed a business of considerable proportions, and after remaining alone for several years he admitted A. G. Hodgetts to a partnership, this connection continuing until 1902, at which time A. D. Parker was admitted to the firm under the present style of F. J. Smith & Company. The principal department of the business is the handling of estates, the most important of these in Canada being entrusted to the company. In fact the business partakes more of the nature of a trust company than of a private concern. However, the firm also has an extensive patronage along other lines, especially in the purchase and sale of real estate and in valuating and arbitrating property interests. The insurance business also conducted has reached large proportions, and the firm of F. J. Smith & Company is one of the most prominent in real estate circles in Toronto.







*W. A. Matthews*

Mr. Smith was married in August, 1896, to Clara Steward, a daughter of the late William Steward of Toronto, who was the owner of the business now carried on by Geo. Lugsdin & Co. Mr. and Mrs. Smith have a daughter, Florence, now a student in St. Margaret's College. Mr. Smith is a justice of the peace and a member of the Board of Trade, the Canadian Club and of the Northern Congregational Church. He began attending its services as a member of the infant class in the Sunday school and has been associated with the church continuously since, at one time acting as librarian. In politics he is a Conservative, but without political aspiration, having always declined public office, although frequently urged to accept the nomination of his party. He has preferred to concentrate his time and energies upon his business affairs which, capably controlled, have brought him a gratifying measure of prosperity.

#### WILMOT DELOUI MATTHEWS.

Wilmot Deloui Matthews, one of the most prominent men in business and financial life in Canada, was born in Burford, Brant county, Ontario, June 22, 1850. His parents were Wheeler Douglas and Maria (Colton) Matthews, the former born in Burford and the latter in Erie, Pennsylvania. The father was identified with the grain and milling business until his life's labors were ended in death in 1888, his wife surviving him for eleven years or until 1899.

Wilmot D. Matthews was educated at the Model School in Toronto, and on putting aside his text-books became assistant to his father in the grain and milling business in 1866. Their association continued up to the time of the father's death, the son being admitted to a partnership in 1873 and becoming sole owner of the business in 1888. He is now extensively engaged in grain exporting and in malting interests and is moreover known as one of the foremost factors in commercial and financial circles in the Dominion. He is a director of the Canadian Pacific Railway, vice-president of the Dominion Bank, vice-president of the Confederation Life Association, vice-president of the Canada Permanent Loan & Mortgage Corpora-

tion, vice-president of the Toronto Electric Light Company and a director of the Toronto General Trusts Corporation, of the Canadian General Electric Company and the Toronto Street Railway Company. He is likewise president of the London Electric Company of London, Ontario, and moreover has done much to promote business interests as president of the Toronto Corn Exchange, to which position he was elected in 1871, and as president of the Toronto Board of Trade, serving in the latter capacity in 1887 and 1888. His business connections have continually broadened in their scope and importance and Mr. Matthews stands to-day as one whose force of character and well developed talents have made him a power in the field of commercial, industrial and financial activity.

In 1872 occurred the marriage of Wilmot D. Matthews and Miss Annie J. Love, a daughter of Neil C. Love of Toronto. They have four children, Wilmot L., Ethel R., Ina B., and Arnold C., the elder daughter being now the wife of J. K. L. Ross of Montreal.

In political affiliation Mr. Matthews is a Liberal. He belongs to the Church of England and has membership relations with the Toronto Club, Victoria Curling Club, Toronto Golf Club, Toronto Hunt Club, the St. James' Club of Montreal, the Mount Royal Club of Montreal, the City Club of New York and Grosvenor Club of London, England. From 1903 until 1905 inclusive he was a member of the license commission of Toronto. His social qualities have rendered him popular, while the strength and force of his business talents and energies have gained him a foremost place in connection with the great corporations which control the business life of Toronto and the province. Without special advantages at the outset of his career Mr. Matthews has made steady progress. He has attained brilliant success and the biographer is therefore justified in entering somewhat in detail concerning the plans and methods he has followed and the characteristics which he has manifested. In business affairs he is energetic, prompt and notably reliable. Tireless energy, keen perception, honesty of purpose, a genius for devising and executing the right thing at the right time, joined to everyday common sense, are his chief characteristics.



## WILLIAM KIRKPATRICK McNAUGHT.

William Kirkpatrick McNaught, whose efforts have been so discerningly directed along well defined lines of labor that he seems to have accomplished at any one point in his career the possibilities for successful accomplishment at that point, is well known as the president of the American Watch Case Company, Limited, of Toronto. His birth occurred at Fergus, Ontario, September 6, 1845, his parents being John and Sarah McNaught, natives of Dumfriesshire, Scotland. He can boast of some of the oldest Scottish blood in his veins, his mother having been one of the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn, Dumfriesshire, a family ranking among the oldest landed proprietors in Scotland. His father came to Canada about 1835, and rented a large farm near the village of Fergus, which he operated until 1850. He then removed to Brantford, Ontario, where he engaged in the manufacture of carriages, developing an industry of extensive proportions. He became a captain of the Canada militia (Thirteenth corps) and took part on the Loyalist side, in the Rebellion of 1837. A student in the Brantford public and grammar schools between the ages of six and fourteen years, William K. McNaught then accompanied his parents on their removal to the county of Huron, Ontario, where his father had purchased a tract of bush land. Here the manner of his life was altogether changed. He was in the midst of pioneer environments and there devolved upon him the arduous task of clearing and developing the new land. He resolutely undertook the work which awaited him and continued upon the farm until he had attained his majority, when in 1866, he started for Buffalo, intending to become a student in a commercial college of that city and thus prepare for a business career. While en route, however, a report came that the Fenians were again about to invade Canada and Mr. McNaught therefore made his way to Toronto in order to join the Queen's Own Rifles to aid in repelling the threatened invasion. He served for six years with that regiment as color sergeant.

His plans for an education being changed, Mr. McNaught adapted himself to the altered circumstances and became a student in the Toronto

Commercial College, and also pursued a course in the Toronto Military School, which was then conducted by the colonel and officers of the Seventeenth Regiment of the regular infantry. In 1867 he was employed in the hardware store of William Hewitt at Toronto, and the following year apprenticed himself to the late Robert Wilkes of Toronto, to learn the wholesale jewelry, cutlery and plated ware business. His time was thus occupied for ten years, during which period he became an expert in these various lines, and in February, 1877, he formed a partnership with John Zimmerman, now deceased, of Toronto, under the firm style of Zimmerman, McNaught & Company, for the conduct of a wholesale jewelry business. When at a later day G. H. Lowe was admitted to the firm, another change was made, the name being Zimmerman, McNaught & Lowe. The senior partner died in 1884, and the following year Mr. McNaught withdrew from the business in order to organize the American Watch Case Company, as the successor of the watch case manufacturing business of the late R. J. Quigley, of whom he had become a partner. The American Watch Case Company of Toronto was organized in March, 1885, and began business with thirty operatives, which has steadily grown until they number nearly 200. Upon the death of Mr. Quigley in 1902 Mr. McNaught became managing director and secretary-treasurer, and in 1903 was chosen president and managing director. The business has developed along safe and normal lines from the beginning, its output being steadily increased to meet the growing demands of the trade.

Mr. McNaught is closely associated with other business interests and with various organizations which have for their object the development and promotion of commercial conditions. His position in such circles is one of distinctive preferment and honor. He was president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association for two years, president of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition Association from 1902 until 1904 inclusive, treasurer of the Standard Publishing Company for fifteen years and director of the Gore Mutual Fire Insurance Company for four years, chairman of the tariff committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and director of the British Empire League and a founder of the Jewelers' Security Alliance of Canada, of which he was honorary secretary for the first years of its existence.

He was also treasurer of the Trader Publishing Company, Limited, of Toronto, and there are few men whose opinions are more generally received as authority concerning business conditions and possibilities in the province and the country at large. He has done much to develop the business life of Toronto and Ontario and has been the exponent of a gospel of good tidings through the columns of the Trader, and a Canadian journal, which he founded in September, 1879. This was the first trade journal published in Canada, and Mr. McNaught has since been its editor and manager. The result of his keen observation and close study are given to the world through this medium, and he has written much on economic and tariff matters.

On the 20th of June, 1873, occurred the marriage of William K. McNaught and Miss Caroline Eliza Lugsden, of Toronto. They have four children: Dr. H. Y. McNaught of Los Angeles, California; C. B. McNaught of Toronto; Mrs. Hilton R. Tudhope; and William Carlton McNaught. In his political views Mr. McNaught has been a Conservative since age conferred on him the right of franchise. He was honored by his party with election to the Provincial Parliament in 1906 by a very decisive majority and that he will be an active factor in its sessions no one has reason to doubt. He is connected with no organization in which he is not a working member and his comprehensive understanding of trade conditions and the business life of the Dominion well qualifies him for the presentation of clear and forcible views upon the subject.

#### WILLIAM REES BROCK.

Often do we hear it said of those who have attained distinction by reason of a well spent and successful life that they were men who rose to eminence through adventitious circumstances, and yet to such carping criticism and lack of appreciation there needs be made but the statement that unfortunate environments encompass nearly every man at some stage in his career, but the strong man and the successful man is he who realizes that the proper moment has come, that the present and not the future holds his opportunity. The man who makes use of the NOW and not the TO BE is the one who passes on the highway of life others who started out ahead

of him and reaches the goal of prosperity far in advance of them. It is this quality in Mr. Brock that has made him a leader in the business world and won him a name in connection with mercantile circles that is known not only in Toronto, but throughout the province.

Mr. Brock, a native of Guelph, is a son of Thomas R. Brock, who was born in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1811, and came to Canada in 1830, settling in Guelph, Ontario, where he engaged in business. He died in 1850. The early education of his son and namesake was obtained in one of the old time log schoolhouses of that pioneer period. Later he became a grammar school student and on putting aside his text-books he entered business life as a salesman in a wholesale dry goods house. He has been connected with this department of commercial activity since that time. His preliminary training in the employ of others well qualified him to engage in business on his own account, when, in 1871, he became a member of the firm of Ogilvy & Company of Toronto. This connection was maintained for six years, and in 1877 the firm of W. R. Brock & Brother was established, the business being carried on under that style until 1879, when the firm of Wyld, Brock & Darling was formed. This was the predecessor of the firm of Wyld, Brock & Company, which enjoyed an existence until 1886, when The W. R. Brock Company was incorporated and under that name the business has since been conducted. From comparatively small beginning the trade has increased to mammoth proportions and furnishes employment to many resident and also traveling salesmen, the latter being known in every town from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The volume of trade transacted over the counters of the great Wellington street house is continually increasing and a branch house has been established at Montreal of equally large proportions and also one at Calgary, Alberta. The business has been built up along modern lines of progress and development and the safe conservative methods instituted have awakened the trust and won the support of a large number of patrons, so that shipments are sent to all parts of the Dominion.

The efforts of Mr. Brock in business lines have not been confined alone to the establishment and control of the W. R. Brock Company. On the contrary his advice and counsel have been valued elements in the successful management of various other interests. His corporate holdings are extensive



and he is to-day widely known as the president of the Canadian General Electric Company, vice-president of the Canada Ship Building Company and a director of the Dominion Bank, the Toronto General Trusts Company, the Toronto Electric Light Company and the Ontario Accident Insurance Company.

In 1857 Mr. Brock was married and he is the father of six children. For a half century he has occupied the same pew in St. James' Anglican Cathedral at Toronto. He has membership relations with several of the prominent social organizations of the province, including the Toronto Club, the Albany Club, the Rideau Club of Ottawa and the St. James' Club of Montreal. He has taken an active interest in politics, giving loyal support to the Conservative party since age conferred upon him the right of franchise, and from 1900 until 1904 he sat in the Dominion House as member for Centre Toronto. Otherwise he has never sought or desired political preferment. In his character there is something he attained in the primitive schools where he was educated and in his early business experience, something that might be termed solidity of purpose and which is a characteristic worthy of emulation. In the school of experience he has learned lessons that have made him a well informed man, broad minded and liberal in his views and with a charity that reaches out to all humanity.

#### JAMES MORRISON.

There are no rules for the building of characters; there is no rule for achieving success. The man who can rise from the ranks to a position of prominence is he who can see and utilize the opportunities that surround his path. The essential conditions to human life are ever the same, the surrounding influence differs but slightly and when one man passes another on the highway to reach the goal of prosperity before others who perhaps started out before him, it is because he has the power to use advantages which probably encompass the whole human race. To-day among the prominent business men of the province stands James Morrison of Toronto, and his name at once brings to mind an important industry of the country,

being at the head of the James Morrison Brass Manufacturing Company, Limited.

A native of Montreal he was born September 25, 1842, and supplemented his preliminary education by a thorough commercial course. He entered business life as an apprentice to Thompson, Kenith & Company of Toronto, brass founders, and when his five years' term of indenture was completed he visited the United States, which at that time was paying better wages for skilled labor than could be secured in Canada. Mr. Morrison was employed in New York until 1863, when he returned to Toronto and became the founder of the business which has since become known throughout the Dominion under the name of the James Morrison Brass Manufacturing Company, Limited, of which he is the president. This industry had but a small beginning. The shop was first located at the corner of Bay and Temperance streets and as the years passed modern machinery and facilities were secured to meet the growing demand of the trade. The business was conducted under his own name until 1896, when it was incorporated under the present style, with James Morrison as president and manager; Robert Morrison, vice-president; Charles Morrison, secretary and treasurer; and Alfred Morrison, assistant manager. Thus three of the sons are officers of the company, while the other two sons, William and Frank, also occupy positions with the house. The company manufactures engineers' and plumbers' goods, gas and electrical fixtures and also has a large business in heavy brass goods for locomotives and ship building. The operatives of the factory number two hundred and twenty throughout the year and the pay roll amounts to one hundred thousand dollars annually. The products of the house are sent from ocean to ocean and there is also some export trade to Australia and in England. The strongest element in the success of the company has been the unceasing care and watchfulness of Mr. Morrison, who has thoroughly acquainted himself with every detail of the business and he manifests, moreover, a thorough understanding of business conditions, together with a keen insight into trade relations and the demands of the public. He has instituted the needs of the trade in his line and has thus been helped to meet them, while the quality and endurance of his manufactured output insures a continuance of the liberal patronage now enjoyed.





*Randolph Macdonald*



Mr. Morrison was united in marriage in 1868 to a daughter of the late Mr. Erwin, of Albany, New York, and has ten living children: Charles Erwin, Robert Arthur, Grace Adeline, James A., William H., Bertram C., Frank G., Leonard S., Abbie and Yolande. The family residence is at No. 81 St. George street, Toronto. Mr. Morrison is much interested in the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, of which he is a member and he is identified with various other fraternal and social organizations, including the Masons. His religious faith is indicated by his identification with the Congregational Church. He has rare social qualities, delights in good fellowship and lacks none of those personal traits of character which are indicative of the warm hearted and high minded gentleman.

#### RANDOLPH MACDONALD.

Randolph Macdonald is the son of the late Angus Peter Macdonald, a Canadian by birth but of Scotch descent, who represented West Middlesex in the Dominion of Canada Parliament for a number of years.

The boy Randolph was born in Drummondville, Ontario, on March 30th, 1849, and educated at two Canadian schools that were famous in their time—Dr. Tassie's School in Galt, Ontario, and Hellmuth College, London, Ontario.

His natural inclinations directed him to railroad construction and upon leaving college he became superintendent and clerk on the construction of the Cleveland and Mahoning Branch Railroad with headquarters at Cleveland, Ohio. Then he joined his father and brother on a railroad contract lasting for three years on the Jamestown and Franklin Railway in Pennsylvania. In 1870 he formed a partnership with his brother under the firm name of W. E. Macdonald and Company, and secured the contract for building section 13, consisting of thirty miles of the Intercolonial Railway at Metis, Quebec—a piece of work that was considered the heaviest filling-in work on the road, and which, when completed, was a credit to the contractors. In 1875 the same firm built sections 1 and 2 of the Lachine Canal and the Wellington Basin near Montreal for \$1,250,000. In 1880 they built the Fenelon Falls section of the Trent Valley Canal including two locks and

approaches. In 1887 Mr. Macdonald was awarded the Don improvement contract by the City of Toronto and continued the same in partnership with Mr. Alexander Manning, the well-known contractor and capitalist, under the firm name of Manning & Macdonald. From 1891 to 1893 built the Port Dalhousie Harbor Works; the Midland Division of the Grand Trunk Railway to Campbellford, Ontario; the Esplanade works of the City of Toronto; the Canadian Pacific Railway section on the Don River; the Toronto Belt Line Railway; section 13 of the Soulages Canal at Coteau Landing and section 9 at Coteau-du-Lac (these two sections costing \$1,200,000), and also the St. Lawrence River improvements at Cornwall. In 1902 the Manning interest in the partnership was purchased by Mr. Macdonald, who then engaged in a large harbor contract at Three Rivers, Quebec, and who also undertook other dredging contracts.

Mr. Macdonald is a man of excellent judgment and of sound business ability, and with his comprehensive grasp of public affairs has made himself felt in financial and commercial circles. He was a promoter and organizer of the Sovereign Bank of Canada—incorporated in 1901 with a capital of \$2,000,000—and a provisional director of the same; he was afterwards elected and is now the president of that institution. Mr. Macdonald was also a promoter and organizer of the Crown Life Assurance Company of Toronto, with a capital of \$1,000,000 and was elected a director and also a member of its Executive Board of Management. He is also president of The Randolph Macdonald Co., Limited; president, Dominion Engineering and Construction Co., Limited; director, Crown Life Insurance Co.; director, Colonial Loan and Investment Co.

In 1875 Mr. Macdonald married Jeannie Ferguson, of Montreal, and the three children are William R., who is now Superintendent of the Randolph Macdonald Company, of Three Rivers, Que.; Mabel, wife of Charles A. Barton, who is with the Westinghouse Electric Company of New York; and Frank, a student at St. Andrew's College, Toronto.

A staunch Presbyterian, Mr. Macdonald has been a prominent member of Chalmers' Church, Dundas street, for years, and he is also member of the Masonic Order, A.F. & A.M.

From the foregoing it can easily be seen what a prominent figure Mr. Macdonald has been and still is in the development of Canada—a man whose name will always be recognized and handed down as a pioneer in the making of our first great road and waterways. Mr. Macdonald is a member of Toronto and Albany Clubs, Toronto; and the Rideau Club of Ottawa.

#### HON. WILLIAM HENRY BROUSE, M.A., M.D.

Hon. William Henry Brouse, M.A., M.D., Senator for Grenville, was a descendant of one of the United Empire Loyalists who settled on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River immediately after the American war, his parents being Colonel Jacob Brouse, farmer, of Matilda, Ontario, and Nancy Parlow, the latter also being the descendant of a Loyalist family.

He was born at Matilda, Dundas, Ontario, June 15th, 1828, was educated at Victoria University, Cobourg, where he took his degree of M.A. in 1849. He studied medicine with the Hon. John Rolph, M.D., LL.D., of Toronto, and was the first graduate of Victoria University who was recognized at McGill University, Montreal, where he obtained the degree of M.D. in 1847. He had charge that year, under the Canadian government, of three hundred cases of emigrant fever at Port Iroquois, Matilda. In 1848 he removed to Prescott, where he practised his profession for more than thirty years. He was well known on both sides of the St. Lawrence. He had an extensive practice, and occupied a high position among the the medical profession, his reputation in both medicine and surgery being excellent. He was a member of the senate of Victoria University, and took an active interest in all matters pertaining to his Alma Mater. He was identified with a number of financial and public organizations. Was reeve and mayor of Prescott, and was identified with every interest relating to the town and vicinity, and pertaining to the welfare of the country, and his heart was in every enterprise that would advance the cause of good morals and the intelligence of the people.

He was appointed a member of the Medical Examining Board for Upper Canada in 1850, and was elected a member of the Medical Council

for Ontario in 1866, 1869, 1872 and 1876 continuously from its formation; was president of that body in 1870, and in 1876 was a delegate from the Dominion to the World's Convention of medical and scientific men held in Philadelphia. He had strong inducements held out to him to remove to Toronto, and in 1878 was gazetted Professor of Surgery in the Toronto College of Medicine and Science, but declined to accept.

He was an unsuccessful candidate (against the Hon. George Crawford, of Brockville), for the St. Lawrence Division in the Legislative Council of Canada in 1858; was first returned to Parliament at Ottawa, at the general election in 1872, re-elected in 1874 and in 1878 was called to the Senate of Canada. In politics he was a Reformer.

While in the House of Commons Dr. Brouse was quite active and influential in securing an appropriation as a reward to the surviving veterans of the War of 1812-14. He favored the establishment of a Dominion Sanitary Bureau, and to that end moved the appointment of a committee, of which he was made chairman, the report of which committee strongly recommended action in the matter. He was among the first to urge on the government their responsibility to the country in that they should adopt hygienic legislation to maintain health, and also as to the prevention of the adulteration of food. He also favored the introduction of military drill in the schools of a higher grade, and moved for the appointment of a committee to report on this subject in the session of 1875, and advocated the measure in an able speech.

On the 12th of February, 1877, he called the attention of the House of Commons to the fact that the Imperial Board of Trade had notified the English agents of the Allan Line of steamers, that none of that company's ships, carrying passengers, would be allowed to clear at the British Custom House, unless the surgeon had graduated at one of the Colleges of England, Ireland or Scotland—an act which he declared was “an insult, alike oppressive to the Canadian graduates and the universities of the Dominion.” The Board of Trade, being a branch of the Executive Government of England, Dr. Brouse moved that that Board be required to rescind the act; the resolution was carried almost unanimously and a despatch was sent to



the English Board, and the desires of the Dominion Parliament were promptly complied with.

Dr. Brouse was married on January 28th, 1857, to Fanny A., eldest daughter of Alpheus Jones of Prescott, also of United Empire Loyalist descent. Two children survive him (1) William Henry Brouse, who was called to the Bar in 1882, and practised his profession as a member of the firm of Messrs. Beatty, Blackstock & Co., Toronto, until 1897, when he took up a financial career, and is now the senior member of the firm of Messrs. Brouse, Mitchell & Co., bankers and brokers, Toronto; and (2) Fanny Josephine Brouse.

Dr. Brouse removed his residence from Prescott to the City of Ottawa in the year 1880, in which city he died August 21st, 1881. His widow and children now reside in Toronto.

#### ALEXANDER CAVANAGH.

Alexander Cavanagh, a grain merchant operating in Winnipeg and in Toronto, maintaining his residence in the latter city, was born January 8, 1864, in county Middlesex, Ontario. His parents, Charles and Jane (Woods) Cavanagh, were natives of Ireland and of Kingston, Ontario, respectively. The father on coming to Canada settled on a farm in Middlesex county in 1857, and devoted his attention to general agricultural pursuits until 1869, when he engaged in the grain business at Lucan, and subsequently at Seaforth, Ontario, finally settling in the town of Forest, where he conducted milling and flouring interests in connection with the grain trade. He there resided until his life's labors were ended in death.

Alexander Cavanagh was a public school student of Seaforth and Forest and entered business life in connection with A. Armitage, a grain merchant of Toronto, who had been his father's partner. Mr. Cavanagh has since operated as a grain merchant in Winnipeg, Manitoba and Toronto, making a specialty of handling Manitoba grain and supplying millers with Manitoba wheat. He has many regular patrons for this product and the volume of his business has continually increased until his name is well known in business circles in connection with the line which he represents. He is also a member of the Toronto Board of Trade.

Mr. Cavanagh was married in 1888 to Miss M. E. Rawlings, a daughter of the late Albin Rawlings, of Forest, who was a cattle exporter. They have two children, Maude R. and Irene. Mr. and Mrs. Cavanagh are members of the Church of England and in his political views he is independent.

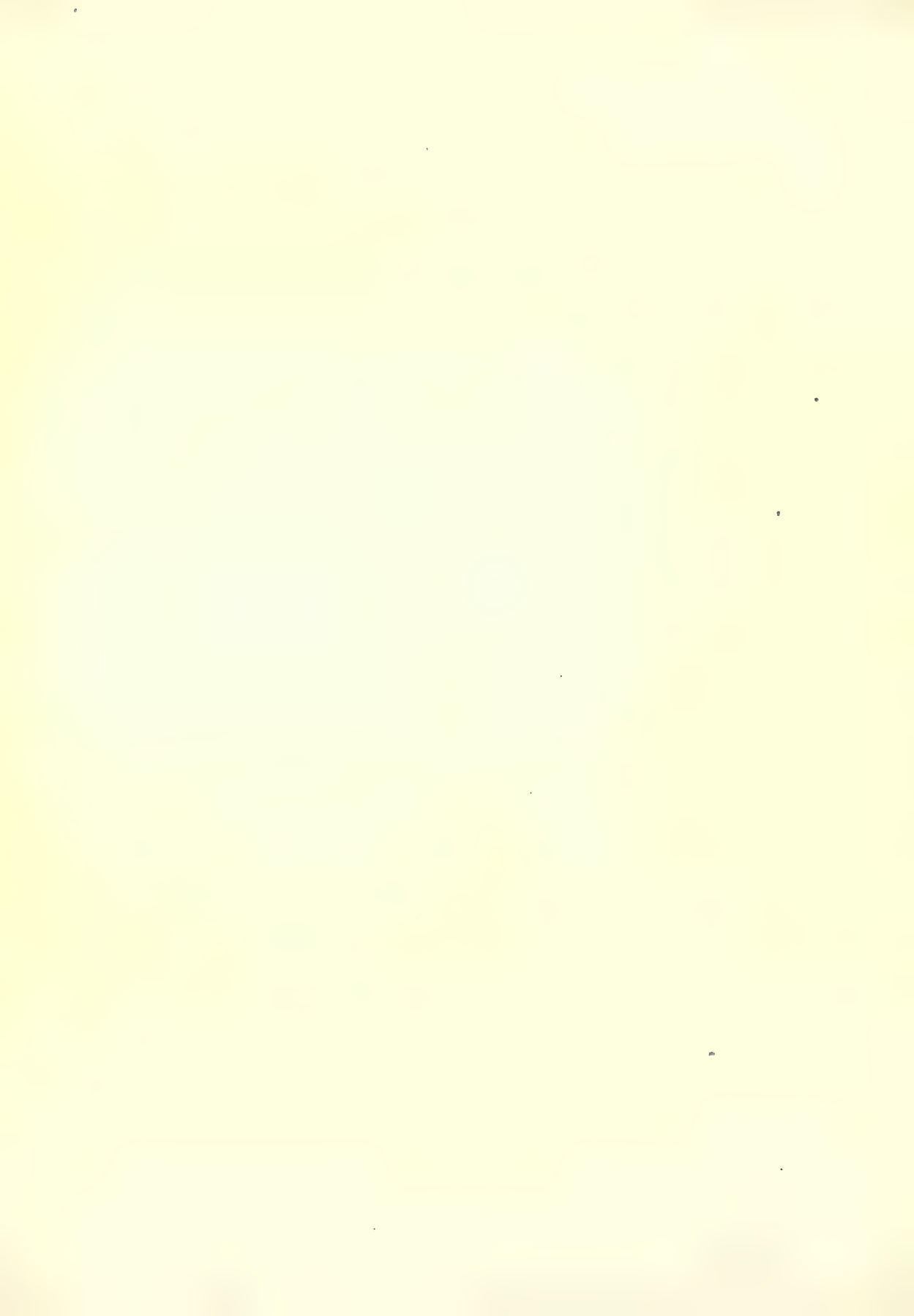
#### HON. WALLACE NESBITT, K.C.

Hon. Wallace Nesbitt, one of the most able and learned lawyers practising at the Toronto Bar, was born May 13, 1858, near Woodstock, Oxford county, Ontario, and is a son of the late John W. and Mary (Wallace) Nesbitt, natives of Scotland and of the North of Ireland, respectively. The father came to Canada in 1837, and was an early settler of Oxford county. He served through the rebellion of that year and afterward turned his attention to general agricultural pursuits, clearing bush land and transforming the wild tract into richly productive fields.

Wallace Nesbitt, reared on the home farm, pursued his more specifically literary education in the Woodstock Baptist College, and took up the study of law in the office and under the direction of the firm of Bethune, Osler & Moss. In 1881 he was called to the Bar of Ontario, taking the old honor course in law at Osgoode Hall, also the second, third and fourth year scholarships. From 1881 until 1883 he practised in Hamilton with the firm of Velancey, Fuller & White, under the firm style of Fuller, White & Nesbitt. In the later year he came to Toronto with B. B. Osler and joined the firm of McCarthy, Osler, Hoskin, Plumb & Creelman, which relation was maintained until 1892, when with George Blackstock he joined the firm of Beatty & Blackstock. In the practice of law, where success depends entirely upon individual merit he has made steady advancement, displaying in the trial of cases a mind analytical, logical and inductive. Clear and cogent in reasoning and forceful in argument he easily won and held the attention of the court and jury and won victories in many forensic contests. In May, 1903, he was called to the Bench of the Supreme Court, whereon he remained until October 4, 1905, when he resigned and again resumed the private practice of his profession. He has been connected with many important suits, among them being the historical legal contest between the firm of Connee &



Wallace Woodhitt





MacLennan, contractors, and the Canadian Pacific Railway. Also the memorable trial of the St. George Railway disaster case. He has likewise been engaged in a number of important criminal cases. As a jury lawyer he is said to be singularly successful. He has been president of the Osgoode Literary and Legal Society, and in 1896 was recommended by the Tupper administration for appointment as a Queen's Counselor. He now confines his entire attention to consulting and counsel work, doing no business as a solicitor he holds retainers from a large number of important corporate interests throughout the Dominion.

In 1887 Mr. Nesbitt wedded the widow of Thomas Plumb, formerly Miss Elliott, of New Ontario, who died in 1894. In 1898 he married Miss Annie G. Beatty, a daughter of W. H. Beatty, and they have one son, Wallace Rankine. Mr. Nesbitt is a member of the Masonic fraternity and the Delta Chi. His religious faith is indicated by his membership in the Presbyterian Church, and his political views by his affiliation with the Conservative party.

#### RUFUS SAWYER HUDSON.

Rufus Sawyer Hudson, equipped by liberal educational advantages for the responsible duties of a business career has made steady progress until he occupies a position of prominence in financial circles as joint general manager of the Canada Permanent Mortgage Corporation. December 17, 1843, was his natal day and the place Chelsea, Quebec. He is a son of Josephus and Didamia (Church) Hudson, and grandson of Lieut. Wm. Hudson, and is descended from English ancestors, who were United Empire Loyalists and settled in Quebec in 1792. The father, who came to the township of Hull, Quebec, in 1819, followed the occupation of farming near Ottawa until his death in 1846.

In his school life Rufus Sawyer Hudson displayed special aptitude in the mastery of the branches of learning which claimed his attention and was silver medalist of the grammar school at Ottawa City, leading prizeman of Upper Canada College and honor man of the University of Toronto. In 1864 he became mathematical master at the grammar school at Brockville,

Ontario, where he remained for several years. He assumed the management of the Lyn Tannery and Mills at Lyn, Ontario, in which connection he had supervision of the operation of a tannery and also flour and saw-mills, together with other industries. He was thus engaged until 1877, when he came to Toronto as inspector for the Canada Permanent Loan & Savings Company, and his ability won him promotion to the position of superintendent. In 1900 upon the amalgamation of the Canada Permanent Loan & Savings Co., the Western Canada Freehold, and the London & Ontario under the name of the Canada Permanent Mortgage Corporation, he was made assistant general manager, and upon the retirement of Mr. Mason in 1905 he became joint general manager with Mr. John Massey. He has thus gained a leading place in financial circles and his advancement has come in recognition of ability that is the result of close and earnest application and a recognition and utilization of opportunity.

In 1865 Mr. Hudson was married to Miss Mary H. Yates, a daughter of Thomas Yates, of Toronto, and a granddaughter of Colonel Hammersley of the dragoon guards. Their children, four in number, are: Mary Gibbs, the wife of Dr. F. J. Stowe; Fred W., president and manager of the Canada Brokerage Company of Toronto; H. Hammersley, city inspector for the Canada Permanent Mortgage Corporation; and Harry Lyn, a fruit farmer of the Niagara district.

In politics Mr. Hudson is a Conservative. He belongs to the Masonic fraternity, to St. George's Society and to the Jarvis Street Baptist Church. While a typical business man possessing enterprise and indomitable perseverance Mr. Hudson is nevertheless one who is above the petty intrigues that characterize many in the fields of commerce, a fact which one recognizes instinctively in dealing with him.

#### HON. ALLEN BRISTOL AYLESWORTH.

Hon. Allen Bristol Aylesworth, scholar and statesman, who has gained international distinction as one of the most eminent barristers that has ever practised at the Bar in Canada and who is now actively connected with the administration of affairs of state as Postmaster-General of the

Dominion, has attained to his present position by careful and judicious use of the innate talents with which nature endowed him. Neither wealth nor influence have been used for his promotion. On the contrary he has advanced to public honors and successes over the road to public usefulness. The advantages which others sometimes attain through inheritance or environment have been won by him through unremitting labor and an analyzation of his life record shows that untiring activity has been the real basis of the superstructure upon which he has builded so wisely and so well.

His environment in youth was that of farm life and his early educational privileges were of but a common character. Ambitious to learn, however, he devoted the long hours of the winter evening to reading and studying by candle light or by the flame of the hearth fire in his father's home. He attended the Newburgh grammar school, one of the oldest in the province, and there was awakened a great thirst for knowledge which has never been satiated. He has on the contrary ever been a student and his reading has compassed the great lines of thought of all ages, whether presented in history, science or general literature. The winning of scholarships enabled him to pursue university courses and at nineteen years of age he was a graduate in arts of Toronto University. His university course was as brilliant as it was unique. To take first class honors in three departments, mathematics, history and metaphysics and ethics, would be to-day at once the envy and the despair of any undergraduate. Yet he did it. He won enough money in scholarships to put him through his whole course. In Toronto University he was a Prince's prizeman and also won two silver medals. Among his classmates were many men who have since won distinction and note, including Judge Killam, late of the Supreme Court Bench; Judge Macbeth of London; Judge Snider of Hamilton; Judge Madden of Napanee, and the late Hon. Arthur R. Dickey, formerly Minister of Justice.

In such company and in view of his natural poise of mind it was inevitable that Allen Bristol Aylesworth should gravitate to the legal profession. He entered the law office of Harrison, Osler & Moss and in 1878 was called

to the Bar, while his ability won almost immediate recognition from his former preceptors, with whom he practised for some time, when the firm of Moss, Aylesworth & Armour was established. He gave undivided attention to the practice of law. Professional advancement is proverbially slow, yet Mr. Aylesworth soon demonstrated his ability and superior powers. As a lawyer he is sound, clear minded and well trained. He is at home in all departments of the law, from the minutiae in practice to the greater topics wherein is involved the consideration of the ethics and the philosophy of jurisprudence and the higher concerns of public policy. In his biography of Mr. Aylesworth, E. W. Grange said: "His rise from eminence to pre-eminence in the legal profession of Canada is a matter of such recent history as to require no recounting here. In the last ten years there has been hardly a case of first importance in which he has not figured as counsel. Briefs for the Dominion, briefs for the Provinces, briefs for the large corporations, briefs for the Liberal and for the Conservative parties in election contests have been showered upon him in dearly-feed profusion. Privy Council cases, Supreme Court cases, Court of Appeal cases, High Court cases, contain probably more reference to 'my learned friend, Mr. Aylesworth,' than to any other legal luminary in Canada. All this has involved an immense amount of work. He was always thorough and conscientious in the preparations of his briefs. For the past twenty years he has been in the habit of working every night until two a.m. and arguing all day in some court or another. Thus came an intimate and wide knowledge of all the hidden places of the law, of the science of jurisprudence, of the artistry of judicial analysis and lucid argument. Thanks to long training, with brain working at high pressure and an ordered array of subtle thoughts falling into place at high speed, he can now cram up an intricate case in a night and present it to the court next day with a clearness, conciseness and logical force that are the envy of Bench and Bar. He has not taken very kindly to criminal cases. Civil and constitutional law involving the finest subtleties of reasoning and a library of precedents have appealed more strongly to him."

That judicial honors have never been conferred upon Mr. Aylesworth is due to the fact that he would not accept such. He has twice been



offered a seat on the Supreme Court Bench, but his private practice was so much more lucrative than the office of judge, even in that high court, that he declined to consider the matter. Mr. Aylesworth is not learned in the law alone, for he has studied long and carefully the subjects that are to the statesman and the man of affairs of the greatest importance—the questions of finance, political economy and sociology—and has not only kept abreast of the best thinking men of the age, but has been a leader of public thought, not by reason of any office which he has held—for he has always eschewed political preferment—but by reason of the fact that he has mastered the great problems which are to-day before the country, giving to these most earnest and careful consideration. Three years ago he became an international figure. The strong, patriotic and independent role he played on the Alaskan boundary commission brought him national fame and popularity in Canada. He had already twice been asked to strengthen the Ontario representation in the Cabinet by accepting a portfolio, once in 1900 and again in 1902, but Mr. Aylesworth had small taste for politics and it was not until the plea was urged upon him, “You have been interpreting law; now come and make law,” that the country needed him and that duty of citizenship demanded his service that he would consent. Sir Wilfrid Laurier sought him to fill the office of Postmaster-General. He accepted at much personal sacrifice when the question is viewed from a financial standpoint. Before entering political life he was an interested spectator of the fray rather than an active participant, a prominent citizen with clearly defined views of political questions, but not a politician. His intellectual power, his legal training, his gift of polished, lucid and apt diction, of calm, deliberate and effective oratory, are reproduced in the new Postmaster-General. He has brought to his duties new ideas—the ideas of a man who has never been connected with politics in the usual sense, but whose intellectual force and close study have enabled him to master situations seemingly most intricate and difficult; to look beyond the exigencies of the moment to the possibilities of the future. He brings to the position high ideals and no one has even known Mr. Aylesworth to swerve from any stand which he believes to be the correct one. The same untiring industry which enabled him to win honors in college, to attain pre-eminence at the

Bar when still but a young man, will make him a force in the Cabinet and enable him largely to mold public thought and action. He is diplomatic, yet he will not weigh any question in the scale of mere policy. Its value will be determined by its relation to the public at large without truckling to any one class of men above another, and his clear insight, his keen powers of logic and his analytical ability will enable him to determine relative values and arrive at logical deductions and conclusions.

#### HON. SAMUEL NELSON MONTEITH, M.P.P.

Hon. Samuel Nelson Monteith, member of the Provincial Parliament and Minister of Agriculture of the Province of Ontario, has through practical, profitable and scientific farming become well equipped for the duties which devolve upon him in his official capacity. He is indeed one of the foremost representatives of practical and successful agriculture in the province, and for this reason is well qualified to promote agricultural interests through the discharge of the duties of his office. A native of the county of Perth, he was born at the old family homestead, Sunnyside Farm, about five miles from Stratford on the Embro road in the township of Downie. His natal day was November 21, 1862. He is descended from Irish ancestry. Members of the family emigrated to Virginia from the north of Ireland in 1700 and became largely interested in agriculture in that state when it was still numbered among the colonial possessions of Great Britain. The paternal grandfather of Hon. S. N. Monteith, on emigrating from the old country to the United States, took up his abode upon the farm which has since then been the residence of the family through succeeding generations. His son, the late Samuel Monteith, arrived at Downie on the 12th of July, 1833. He married Annie J. Nelson, who was also of Irish parentage, and their only son is the Hon. Samuel Nelson Monteith, who pursued his education in the public schools of Downie township and in the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph. Before he entered upon his youth the period of developing new land through arduous labor had passed, although many of the modern methods of farming were not yet in vogue. A few years after his graduation from the London Commercial College he became cognizant

of the fact that old methods of farming were not adequate to modern conditions and demands. He realized that there had been developed a science of agriculture and knew that the College of Agriculture existed at Guelph. In those days the term "the gentleman farmer" was often sneeringly expressed and the young man who had the courage to attend the Ontario Agricultural College was in some danger of being termed an agricultural snob, but this fact did not lessen Mr. Monteith's determination to equip himself in the best possible manner for the duties of an agricultural life. Accordingly he entered the institution at Guelph and in due time was graduated as a Bachelor of Scientific Agriculture in 1890. His life has since been devoted, in its business phases, to farming interests and he is unquestioningly accorded the position of being the foremost representative of farm life in the county of Perth and largely in the province. The farm Sunnyside is to-day one of the finest farms in his section of the country. It comprises one hundred and nine acres which is cultivated along profitable and scientific lines, every acre being utilized to the best advantage. Upon this farm Mr. Monteith built the first silo ever erected in Perth county. He has also tilled the land, built wire fences, improved all the buildings and planted trees. He has used the latest improved machinery in carrying on the farm work and he now makes a specialty of the raising of live stock and of poultry, and also in the cultivation of bees and of fruit. He has made a close and discriminating study of agriculture in all of its various departments and the products of his farm are unsurpassed in excellence.

On the 10th of January, 1894, Mr. Monteith was married to Miss Ida May Lupton, and they have five children: Gertrude Maude, Edith Louise, William Nelson, Annie Margaret and Ida Hazel.

While in his farming operations Mr. Monteith has largely reached the ideal, following the most advanced methods and instituting many new ideas which have proved practical and valuable, he has at the same time found opportunity to devote to public interests and has been called to many official positions both in political and agricultural circles. He has served as township councillor, deputy reeve and as councillor and warden of Perth county. He has been a director and president of the North Perth Farmers' Institute

and was president of the Ontario Agricultural and Experimental Union in 1892 and 1905. He has been successively director, vice-president and president of the North Perth Agricultural Society, which offices he has also filled in the South Perth Farmers' Institute. He has filled all of the local offices of the township and the wardenship of the county, and from 1898 until 1902 he was a member of the Legislature. In the latter year he was defeated, but was returned in 1905. In 1898 he was the unsuccessful candidate at the general election and was elected at the bye election in February, 1899, by a majority of seven over Valentine Slock. The election was protested, but the petition was dismissed June 30, 1899. He was the unsuccessful candidate at the general election in 1902, but was re-elected at the general election in 1905. He was then appointed Minister of Agriculture and sworn in on the same day, and was re-elected by acclamation February 21, 1905, at the bye election, caused by his acceptance of the office. Mr. Monteith's public career has been continuously honorable. He is recognized as an incorruptible public official and he brings to his important portfolio a thorough and practical knowledge of farming and an extensive acquaintance with both measures and men. During the years when it was the custom for Conservatives to rail at the Ontario Agricultural College Mr. Monteith was one of its most ardent advocates and already as Minister of Agriculture he has done a work which has gained for him uniform commendation.

Mr. Monteith is a Mason and his religious faith connects him with St. James' Anglican Church at Stratford. He possesses a brisk and business-like manner, is affable and courteous and has the happy faculty of making friends wherever he goes. He has arisen to prominence in political circles through the recognition of his genuine worth and his fidelity to principles, his progressive spirit and his unfaltering stand in support of all those measures which he deems will prove of public benefit.

#### RICHARD BROWN.

Richard Brown, member of the firm of Brown Brothers, booksellers and stationers of Toronto, has made steady advance in his business life, unde-





*Pick & Mow*



tered by the obstacles and difficulties which always visit a business career, steadily advancing toward the objective point of success, which is the goal of all commercial endeavor. Born in Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, on the 13th of May, 1834, he is a son of Thomas and Anne (Spoor) Brown, also natives of that country. His paternal grandfather, Thomas Brown, born in 1774 was known as the father of the bookbinding trade in north England. The family crossed the Atlantic on a sailing ship from Liverpool to New York thence proceeded up the Hudson River by steamer to Albany, by canal to Rochester and by steamer to Toronto by way of Lewiston, reaching their destination on the 10th of July, 1846. This was before the era of railroad travel. The father embarked in business as a stationer and bookseller on King street, in Toronto, where he continued until 1856, when he was succeeded by the firm of Brown Brothers. They have continued to the present time and are now the oldest stationery manufacturers and bookbinders in the province. In 1893 the firm was incorporated as Brown Brothers, Limited, with Richard Brown as president. Their plant was destroyed in the fire of April 19, 1904, and in April, 1905, business was reopened in their present quarters at No. 51 and 53 Wellington street west, a fine five-story brick fire proof block, where they engage in the manufacture of stationery of all kinds and carry on a wholesale trade.

Richard Brown pursued his early education in the grammar schools at Newcastle-on-Tyne and continued his studies in the schools of Toronto following the removal of the family to the new world. At the age of fourteen years he entered business life as an employe of Messrs. MacLears, booksellers and stationers, with whom he continued until 1856, when the firm of Brown Brothers was established. He has since been a factor in the activity, improvement and control of the business, which has steadily grown in volume and importance, being recognized as one of the leading commercial enterprises of the city as well as the oldest concerns of the kind in Canada. He is likewise a director of the Toronto Paper Company, and few men equal him in extended and accurate knowledge of the paper trade in all its phases from the beginning of manufacture until it is given to the public as a marketable product.

In 1860 Mr. Brown was married to Miss Elizabeth Robinson, a daughter

of Dr. Slade Robinson, of Toronto. They have six children: Mary Edith, the wife of A. A. Fisher, a barrister practising at Brockville; Amy Douglas, the wife of A. E. Heustis of Toronto; Thomas Albert, vice-president of the firm of Brown Brothers; Grace Eddington, the wife of J. M. Kerr of Toronto; Richard Norman, also connected with the stationery and book business; and Belle, at home.

Mr. Brown has long been identified with the Sherbourne St. Methodist Church and is one of its stewards and trustees. He has also been superintendent of the Sunday school and in the work of the church and its various departments has taken an active and helpful interest, doing all in his power to promote its growth and extend its influence. Keen and clear headed, always busy, always careful and conservative in financial matters, moving slowly but surely in every transaction, he has few superiors in steady progress which invariably reaches the objective point.

#### DAVID FASKEN.

David Fasken, a practitioner at the Toronto Bar, was born in the township of Pilkington on the Grand River, January 1, 1861. His father, Robert Fasken, was a native of Aberdeenshire, Scotland, born in 1820, and came to Canada at the time of the Rebellion of 1837. He settled in the township of Pilkington, where he spent his remaining days as an agriculturist, and he was well known in the community as one of its pioneer settlers and representative men, who aided in laying broad and deep the foundation for the material development and improvement of his district. His wife, Isabel Milne, was a daughter of the late David Milne of Scotland.

In the public and high schools of Elora, David Fasken pursued his preliminary education, subsequent to which time he entered Toronto University, from which he was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1882. His more specifically literary education was followed by the study of law for one year in the office and under the direction of the firm of Beattie, Hamilton & Cassells. He was afterward a student with the present firm of Beatty, Chadwick, Blackstock & Galt, and was called to the Bar in 1885. Immediately afterwards he entered upon the active practice







*Edmund*

of his profession and is now associated with the firm with which he previously studied.

Aside from his professional duties Mr. Fasken has other business interests. He has always been interested in insurance and is now president of the Excelsior Life Insurance Company. His chief interest aside from the practice of law is in farming, and he is now the owner of three hundred acres of valuable farming land twenty miles from Toronto, and four hundred acres on the Grand River.

Mr. Fasken was married to Miss Alice Winstanley, a daughter of the late Edward Winstanley of Toronto, and they have one son, Robert A. W., who is now being educated under private tuition. Mr. Fasken is interested in the cause of education and is now in the senate of Toronto University. He is also governor of Western Hospital. He attends the Methodist Church and in matters of citizenship is deeply interested, being concerned in those things which effect material, political, intellectual and moral progress, yet never seeking to figure in a prominent light as a public official.

#### EMERSON COATSWORTH.

Emerson Coatsworth, barrister and mayor of Toronto, his native city, was born May 9, 1854. His parents were Emerson and Jennette (Taylor) Coatsworth, natives of Yorkshire and of Scotland respectively. The father came to Canada in 1832 with his parents, who settled in St. Catharines. The maternal ancestors of our subject arrived in the same year and settled in Peterboro. Both families were pioneer farming people and storekeepers. In 1852 Emerson Coatsworth removed to Toronto, having secured the contract to build the bridge over the Don river at Queen street. Following its completion he engaged in the building and contracting business and was identified as one of the contractors with the building of the Northern Railway, having constructed the greater number of the bridges between Toronto and Collingwood. He also built the first dock in Collingwood harbor and likewise in Owen Sound harbor. He was also associated with Messrs. Manning, Ginty, Worthington & Cumberland in different construction works and became recognized as a prominent representative of his line of business

in the province. He died May 8, 1903, at which time he was serving as city commissioner for Toronto, having occupied the position for thirty years. He had also been a member of the school board almost continuously from 1855 until 1875 and for several years served as its chairman. He served as alderman for the city in 1872, and in 1873 unsuccessfully contested East Toronto for the Dominion Parliament. He was a valued and prominent member of the Methodist Church and was identified with the temperance cause as one of its earnest, ardent and able workers.

Emerson Coatsworth was educated in the public schools of Toronto and in the Commercial College. Preparing for the Bar he was admitted to practice in 1879, and further continuing his studies was graduated from Toronto University in 1886 with the Bachelor of Law degree. He has practised continuously from 1879 to the present time and is now senior member of the firm of Coatsworth & Richardson, which firm enjoys a large general practice that has connected them with much of the leading litigation tried in the courts of that district. Mr. Coatsworth prepares his case with great thoroughness and care and his devotion to his clients' interests is proverbial. At the election of 1891 he successfully contested East Toronto for the Dominion House, sitting through that Parliament, but was defeated when a candidate for re-election in 1896 on the Manitoba school question. In 1904 he was chosen a member of the city council of Toronto, and again in 1905 was elected alderman. The following year he was chosen as the chief executive officer of the city and in 1907 was re-elected so that he is now serving for the second term, giving to the city an administration that is characterized by promptness, efficiency and fidelity in the dispatch of municipal business and by a spirit of reform and improvement that the general public acknowledges.

In September, 1883, Mr. Coatsworth was married to Helene Robertson, a daughter of John Robertson, of De Cew Falls, Ontario. Their children, four in number, are Emerson T., Vilda S., Cuthbert P. and Helen E. Mr. Coatsworth belongs to the Masonic fraternity, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks and the Albany Club. He likewise holds membership in the Methodist Church and is a stalwart champion of the cause of temperance.



In fact his position upon vital questions is never an equivocal one. He stands firm in support of his honest convictions and fearless in defense of what he believes to be right, and such a course as this is worthy of the highest commendation, proving also an example well worthy of emulation.

#### HON. LYMAN MELVIN-JONES.

The president and general manager of the Massey-Harris Company, Limited, of Toronto, which enjoys the unique distinction of being the largest concern engaged in the manufacture of agricultural implements under the British flag, is the Hon. Lyman Melvin-Jones. He was born in York county, Ontario, where he was educated. His father was a farmer in that district. In 1868 he entered into the mercantile business at Becton, Simcoe county. In 1873 he gave up business there, going to Brantford to take a position with Messrs. A. Harris, Son & Company, manufacturers. Four years later he was admitted to partnership, and in 1879 he moved to Winnipeg, where he assumed the management of the company's business in Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

In 1881, when the firm of A. Harris, Son and Company became a joint stock company under the name of "A. Harris, Son and Company, Limited," he was elected a director. In 1886, he was elected an alderman of the City of Winnipeg, and appointed chairman of the finance committee. He became mayor of that city in 1887, and was elected vice-president of the Board of Trade. He was re-elected mayor in 1888, and in January of that year, upon the defeat of the Provincial Government, he accepted a portfolio in the new government, as Provincial Treasurer, and represented the county of Shoal Lake. During the year he negotiated in London, England, the first provincial loan of \$1,500,000 to build a competing line of railway to Winnipeg, Brandon and Portage la Prairie. In the general election of 1888 he was elected to represent North Winnipeg.

Resigning his position of Provincial Treasurer in 1889, but retaining his seat in the Legislature until the end of the term, he returned to the City of Brantford to accept the position of general manager of his company, which had been rendered vacant by the sudden death of Mr. John Harris.

Upon the formation of the Massey-Harris Company, Limited, in 1891, Senator Melvin-Jones came to Toronto, was elected a director, and appointed general manager of the consolidated companies, which position he has ever since occupied, and has now also become the president of the company. In 1893 he became a member of the Toronto Board of Trade. He is a director of the Verity Plow Company, Limited, of Brantford, and is president of the Bain Wagon Company, Limited, of Woodstock, and in both of these associate companies he takes an active interest; also director of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and the Nova Scotia Steel & Coal Company. He is also a large shareholder and a director in the Canada Cycle & Motor Company, Limited, a shareholder in several other manufacturing companies and in a number of mining companies.

Senator Melvin-Jones is a member of the Toronto Club, the National Club, the Country and Hunt Club, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the Victoria Club, a life member of the Toronto Cricket Club, and a director of the Ontario Jockey Club. He has always shown a great interest in cricket, and encouraged the practice and development of that manly game, besides supporting golf and other healthy sports and pastimes.

In 1882 Senator Melvin-Jones married Louise, a daughter of Thomas Irwin. They have one daughter, Eallien Necora Jones.

The Senator is a member of the Presbyterian Church. He can well be reckoned among the most representative Canadians of his time.

#### JOSEPH N. SHENSTONE.

Joseph N. Shenstone, who is connected with some of the most important manufacturing and commercial interests of Toronto, belongs to that class of representative Canadians who while promoting individual success find time and opportunity to contribute in substantial measure to the welfare and progress of the community with which they are connected. By reason of the fact that he is a representative of a pioneer family as well as owing to his individual success and accomplishments Mr. Shenstone is deserving of more than passing mention in the history of the leading citizens of Ontario. He was born March 28, 1855, in Brantford, a son of Thomas S.

and Mary (Lazenby) Shenstone, both natives of England, born in London and in Yorkshire respectively. Attracted by the business opportunities of the new and growing western world, they came to Canada in the early '30s, settling first in Welland and Oxford counties and in 1854 in Brant county. The father served as registrar of the county from 1853 until 1895, covering a period of forty-three consecutive years. He was the first incumbent in the office and continued in the position until his death, his long service being incontrovertible evidence of his fidelity, earnest purpose and capability.

At the usual age Joseph N. Shenstone became a student in the Brantford public schools and mastered the branches of English learning taught in such institutions. Subsequently he learned the printer's trade in Chicago, but in 1876 returned to his native city, where for five years he acted as deputy registrar under his father. In 1881 he engaged in the implement manufacturing business with A. Harris, Son & Company as secretary, continuing with that firm until the amalgamation in 1891 with the Massey Manufacturing Company under the style of the Massey-Harris Company, Limited. At that date Mr. Shenstone removed to Toronto and continued as secretary of the new company until 1901. He is still one of its directors and stockholders and he has varied business relations, which indicate much of his business ability, rendering him a puissant factor in commercial circles. He is president of the Canada Cycle & Motor Company, controlling the most extensive business in this line in the Dominion; is vice-president of the Robert Greig Company; and a director of the Dominion Radiator Company, the Anglo-American Fire Insurance Company, the Ontario Accident Insurance Company, the United Typewriter Company, the McGregor-Harris Company, the Queen City Plate Glass Company and the Western Counties Electric Company. Seldom at error in matters of business judgment, his conclusions are reached after careful and comprehensive consideration of the situation and its possibilities and in all of his business relations he is regarded as one who is notably energetic, prompt and reliable. He has gradually advanced from a comparatively humble position in the business world until his name is now an honored one on commercial paper.

Mr. Shenstone is moreover a public spirited citizen, deeply interested

in community affairs, and while in Brantford he served for three years in the city council, while for two years he was chairman of the Board of Water Commissioners. He gives his political allegiance to the Reform party and his material support and active co-operation are given to the Baptist Church. He also holds membership in the National Club and the Caledon Mountain Trout Club.

Pleasantly situated in his home life, Mr. Shenstone was married on the 3rd of January, 1877, at St. Catharines, to Miss Eliza E. Hara, a daughter of John Hara, and they now have an interesting family of four sons and two daughters: Saxon F., Norman S., Osborne H., Allan G., Nora A. and Mary E.

#### JOHN HENRY HOUSSEY.

Everywhere in this land are found men who have worked their own way from a comparatively obscure position to leadership in commerce, the great productive industries, the management of financial affairs and in controlling the veins and arteries of the traffic and exchanges of the country. It is one of the glories of this nation that it is so. It should be the strongest incentive and encouragement to the youth of the country that it is so. Prominent among the self-made men of Toronto is John Henry Houssey—a man honored, respected and esteemed wherever known and most of all where he is best known. Mr. Houssey was born May 11, 1849, the place of his nativity being the township of Clinton in the county of Lincoln, Ontario. His parents, David and Anna (Gross) Houssey, were likewise natives of Canada and were of old Pennsylvania Dutch stock, having come to the Dominion with their respective parents early in the nineteenth century. The families were pioneer farming people who cleared bush farms and aided in extending the frontier and reclaiming wild districts for the purposes of civilization. David Houssey, also a farmer of Lincoln county, died in the year 1895. He served for several years in the council and was one of the leading and representative men of his district.

John Henry Houssey remained upon the old homestead farm to the age of seventeen years and enjoyed the educational advantages offered by the





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country and grammar schools of Lincoln county. For about three years he engaged in teaching in Wentworth and Lincoln, successfully imparting to others the knowledge that he had acquired. Subsequently he pursued a commercial course and then, going to St. Catharines, he served an apprenticeship in a dry-goods store. In 1872 he entered upon a business connection that was the initial step toward his present prominent position as secretary of the Massey-Harris Company, Limited. It was in that year that he secured employment with A. Harris, Son & Company, implement manufacturers at Beamsville, and while at that point he occupied the positions of bookkeeper, salesman, canvasser, etc., consecutively. In the fall of 1872, when the business was removed to Brantford, his position was that of bookkeeper and office manager, in which capacity he was retained until 1880, when he went to Winnipeg as assistant manager and western secretary for the Manitoba branch of the house, remaining until 1894. He then returned to Brantford as manager of the Brantford works and was in control at that point until 1895, when he was transferred to the head office of the company in Toronto as assistant secretary. In 1900 he was appointed secretary, in which capacity he is still serving. His connection with the business covers a period of thirty-four years, during which time he has made consecutive advancement, his promotions coming in recognition of the capability that has enabled him to successfully manage the interests entrusted to his care and furthermore to extend the interests of the house along progressive lines which he has instituted and placed in successful operation. A man of resourceful business ability, he has moreover carried his labors into other fields of activity and besides being a director and the secretary of Massey-Harris Company, Limited, he is also a director of the Bain Wagon Company of Woodstock, Ontario, and likewise a director of the Central Canada Loan and Savings Company.

Regarding not the accumulation of wealth as the sole aim of his life, he has taken time from his business to co-operate in many measures which have had direct bearing upon intellectual and moral progress. In Winnipeg he occupied a very important position as one who stood for all that is highest and best in man's relations with his fellowmen and his public spirit found tangible exemplification in his work as one of the first of the city park

commissioners, as a license commissioner, a public school trustee and chairman of finance of the school board for two years. He was also a member of the Board of Wesley College and for six years a member of the Board of Trade council. The removal of himself and family from Winnipeg was deeply regretted in church and social circles, but the purposes that animate his life and guide his actions are also seen in his co-operation, in Toronto, with various movements and measures which have proven directly beneficial to the city. Here he is a member of the Board of Trade and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. He is likewise a member of various church boards and charitable institutions and is actuated in much that he does by a spirit of benevolence and kindness, which all who know him recognize. He is, moreover, a member of the Masonic fraternity, the Caledon Mountain Club and the Queen City Curling and Bowling Club, and has a local reputation as an equestrian.

In 1875 Mr. Housser was married to Miss Mary J. Broughton, a daughter of the late Thomas Broughton of Brantford. Their family numbers one daughter and two sons: Nellie, the wife of W. R. W. Parsons, city engineer of the City of Stratford; Harry, who is with the Massey-Harris Company; and Fred, a student in St. Andrew's College. The family hold membership in the Sherbourne street Methodist Church and Mr. Housser is now serving as secretary of its Board of Trustees. In an analyzation of his character it is seen that he is a man of broad capabilities, as his varied and extensive business interests indicate. He is at all times approachable and patiently listens to whatever a caller may have to say, always courteous and at all times a gentleman in the truest and best sense of the term. He cares not for notoriety nor is there about him the least shadow of mock modesty. A gentleman of fine address and thorough culture, he occupies a first place in society as well as in commercial circles of Toronto.

#### NOEL G. L. MARSHALL.

Varied business interests have claimed the time and attention of Noel G. L. Marshall, have felt the stimulus of his spirit of enterprise and careful management and have profited by his keen discernment. He was born in





*Urb Marshall*

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London, England, December 30, 1852, and is the second son of Kenric R. Marshall, deceased, who was a language master and lived in Toronto for forty-seven years.

The son, Noel Marshall, was but four years of age when brought to Toronto and in the public and night schools pursued his education. He entered business life as an employee of L. Coffee & Company, grain merchants, in 1866, continuing with that firm until 1870, when he became connected with the coal trade in the office of George Chaffey & Brother. Ambitious to engage in business on his own account, when his labors brought him sufficient capital he joined C. J. Smith in 1876 in organizing the C. J. Smith Coal Company, which was afterward absorbed by the Standard Fuel Company of Toronto. The articles of incorporation for the latter were secured January 3, 1899, and the business was capitalized at fifty thousand dollars with Noel G. L. Marshall as president, Kenric R. Marshall, vice-president and James A. Glover, secretary and treasurer. They do a wholesale and retail business in coal and wood, making shipments as far as Manitoba on the west and throughout the Province of Ontario, operating five different yards in Toronto. The business is conducted according to a high standard of commercial ethics and the house sustains an unassailable reputation in trade circles. Mr. Marshall is a man of resourceful business ability, who has not confined his attention to one line, but has successfully extended his efforts to various fields of business activity, being now president of the McGann Air Brake Company, of the Dominion Automobile Company, of the Farawell Company, Limited, and a director of the Sterling Bank.

Mr. Marshall was married December 10, 1879, to Harriette Isabel Hogg, a daughter of the late John Hogg, justice of the peace of York Mills. Mrs. Marshall died December 4, 1904, leaving two sons: Kenric R. and Noel Clifford, who are with their father in the coal business.

While his business interests have made heavy claims upon his attention and energies Mr. Marshall has yet found time for social, athletic and fraternal interests and for hearty and effective co-operation in many movements for the public good and along humanitarian lines as well. He is a

member of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the Hunt Club, the Jockey Club and the Albany Club, and for the last three years has been president of the National Club. He is also an exemplary member of the Masonic fraternity, and in politics is a Conservative. He is a communicant of the Episcopal Church and has been warden of St. Matthew's Church for twenty years. He is a life member of St. George's Society, a member of the Buffalo Club of Buffalo, New York, and of the Canadian Society of New York. He is likewise a director of the Caledon Mountain Trout Club. For many years he has been a member of the council of the Board of Trade and is a director of the National Exposition Company, while of the Toronto Open Air Horse Parade Association he was the founder and is now the president. He has been honored by being made a delegate to the London Chamber of Commerce Congress in London, England. He is a director of the Children's Aid Society and chairman of the Broadview Boys' Institute, and for a number of years was a member of the school board of Toronto, taking a deep and helpful interest in educational affairs. In fact his attention is centered upon many objects which have had direct bearing upon the welfare and progress of the city along various lines and his aid is never sought in vain in support of beneficial municipal interests.

#### JOHN MAUGHAN.

John Maughan, agent for the Hartford Fire Insurance Company at Toronto, was born in the town of Markham, York county, Ontario, June 19, 1835. His parents, John and Janet (Stein) Maughan, were natives of Edinburgh, Scotland. The father was in the commissary department of the army and in 1827 came to Canada as a passenger on a sailing vessel. He was stationed in Montreal and Toronto and after his retirement from the army engaged in the banking business. He died in 1881 at the age of eighty-one years, having for twenty years survived his wife, who passed away in 1861.

John Maughan, educated under private instruction and in Toronto Academy, which was connected with Knox College, entered upon the study of law in 1851, his preceptor being Sir Oliver Mowat of the firm of Mowat



& Helliwell. On the 19th of June, 1852, abandoning his idea of becoming a member of the Bar, he entered the insurance business as junior clerk for the Western Insurance Company. He was afterwards advanced successively to the positions of bookkeeper, cashier and assistant secretary under Bernard Haldene. For eighteen years he was in the employ of that company, after which he was appointed manager for the Sovereign Fire Insurance Company and in March, 1892, he assumed the management of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company at Toronto. He is widely known in insurance circles, for the entire period of his business career embraces connection with this line of activity.

Mr. Maughan was married June 18, 1863, to Miss Margaret E. Parks, a daughter of Charles G. Parks of Limerick, Ireland, who came to Canada at an early day and for some time was engaged in the publishing business, but on account of his health retired from that line and turned his attention to farming. Mr. and Mrs. Maughan have become the parents of seven children: Herbert John, who died at the age of twenty-six years; Charles F., who died in 1906 at the age of thirty-six years; John, honorary curator of the Ontario government museum and who is also interested in literary work; Harry, in partnership with his father; Walter, city passenger agent at Toronto for the Canadian Pacific Railway; Mary Janet Josephine; and Florence Russel Stein, wife of Theodric C. Howard.

Mr. Maughan is interested in athletic sports and has a record for duck shooting. As a hunter he is known all over Canada. In connection with David Ward, George Warren and Charles C. Small he has made many expeditions into districts where is afforded excellent opportunity for hunting, these gentlemen making many trips until both Mr. Small and Mr. Warren died. In 1885, in Manitoba, they shot at the foot of Manitoba Lake and in twenty-nine days killed twenty-eight hundred ducks beside a large number of geese. In 1886 they went to Rush Lake in the North-West Territory and in nineteen days killed twenty-six hundred ducks beside a lot of geese. With two others, in 1890, Mr. Maughan shot at Cross and Crow Lakes near Rat Portage and in fourteen days killed over twelve hundred ducks. Hunting has undoubtedly been his chief source of rest and recreation and Mr. Maughan is known throughout the Dominion as a splen-

did shot. He is also interested in athletic sports and in connection with J. E. Robertson organized the Toronto Rowing Club. He belongs to the Masonic fraternity and is a communicant of the Episcopal Church, interested in its various activities and for some years serving as a delegate to the synod. In politics he is independent. He served for two years on the public school board and nine years as alderman, and his official record is characterized by the most unfaltering fidelity to the duties that devolve upon him, while as a private citizen he has co-operated in many movements that have had direct bearing upon the general welfare. He has, too, a creditable military record. He joined the Fourth Battalion of the York Militia under Colonel Richard L. Denison in 1853 and was one of the regiment who met the King in 1860 when he was Prince of Wales. Mr. Maughan passed the military school and is now retired as captain and adjutant.

#### SOLON WILLIAM McMICHAEL, I.S.O.

Solon William McMichael, Chief Inspector of Customs for Canada, was born at Waterford, Norfolk county, Ontario, November 18, 1848. His parents, Aaron and Emily Campbell McMichael, were both natives of Pennsylvania. The paternal grandfather, James McMichael, a native of Scotland, left Ayrshire for the new world in 1796 and became a resident of Pennsylvania, whence he removed to Waterford in 1820. There he engaged in farming as one of the pioneer residents of the locality. In other ways he was closely identified with the early history of his district. His son, Aaron McMichael, was born at Greenwood, Columbia county, Pennsylvania, January 9, 1820, and later in the same year was brought by his parents to Ontario, where he was reared to farm life, early becoming familiar with the duties and labors incident to the development of a new farm on the frontier. Between the years 1844 and 1847 he engaged in teaching school and then prepared for the practice of dental surgery, which he made his life work. He was also associated with the military and political interests of the country, serving as captain and adjutant of the Norfolk Militia Reserve and also in the office of justice of the peace. He kept well informed on all the questions and issues of the day, being ever able to support his



*A. M. McMichael*





position in intelligent, earnest argument. He was recognized as an able debater and was equally well known as a stalwart champion of the cause of education. He held membership in Wilson lodge, No. 113, A.F. & A.M., of which he was master from 1870 until 1876. He married Emily Campbell McMichael, a daughter of William McMichael, of Muncy, Pennsylvania, on the 13th of May, 1847. She, too, was of Scotch lineage, descended from ancestors who settled in Pennsylvania in 1789. Aaron McMichael passed away at the family residence, Granite Lodge, August 15, 1895, and the community mourned the loss of a citizen whose natural talents, strength of character and unfaltering loyalty to his honest convictions made him a figure of local prominence and influence. His widow died December 4, 1904. He is survived by three sons and a daughter. The eldest son is Solon W. McMichael, whose name introduces this record. The second son, Dr. George H. McMichael, born at Waterford, January 26, 1856, is a graduate of Brantford Collegiate Institute, of the Philadelphia Dental College, the Royal College of Dental Surgeons at Toronto and the medical department of the University of Niagara. In 1885 he became a resident of Buffalo, New York, where he has since practised his profession. Dr. H. R. McMichael, also of Buffalo, was born at Granite Lodge, Townsend, and, leaving home at the age of eighteen years, took up the study of dentistry under the direction of Dr. G. H. McMichael of Brantford, with whom he remained for two years. He is an honor graduate of the Philadelphia Dental College and since 1888 has practised in Buffalo and is an ex-president of the Buffalo Dental Society. The daughter, Ida, is the wife of H. A. Francis, a large manufacturer of Niagara Falls, New York.

Solon W. McMichael, the eldest of the family, attended the public schools of Waterford and the grammar school at Simcoe, but ended his student life at the age of seventeen years to become a teacher, which profession he followed through the succeeding five years. He afterwards devoted three years to the study of law, but, abandoning his plan of becoming a member of the legal profession, he entered the Canadian customs service as a clerk at Brantford in 1873. In 1885 he was appointed Financial Inspector of Customs for the Dominion of Canada and in 1894 was appointed Chief Inspector of Customs for Canada, which position he is now accept-

ably filling. His connection with government service covers a third of a century and has been characterized by the utmost fidelity to duty, a ready comprehension of the tasks and responsibilities devolving upon him and an adaptability in managing the affairs of the office with the best possible interest to the government. In 1895 he was appointed a member of the Board of Customs at Ottawa and in 1903 was created a Companion of the Imperial Service Order.

Mr. McMichael is a popular and esteemed member of various social organizations, including the National, Royal Canadian Yacht and Military Clubs of Toronto. He was married in 1873 to Josephine, a daughter of the late Charles Shoemaker of Muncy, Pennsylvania. Of their five children two are now living, Charles Morton and Jessamine. Mr. McMichael belongs to the Episcopal Church and is interested in all of the movements and measures which are brought forth for the development and upbuilding of the city along material, intellectual and moral lines. He stands as a high type of the Canadian official, whose first interest is the faithful discharge of the duties that devolve upon him and whose patriotism finds tangible evidence in the administration of his office.

#### FREDERICK ALEXANDER RITCHIE.

The growth and development of every city depends upon its industrial and commercial interests and the men who are its real promoters are they who stand at the head of its business interests, advancing general prosperity through well directed labor, and at the same time winning individual success. To this class belongs Frederick Alexander Ritchie, manager of the Ritchie & Ramsay Company, Limited, of Toronto. Born in Montreal, Quebec, on the 12th of June, 1862, he is a son of Hew K. and Mary (Rodden) Ritchie, the former a native of Scotland, and the latter of Montreal. The father arrived in Canada in 1854, and for many years was manager of the stationery department of the Grand Trunk Railway.

Frederick A. Ritchie, after pursuing his education in the private schools and the academy at Montreal, entered the employ of the Canada Paper Company of that city in 1879. He served in various capacities as

buyer, salesman and department manager until 1892, when in company with Mr. Ramsay he began the manufacture of coated papers, the business being incorporated in 1904 under the name of the Ritchie & Ramsay Company, Limited. They commenced operations in 1892 on a small scale, but almost immediately created a market for their output and the business rapidly increased until they are to-day in control of the largest coated paper mills in Canada. Their plant is located at Mimico, and they employ more than one hundred operatives, while the capacity of the mill is about six tons of paper per day. The plant is equipped with thoroughly modern machinery and with all the facilities necessary for the successful handling of their large and growing business, and the enterprise has become a factor in business circles in Toronto, the trade extending throughout the entire Dominion. Mr. Ramsay as vice-president and manager of the works has supervision of the manufacturing department in the mills, while Mr. Ritchie is president and general manager, looking after the office work and the placement of the product on the market. He is a member of the Toronto Board of Trade and of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

#### HON. J. K. KERR, K.C.

The Honorable James Kirkpatrick Kerr, K.C., member of the Canadian Senate, was born near Guelph, Canada, on the 1st of August, 1841. His father was the late Robert Warren Kerr, for some years City Chamberlain of Hamilton, Ontario, and his mother was Jane Hamilton, daughter of James Kirkpatrick, treasurer of Wentworth county.

James Kirkpatrick Kerr went to Dr. Tassie's schools, first at Hamilton and later at Galt, Ontario. He was called to the Bar in 1862 and for some years was a member of the firm of Blake, Kerr & Wells, and later of Blake, Kerr & Boyd. For more than twenty years he has been head of the firm of Kerr, Davidson, Paterson & Grant. He has held a foremost position in the Canadian Bar for many years, was elected Benchler of the Canadian Law Society in 1879 and created a Q.C. for the Province of Ontario in 1876 and for the Dominion of Canada in 1881. He has several times appeared

before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England, on important cases.

In politics he is a Liberal and was made a Senator on March 12th, 1903. He has taken an active part in politics for years and occupies an important place in the councils of the Liberal party, having been president of the Ontario Liberal Association from 1892 till 1904. At the general elections in 1891 he unsuccessfully contested Centre Toronto for the House of Commons.

A shrewd, energetic business man, an acknowledged legal authority, a prominent member of the Masonic body, the Honorable Mr. Kerr holds important positions in the business, the professional and the Masonic worlds.

He was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Canada, A.F. & A.M. in 1875, continuing to hold that office until 1877. He is also a Past Provincial Prior of the Sovereign Great Priory of Masonic Knights Templar in Canada, a Sovereign Grand Inspector-General of the Supreme Council of the thirty-third Degree in England, in Canada and the United States. He had the honor, in 1883, of receiving the distinguished Order of the Grand Cross of the Temple at the hands of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales—now King Edward VII.

Senator Kerr is an adherent of the Church of England and has served as a lay delegate in the Diocesan Synod of Toronto as well as in the Provincial Synod of Canada.

In 1864 Senator Kerr married Anne Margaret, youngest daughter of the late Honorable W. H. Blake, Chancellor of Upper Canada; she died in 1882; and in December, 1883, he married Cecil Stanley-Pinhorne, niece of the Right Honorable A. Stavely Hill, M.P.

Senator Kerr is a member of the Toronto Club, the Toronto Hunt Club and the Rideau Hall Club at Ottawa.

#### JOHN KAY MACDONALD.

Much has been written concerning the absorption of time and talents in upbuilding and promoting extensive business interests to the exclusion of all of the higher and holier duties of life. The tendency may perhaps be



too largely in this direction, but there is no indication of this unevenly balanced condition in the life and work of John Kay Macdonald, who, as the organizer, promoter and manager of the Confederation Life Association has established an insurance business of magnitude but at the same time has been a most active and forceful factor in the moral development which finds exemplification in the work of such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association, the U.C. Religious Book & Tract Society and the U.C. Bible Society. He is also a champion of educational progress and his labors in these directions have been effective and of practical power.

Mr. Macdonald is a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, born October 12, 1837. His father was Donald Macdonald, a native of Caithness, Scotland, who for some years was engaged in business in Edinburgh. He married Elizabeth Mackay, and during the boyhood days of their son John they became residents of Canada, settling upon a farm in Chinguacousy, county Peel. Thus in the midst of an agricultural environment the boyhood and youth of John Kay Macdonald were passed and his early education was obtained in the public school near his father's home. He afterward attended the Weston high school, and on leaving that institution he attended lectures at Knox College, and also occasional classes at Toronto University, his intention being to enter the ministry and become a worker in the mission field. In 1862 he was appointed assistant to the late J. S. Howard, treasurer of York and Peel and became the successor of Mr. Howard upon the latter's death in 1866.

Apparently trivial incidents are oftentimes the turning points in a life, and such is the case in the history of Mr. Macdonald. The incident of being canvassed for a life insurance policy led him to take up the study of insurance in all its bearings and after thorough investigation of the subject, during which he acquainted himself with the business in principle and detail he became the organizer of the Confederation Life Association in 1870. He has been closely connected with its upbuilding since that time. He it was who organized the company to secure subscriptions to the stock and place the business upon a safe foundation. Finding that the work with his other official duties made too great a drain upon his strength he withdrew from the position of manager of the insurance company, remaining,

however, on the directorate to organize the provincial agencies. Three years afterward at the earnest request of his fellow directors he took over the full management of the company and has since been at its head in this executive capacity. The company has enjoyed a substantial and satisfying growth, becoming one of the strong insurance organizations of the Dominion and its present strength is largely attributable to the earnest efforts and keen sagacity and executive force of he who is at its head. Mr. Macdonald is equally active and interested in church work and the moral development of the people along various lines. He was one of the founders of the Young Men's Christian Association and for many years one of its most earnest and effective workers. For a period of thirty years he served as honorary secretary of the U.C. Religious Book & Tract Society, and has for the past ten years been its president. He was also for thirty-five years a director of the U.C. Bible Society and has served a number of years as its vice-president and treasurer, succeeding the late Hon. Wm. McMaster. He is much interested in the work of the Children's Aid Society, of which he has been president since its organization and he has likewise served as president of the Ontario Sabbath School Association, and president of the Ontario Lord's Day Alliance. He is a man of broad humanitarian principles, of deep sympathy and of most kindly and benevolent spirit. His recognition of the trifold nature of man, of individual responsibility and of the obligations that rest upon the strong to aid and strengthen the weak have prompted his earnest, effective and far-reaching efforts for the moral development and his active co-operation for intellectual progress as well. In this connection he was president of the Toronto Philharmonic Society and a member of the Board of Knox College. For over twenty years he has been convenor of the Aged and Infirm Ministers Committee of the Presbyterian Church, in connection with which he has rendered valuable services in securing a better provision for the retired ministers of the church. He is likewise a director of St. Margaret's College and a member of the council of the Evangelical Alliance. His church relationship is with the Presbyterian denomination and he is an elder of his church and has served several times as a commissioner to the Pan-Presbyterian Assembly.

A public-spirited citizen, Mr. Macdonald has made a close and discrim-

inating study of many of the questions of national import affecting the welfare of the Dominion, and voting with the Conservative party he has also been president of the Equal Rights Association of Ontario. He remains treasurer of the county of York and his official service has been characterized by the utmost fidelity and efficiency.

In December, 1867, Mr. Macdonald was married to Miss Charlotte Emily Perley, the youngest daughter of the late Colonel Perley, of Burford, Ontario. Mrs. Macdonald was president of the Young Women's Christian Association of Toronto and was a lady of superior culture and refinement. She died Aug. 26, 1902. She was the mother of four children, of whom three are living, the eldest son, John Perley, being dead. The surviving children are the Rev. D. Bruce Macdonald, principal of St. Andrew's College; Charles Strange Macdonald, on the staff of the Confederation Life Association, and Charlotte Helen, at home—and who is treasurer of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church. The family reside in their attractive home "Cona Lodge" in Toronto.

#### THE GOLDSMITHS' STOCK COMPANY, LIMITED.

The Goldsmiths' Stock Company, Limited, wholesale jewelers, is the oldest enterprise in the jewelry business in Canada. It was established in Kingston, Ontario, in 1838 by two Germans, the Rossin Brothers, who continued at that town until Kingston ceased to be the seat of government, 1842, at which time they removed to Toronto and embarked in business on King street, on the present site of the King Edward Hotel. In the early '50s they removed their wholesale business to its present location at No. 50 Yonge street, leaving the retail business on King street, and later it was sold to J. E. Ellis. At that time Robert Wilkes was in the employ of the Rossin Brothers and when they decided to retire from business they turned over the stock to Mr. Wilkes, under whose ownership the enterprise grew to large proportions. He carried on the trade under his own name and established a wholesale and retail branch in Montreal and retail businesses in Toronto and Hamilton. The retail place in each city was called Diamond Hall. Mr. Wilkes was the pioneer in the export business and sent the first

traveler to Jamaica from Canada. He also sent travelers through the North-West when driving had to be done from St. Paul, Minnesota. The trade was afterward extended to British Columbia, the goods being shipped by way of San Francisco, and at a later date shipments were made to the Hawaiian Islands, New Zealand and Australia. In connection with jewelry the firm also carried other lines for export. Mr. Wilkes established a buying and shipping office in London and New York. His business had constantly developed owing to his careful management and recognition and utilization of opportunity, and he became known as one of the prominent men of the province.

Entering public life as an ardent Liberal he was elected a member of the Dominion Parliament for the Centre Division of Toronto. Was vice-president of the Bank of Commerce, and a member of the board of directors of a large number of the financial and commercial institutions of the province, and treasurer of the Methodist Church. He met an untimely death by drowning, together with his only son and one daughter at Sturgeon Point, Ontario, on August 16th, 1880. Prior to his demise he had decided to sell all of his smaller interests and had disposed of his business in Montreal to three employees, and the business in Toronto to two employees, H. H. Fudger and Henry Smith, who had been associated with him many years. The name of the firm was then changed to Smith & Fudger and so continued until 1884, when the growth of competition in the watch and jewelry lines made it necessary to change the character of the business, separating these departments from the others, and a partnership was formed with Walter J. Barr under the name of the Goldsmith Company of Canada. The government refused a charter under this name, claiming that it covered too broad a scope, but in 1888 granted one under the name of the Goldsmiths' Stock Company. Mr. Smith retired in 1890 and the present officers of the concern are: H. H. Fudger, president, Walter J. Barr, vice-president and managing director, and J. A. Hetherington, secretary.

The company does a most extensive business, its traveling salesmen cover the whole Dominion and it occupies a very high position in the commercial field as a popular and well equipped organization. It has a perma-







*Geo. H. H. H. H.*

nent sample room in Montreal from which point the Lower Province and Quebec trade is reached. A similar method will be adopted in the near future for the convenience of northwestern business, with Winnipeg as the location.

#### WALTER J. BARR.

Walter J. Barr was born in New York in 1855 of Scotch and Irish parents, and came to Canada in 1863, the family locating in Hamilton. Removing to Toronto in 1866 he completed his education at the model school. In 1868 he commenced his business life with Foulds & Hodgson, Wellington street, a branch of an old established Montreal firm. In 1872 he entered the employ of Robert Wilkes, four years later becoming one of the firm's traveling salesmen. Upon Smith & Fudger's succession he remained with the new firm, and at his initiative the Goldsmith Company was formed in 1884, Smith, Fudger & Barr forming a partnership. When the company was incorporated in 1888 he became managing director and in 1900 vice-president. The success of the company is due mainly to Mr. Barr's efforts. His policy while conservative is energetic and has the faculty of retaining an interested and capable class of men on the company's staff.

Mr. Barr is an adherent of the Presbyterian Church, and an independent Liberal in politics. A member of the Board of Trade, National Club, St. Andrew's Society and other organizations. Is a widower with a family of one son and two daughters.

#### GEORGE MILLIGAN.

George Milligan, engaged in the manufacture of cigars in Toronto, was born in that city, June 3, 1840. He was educated in the model grammar school and, entering business life, learned the trade of cigar making. He was thus employed for several years and in 1883 went upon the road as a traveling salesman for Tassie, Wood & Company of Montreal. He was afterwards employed in the same capacity by the cigar house of John Brand, dealer in leaf tobacco, and when his business enterprise had brought

him sufficient capital he embarked in business on his own account, establishing his present factory in 1894. Its object was the manufacture of exclusively high grade cigars, all the raw material being imported and no domestic material being used. He started in a small way with six employees and the phenomenal growth of his business is indicated by the fact that at the present time he employs over two hundred operatives in the factory. The trade is confined exclusively to Canada and the house is represented on the road by seven traveling salesmen. The output for 1906 was over seven million cigars, all hand made, and nine-tenths of the manufactured product was the famous Arabella cigar, which is very popular from Halifax to Victoria. The factory is located at No. 7 Wellington street east, in Toronto, and occupies four floors and basement. The facilities have been constantly increased to meet the growing demands of the trade and the excellence of the output, together with the reliable business methods of the house, assure a continuance of a liberal and growing patronage.

In 1861 Mr. Milligan was married to Miss Clark of Toronto, and they have one son, Arthur, who is now in business with his father. Mr. Milligan is a member of the Manufacturers' Association, the National Club, the Royal Arcanum and the Ancient Order of United Workmen. His salient qualities are those of good citizenship, of devotion to and co-operation in movements for the general welfare and of enterprise and reliability in business.

#### THOMAS ALEXANDER LYTLE.

The name of Thomas Alexander Lytle is not unknown in commercial circles, for he has arisen from a comparatively humble position in the business world to one of prominence and affluence where he controls important trade and manufacturing interests, being now officially connected with several important corporations. He was born in the north of Ireland on the 5th of November, 1847, and was a student in the parish schools of that country. Having mastered the branches of learning therein taught he put aside his text-books to learn the more difficult lessons of the school of experience, entering upon his business career with a master groceryman. Mr.



Lytle continued in that line of business until he came to Canada in 1871, settling in Toronto, where for ten years he served as a bookkeeper and manager for William Wilson. This gave him a knowledge of the line of business with which he is now connected and in 1882 he started a similar enterprise on his own account, establishing a vinegar factory under the name of T. A. Lytle Company with twelve employees. The new enterprise soon became a profitable venture and as time has passed the business has been increased in scope by the establishment of other departments in addition to the original industry until at the present writing, in 1907, the company has seventy-five employees and is conducting an extensive and constantly growing business. The industry is carried on under the name of the T. A. Lytle Company, limited, manufacturers of pickles, sauces, catsup, marmalade, jams, jellies, maple syrup, mincemeat, salad dressing, butters, lime fruit juice, liquid colors for bakers' and confectioners' use, dry colors for bakers' and confectioners' use, fruit oils, unfermented fruit wines, unfermented phosphate wines, acids, syrups, raspberry vinegar, flavoring extracts, fruit fountain syrups, pure fruit flavors for hot soda, cake and icing colorings, crushed fruits, fine essential oils, gelatine, baking powder, cocoa, mustard and other specials. The T. A. Lytle Company, Limited, has supply stations throughout the Province of Ontario, where the products are salted and brought to Toronto for manufacture, the factory and offices being located at Nos. 124-6-8 Richmond street west. The trade for these pickled goods extend from the far north to the Great Lakes and from the Atlantic to the Pacific in the Dominion of Canada, and in order to meet the demands of the trade the company is now preparing to build a large factory on Sterling road, which, when in operation, will enable them to greatly increase the output and after its completion the company will compete for the export trade and Canadian pickled goods will be found in every part of the world. Mr. Lytle is vice-president and managing director of this company and he is also the president of the Wilson, Lytle, Bagerow Company, Limited, and president of the Westminster Printing Company.

In 1882 occurred the marriage of Thomas A. Lytle and Agnes Elizabeth Greenlees, a daughter of John Greenlees, one of the first water commissioners of Toronto and an alderman of the city. The three children

are: Frederick Hunter, who pursued his scholastic course at Kingston Military College and is now studying law at Osgoode Hall, Toronto. He is articled to Macdonald, McMaster, Geary and Burton; William Harold, attending St. Andrew's College, and Mary Helen, attending Westminster College. .

Mr. Lytle is a member of the Presbyterian Church and belongs to the Masonic fraternity and the Canadian Order of Foresters. At the election of January 1, 1907, he was elected to the board of aldermen from Ward four. He is a Liberal in politics and is a public-spirited citizen whose patriotic devotion to the general good is manifest in many ways. He takes a keen interest in education and was at one time a member of the board of trustees of the Toronto Collegiate Institutes. He has also done much for the advancement of business conditions and relations, whereby the material growth and progress of the city and community are always advanced, and at the present writing belongs to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and the Toronto Board of Trade. In his own life he has demonstrated the possibilities for successful accomplishment to those who must enter the business world without special advantages or pecuniary assistance and his example is well worthy of emulation, for his course has led him constantly onward and upward to a successful and honorable position in commercial circles.

#### ALBERT J. RALSTON.

Albert J. Ralston, managing director of the National Life Insurance Company of Canada, and a resident of Toronto, was born in Hamilton, Ontario, his natal day being October 12, 1864. His ancestors were United Empire Loyalists, who came to Canada from Pennsylvania in 1792, settling on the Niagara peninsula. The paternal grandfather, Joseph Ralston, was the first jailer of Hamilton, Canada, and was inspector of weights and measures for many years filling the position up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1867. His son, Robert Ralston, born in Canada, was engaged in the real estate business in Hamilton for a considerable period, subsequent to holding the office of collector of water rates in that city. His

death occurred in the year 1873. His wife, who bore the maiden name of Sarah Springer, was also a native of Canada.

At the usual age Albert J. Ralston became a student in the public schools of Hamilton, afterward attending Rockwood Academy, to the age of sixteen years, when he put aside his text-books to learn the more practical and more difficult lessons in the school of experience. He was employed as a salesman in a dry goods store in Hamilton, and at the age of twenty years went to Wichita, Kansas, where he engaged in the real estate business. In 1887, however, he returned to Toronto, where he again operated in real estate lines, also continuing in a similar business in Hamilton. In 1891 he turned his attention to the life insurance business and through the succeeding ten years was with the Great-West Life Insurance Company, acting as manager of their Maritime Provinces for seven years. In 1903 he returned to Toronto as manager for the Ontario branch of the business, and in March, 1905, was appointed general manager of the National Life Insurance Company, while at the annual meeting of the directors in January, 1906, he was elected manager and managing director, which position he now fills. Sixteen years' connection with life insurance has made him thoroughly acquainted with the business, its methods of conduct, its management, its necessities and its possibilities, and in the important position which he now occupies he has instituted plans and methods, the value of which are being demonstrated in the success attending them.

In 1889 occurred the marriage of Albert J. Ralston and Miss Jessamine G. Allan, a daughter of the late P. C. Allan, of Toronto. They now have two sons and two daughters: Muriel Gordon, Douglas Allan, Gordon Springer, and Lillias Jessamine. A member of the Masonic fraternity, Mr. Ralston is connected with capitular Masonry as a member of Carleton chapter, of St. John, New Brunswick, and the principles which govern his life are further indicated by his membership in the Presbyterian Church. Socially he is connected with the Royal Yacht Club, the Union Club of St. John and the City Club of Halifax.

## ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND, D.D.

Alexander Sutherland, D.D., a man of broad scholarly attainments and unflagging zeal, has done more perhaps than any other individual to systematize and unify the work of the Methodist Church in Canada. Of Scottish lineage, the family having been founded in Canada in the early '30s, he was born in the town of Guelph, Ontario, September 13, 1833, his parents being Captain Nicholas and Mary (Henderson) Sutherland. The father, born in Dundee, Scotland, arrived in Canada in 1832. The son, having mastered the elementary branches of learning as taught in the public schools, became a printer in early life, but his conversion to Christianity soon changed the course of his career, and after joining the Methodist Church in 1852 he determined upon the work of the ministry as a life calling. To prepare for this he attended Victoria College, at Cobourg, and was ordained in 1859. He served successively as pastor of churches of his denomination at Niagara, Thorold, Drummondville, Hamilton, Yorkville, Richmond Street, Toronto, and St. James Street, Montreal. His life and work have been characterized by steady development. He has not only proclaimed the gospel from the pulpits, but has been a close and discriminating student of the signs of the times, the possibilities for development in his church and for organization there, and his practical and advanced views upon the questions of church polity and government have led to his selection for high honors in the denomination. He has twice been secretary and also president of the Toronto conference and chairman of the Montreal district. In 1872 he was sent with the Rev. Dr. Sanderson as a delegate to the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, which met at Brooklyn, New York, and in 1881 he was one of the Canadian representatives at the ecumenical Methodist Conference assembled in London, England, where he was elected one of the joint secretaries of that important gathering. In 1882 he was secretary of the joint union committees of the Methodist Churches of Canada, and it was he who formulated the basis of union which was subsequently adopted by the churches. In 1886 he was appointed a fraternal delegate to the British Wesleyan Conference, held in London, England.





A. Sutherland



At the first general conference of the Methodist Church in Canada in 1874, he was elected to the office which he still fills with so much acceptance to his brethren—that of general secretary and clerical treasurer of the Missionary Society, as successor to the late Dr. Lachlan Taylor. In the furtherance of his duties Dr. Sutherland has traveled throughout British America, the Bermudas and Japan, superintending the missionary work and stimulating the missionary zeal of the great body of Christians to which he belongs. Under his administration the union of three Methodist missions in Japan was consummated in 1907. Dr. Sutherland possesses excellent business and executive ability, which is one of the secrets of his success in his work. Since his election as General Secretary of Missions the annual income of the society has risen from one hundred and eighteen thousand to over four hundred thousand dollars.

Dr. Sutherland, moreover, has a national reputation as an advocate of the temperance cause, as an orator of superior ability and as a writer of force and fluency. He was for some years president of the Ontario Temperance and Prohibitory League, and was afterwards president of the Prohibition Third Party in that province. He has eagerly embraced every opportunity to secure the adoption of temperance principles and thus aid in the moral development of the race. In addition to being the editor of the *Missionary Outlook*, he has written largely for the general newspapers and magazines, and has given to literature several works of permanent value. He has been very active in Sunday-school work, and as a lecturer he is known from coast to coast. In 1891 he declined the principalship of Mount Allison University of New Brunswick. In 1897 he was selected by the theological faculty of Vanderbilt University, at Nashville, Tennessee, to deliver a course of lectures on the "Cole Foundation." In 1903 he was fraternal delegate to the British conference and delivered what is known as the Fernley lecture, it being the second occasion on which the conference had gone out of England to select a man for this purpose.

Dr. Sutherland has business connections of no small influence, being president of the Standard Loan Company. The same keen discernment, unfaltering enterprise and strong purpose which have made him such a

power in the work of the church are also manifest in his business associations.

On the 10th of June, 1859, Dr. Sutherland was married to Miss Mary Jane Moore, the eldest daughter of Hugh Moore, of Dundas, Ontario. They have five children living and have lost two. Evelyn is the wife of Prof. J. H. Stevenson, of Vanderbilt University, and they have one son, Alexander Brock Stevenson. William A. died at the age of ten years. Hamilton Moore died at the age of seven years. Hugh Brock is associate editor of the *North American* at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Frank A., thirty years of age, is manager of a branch of the Metropolitan Bank in Toronto. Ida is vocal instructor in a ladies' college at Nashville, Tennessee. Jean, who completes the family, is at home and is winning laurels as a vocalist. Dr. Sutherland is Liberal in politics, but cannot be called a party man, nevertheless all questions which affect the weal or woe of province and Dominion are of interest to him. He has long been a close and earnest student of the economic and sociological questions of the day, and all those interests which bear upon the world's progress or the character development of the individual. He is a man of action rather than of theory, and while holding to high ideals he realizes the value of the methods and resources at hand and utilizes these in working toward the goal which he places before him. Rattray has said: "He is a man of earnest piety, of singular business tact and of great eloquence."

#### WILFRID SERVINGTON DINNICK.

Wilfrid Servington Dinnick, whose intense and well-directed activity and energy have gained him a position of prominence attained by few of his years, is the manager of the Standard Loan Company. His name is an honored one in financial circles, and the extent and importance of his operations directed by him indicate marked mental force and discernment, combined with an executive ability which recognizes in obstacles and difficulties only an impetus for renewed effort. A son of the late Rev. John Dunn Dinnick and a native of Guildford, England, born in the year 1876, Mr. Dinnick acquired his education under the instruction of private tutors and





*H. S. Nimick*



also at the York Place School, Brighton, Sussex, England. His parents were of the landed gentry, both his paternal and maternal grandparents being extensive landowners. Attracted by the opportunities always presented during the era of development in any country he determined to cast in his lot with the residents of Canada and became a factor in its remarkable commercial, industrial and financial development. Time attests the merit of all things and has proven the wisdom of his choice of a location. Taking up his abode in Toronto, he resolutely set himself to the mastery of the tasks which came to him in humbler positions and soon demonstrated his capacity for handling greater responsibilities. The first position of consequence in which he was engaged was as inspector of the Canada Birkbeck Investment Security & Savings Company of Toronto. From that time forward his course has been marked by steady progress and also by a rapidity which is almost dazzling when we consider the heights to which Mr. Dinnick has attained in financial circles. He is to-day a director of the Canadian Casualty Company and manager of the Standard Loan Company. The Standard Loan Company was organized by W. S. Dinnick in 1899 as a permanent loan company. At the close of the year 1900 it had assets of about one hundred and forty-two thousand dollars. In 1903 it acquired the assets of the Aid Savings & Loan Company of Toronto. In 1904 the Ontario Industrial Loan & Investment Company, Limited, was taken over and absorbed by the Standard Loan Company. Then in 1905 the Huron and Bruce Loan and Investment Company of Goderich was absorbed; in the year 1906 the Canadian Homestead Loan and Savings Association and in the year 1907 the Canadian Savings, Loan & Building Association. This has resulted in the very rapid and substantial growth of the Standard Loan Company until now it has assets of over two and a half million dollars with a capital of one million. The growth of the Standard Loan Company is due to the energy, wisdom and foresight of W. S. Dinnick, its vice-president and managing director, and this company through his efforts is rapidly assuming a front place in the ranks of financial corporations in the Dominion. Mr. Dinnick has with him a very substantial and strong board of directors, among whom are the Right Honorable Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal

and Alexander Sutherland of Toronto. Mr. Dinnick is vice-president and a director of the Grand Valley Railroad, the Brantford Street Railway, and the Woodstock, Thames Valley and Ingersoll Electric Railway Company, and through his energy and ability these roads have been amalgamated and extended under the name of the Grand Valley Railway Company, so as to form a system of over one hundred and thirty miles, creating one of the most important and lucrative electric roads in Western Ontario. This one transaction involved an investment of over four million dollars.

Mr. Dinnick holds membership with the Methodist Church. He recognizes individual obligation and has been most liberal in his contributions to charitable and benevolent works. While public office has had no attraction for him, he nevertheless holds clear and decided ideas concerning the political situation of the country and the success relevant to its welfare, growth and upbuilding, being a firm believer in the policy that tends to the exploitation of the great natural resources of mine and forest, plain and river throughout the Dominion. His social nature finds scope in the interests of the Albany and National Clubs of Toronto and in St. Andrew's lodge, A.F. & A.M., No. 16, G.R.C., of Toronto. Mr. Dinnick is a member of the Toronto Hunt and an enthusiastic follower of the hounds. He is also a member of the Lambton Golf and Country Club. His nature is pre-eminently progressive and each step which he makes whether in social, fraternal or business circles is one in advance. He has displayed in the management of intricate business problems a breadth of view such as is usually accorded to one who has long and varied experience. With a mind receptive to impressions, a retentive memory and a capacity for detail he has developed and controlled interests of such magnitude and importance as to be accorded by the consensus of public opinion a foremost position in financial circles in the Dominion.

#### AUGUSTUS G. C. DINNICK.

Augustus G. C. Dinnick is one of the aggressive of our younger Canadian corporation managers, to whom is due the organization and promotion of one of our largest casualty insurance companies.





A. G. C. Winnick



He was born in Ramsgate Kent, England, January 22nd, 1867. Educated in the grammar schools of England he came to Canada in 1890 when a young man of twenty-three years, locating in Toronto, where he immediately began to apply himself with an appreciation of ways Canadian. His interests as financial agent brought him a wide acquaintance with business methods. Possessed of excellent qualifications and executive ability, he was fitted for the work which he undertook in 1903, in organizing the Canadian Casualty & Boiler Insurance Company. From its inception to the present time, Mr. Dinnick has been active in the management of the affairs of that company as its chief executive officer.

Mr. Dinnick is untiring in his efforts. Whatever he undertakes has his undivided attention. He recognizes individual responsibility, is a firm believer in and a strong advocate of Canadian institutions. He possesses a comprehensive appreciation of the possibilities of this country and is a staunch supporter of things Canadian.

Being constituted to take a broad view of things, under Mr. Dinnick's direction, the Canadian Casualty & Boiler Insurance Company occupies to-day a position which readily places it in the front rank of casualty insurance companies on this continent. In the four years of its operation, over sixteen millions of insurance is in force on the books of the company, a sufficient evidence of public confidence and a marked substantial tribute to Mr. Dinnick's ability, which is an achievement in point of volume of business which no similar company has been able to accomplish in Canada in five times a like period.

In 1905 Mr. Dinnick married Miss Alice L. Benson of Guernsey, Channel Islands, England, the youngest daughter of the late William Benson. Mr. Dinnick is independent in politics, whilst his religious faith is indicated by his membership in the Church of England.

#### THE CANADIAN CASUALTY & BOILER INSURANCE COMPANY.

The Canadian Casualty & Boiler Insurance Company was incorporated in 1903 with an authorized capital of one million dollars, and a subscribed capital of some five hundred thousand dollars. Alexander Sutherland is the

president; H. N. Bate and W. S. Dinnick are the vice-presidents; A. G. C. Dinnick is the managing director, and these gentlemen together with C. W. Young and J. A. Kammerer, constitute the board of directors.

The company insures against personal accident and sickness, also issues insurance against damage to personal property including steam boiler insurance, elevator insurance, sprinkler leakage insurance, etc., etc.

The company has a splendid organization, extending from Newfoundland to Vancouver Island. This territory engages the attention of nearly three hundred agencies, the company having offices in Halifax, St. John, Quebec, Montreal, Winnipeg, Calgary, Vancouver, Victoria, and every town and city of importance in the Dominion.

Mr. Dinnick, in controlling the business, is responsible for many innovations in the casualty or accident insurance business. Many reforms have been inaugurated. The present modern accident contract which has now become the standard form of contract was the result of this company's policy of broadmindedness in the issuance of accident policies void of negating conditions.

#### CHARLES FREDERICK WHEATON.

Charles Frederick Wheaton, secretary, treasurer and manager of the Dodge Manufacturing Company at Toronto, was born in Brantford, Ontario, October 17, 1859. His father, James Franklin Wheaton, now deceased, was in the foundry business in Brantford, following that pursuit for fifty years. His son, Charles F., pursued his education in the public schools of Toronto, and when he had put aside his text-books, entered business life as an employee of a wholesale dry goods firm as accountant. Ambitious to engage in business on his own account, when opportunity offered he joined Samuel May in the manufacture of pulleys in 1886. The Dodge Manufacturing Company was then formed and in the intervening years the business has reached extensive proportions, having long since become a profitable enterprise and one which contributes to Toronto's reputation as a commercial and industrial centre. Mr. Wheaton has constantly studied methods whereby the business could be increased, has carefully formulated his plans and has been determined in their execution.







L. C. & F. H. H. H.

In 1898 Mr. Wheaton married Miss Shaw of Toronto. They have two children. He is a member of the National Club, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the Manufacturers' Association, and in politics is a Conservative. These connections indicate much of his character, showing his interest in the business development of the city and in its social life as well.

The Dodge Manufacturing Company is deserving of more than passing notice, being a leading business enterprise of Toronto. It was organized in 1886 by Samuel May and C. F. Wheaton and incorporated in 1898 with a capital of one hundred and ninety-nine thousand dollars, with Samuel May as president, H. S. May, vice-president, and C. F. Wheaton, secretary, treasurer and manager. This company was the first to manufacture the Dodge patent wood split pulley, and at the outset employed about forty men, but the increase in trade has demanded enlarged facilities, and to-day about two hundred and fifty workmen are in the factories. The trade covers all parts of Canada and a large export business is done to Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand. In addition to pulleys the company manufactures all kinds of power transmission machinery, operates a large foundry and machine shop and a general foundry machine shop and engineering business is transacted. The factory site covers eight acres and the plant represents an investment of about five hundred thousand dollars. The men who are at its head stand as excellent examples of the spirit of enterprise which has wrought a marked transformation in the business life of the city in the past quarter of a century.

#### EDWARD G. E. FOLKES.

Edward G. E. Ffolkes, president of the Wilkinson Plow Company, Limited, after careful professional training, entered business life to meet the competition which all must encounter and prove the value of his theoretical knowledge by practical application. That he has met success is attested by the fact that his name is to-day an honored one on commercial paper.

A native of England, Mr. Ffolkes was born in Hillington, Norfolk, January 24, 1862, and is a son of the Rev. Henry Ffolkes, a clergyman still

living in the old country. He supplemented his preliminary school instruction by study in Haileybury College in England and afterward took up the study of civil engineering in France. In 1880 he came to Canada and was a student in the Agricultural College, subsequent to which time he went to Manitoba, where he remained for five years, engaged in the operation of saw and shingle mills and in farming. He then took a contract for the building of snow sheds for the Canadian Pacific Railway in the Rocky Mountains, after which he prospected in the vicinity of Sudbury for one year. During the succeeding two and a half years Mr. Ffolkes was superintendent of coal mines in Gordon, Texas, and was afterward employed for a year in Washington and Baltimore by the Southern Maryland Land Company. He spent the next three years as superintendent of the Orford Copper Company and went to Deseronto as manager for the Terra Cotta works of Rathbun & Company. In July, 1894, he identified himself with the Wilkinson Plow Company and has since remained with that institution. He is also secretary and director of the Warsaw, Wilkinson Company, of Warsaw, New York. The Wilkinson Plow Company, Limited, was organized by George Wilkinson and others in 1881 and they were the first to build steel beam plows. The business was incorporated in 1886 with a capital of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars and a paid-up capital of one hundred and sixty-six thousand dollars. The plant covers six acres and represents an investment of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The present officers are E. G. E. Ffolkes, president, and Dr. W. Jones, secretary, who with C. A. Masten, E. E. A. DuVernet and E. B. Freeland constitute the board of directors. The trade extends over the entire Dominion and large shipments are annually made to England, South Africa, Australia, South America and New Zealand. The Toronto Pressed Steel Company and the West Lorne Wagon Company are also departments of the Wilkirson Plow Company, which employs about three hundred men.

Mr. Ffolkes was married in August, 1891, to Miss Agnes Strachan, a grand-daughter of Bishop Strachan and daughter of Major Strachan. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and the Independent Order of Foresters, while in social organizations his connection is with the National Club and the Lambton Golf Club. In politics he is a Liberal and he is a member



of the Church of England. It seemed a fortunate move on his part when he determined to come to the new world, for in the development of its business interests and utilization of its natural resources he has found good opportunities which he has improved to advantage, and his position in commercial circles is to-day a leading one in Toronto.

#### W. W. HODGSON.

W. W. Hodgson, president of the Acme Loan Company and of the Dominion School Supply Company and manager of the Union Stockyards of Toronto, was born in this city in March, 1844. He is a son of the late William Hodgson, one of the first butchers of the Toronto market, who was there from 1834 until his death in 1845. The Hodgsons were English people who settled in Toronto in 1834, the year of the incorporation of the city. The mother of our subject bore the maiden name of Elizabeth Wastell and died in 1866. After the death of her first husband she married a Mr. Hunt, who was a market gardener.

It was thus that in early life W. W. Hodgson became connected with that occupation. He was educated in the public schools of Toronto, and on putting aside his text-books entered the employ of John Logan, a market gardener, with whom he remained until twenty-two years of age, save for a period of one year spent in Chicago, which he devoted to learning the live stock industry in one of the pioneer packing houses of that city. Upon his return to Toronto he re-entered the employ of Mr. Logan, and when he permanently left his service gave his attention to the carpenter's trade, which he followed for fifteen years. He entered the employ of the city as superintendent of the western cattle market, acting in that capacity for five years, and through the subsequent fifteen years was lessee of the market. After an interval of one year he became employed at the Union stockyards of Toronto and has since been manager of the institution. He has made steady advancement in business life and his ability and energy have led to his selection for the presidency of two important business concerns, the Acme Loan Company and the Dominion School Supply Company.

In 1865 Mr. Hodgson was married to Miss Isabella Shuter, a daughter

of Joseph Shuter, a pioneer of York county, who took part in the Rebellion of 1837 and was one of the guards at the Don during those times. They have nine children: Lily, the wife of Walter Cross of Buffalo; Isabella, the wife of Sergeant Major J. W. Kirkness of Toronto, a member of the Forty-eighth Highlanders; Annie, the wife of John Reid, in the postoffice department in charge of the west end branch; Isabella; William, who is secretary and treasurer of the Acme Loan Company; George; Clarence, who is clerk for the Dominion School Supply Company; Jennie, the wife of George Dunham, manager for the Dominion School Supply Company; and Mabel.

Mr. Hodgson gives his political support to the Conservative party. He served for nine years on the school board, acting for one year as chairman and for seven years was chairman of various committees. He was also a member of the city council for one year and matters relating to the substantial development and upbuilding of Toronto receive his warm endorsement. He belongs to the Presbyterian Church and his membership relations extend to Loyal Orange lodge, A.F. & A.M., the Ancient Order of United Workmen and the Canadian Order of Home Circles.

#### GEORGE WOOD GRANT.

George Wood Grant, connected with the manufacturing interests of Toronto, was born at Innerleithen, Peebleshire, Scotland, August 16, 1857. His parents were Charles and Helen (Wood) Grant, the former now deceased and the latter a resident of Scotland. In the public schools of his native place George W. Grant acquired his education and then served an apprenticeship in a grocery store. He afterwards entered upon an apprenticeship to the trade of a carpenter and joiner and followed that pursuit for fifteen years. A desire for improvement along some line is always the incentive for removal and with the hope of bettering his financial condition in the new world George W. Grant came to Canada in 1882, settling in Winnipeg. He was there employed by R. D. Patterson as a carpenter and joiner until 1885 and assisted in building the College of Manitoba. He also





*H. O. Cox*



took an active interest in military affairs and was corporal of the guard that brought Riel to Regina.

Mr. Grant removed from Winnipeg to Toronto in 1885 and entered the employ of William Simpson, a contractor, with whom he continued until 1887, when he became a traveling salesman for McColl Brothers. In 1896 he began business on his own account as a dealer in oils, greases and polishes, doing a strictly jobbing business and manufacturing all kinds of lubricating oils. He had become well known to the trade in his former business connections and soon secured a liberal patronage.

On the 8th of July, 1896, Mr. Grant was married to Miss Margaret Waugh Dawson, a daughter of Francis Dawson of Duncross, Scotland, where he followed the occupation of farming. There is one son of this marriage, Charles Wood Grant. Mr. Grant holds membership with the Sons of Scotland, the Caledonian Society, St. Andrew's Society, the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Ancient Order of United Workmen and the Masonic fraternity, in which he has attained the Knight Templar degree, being also a Shriner. He likewise belongs to the Burns Literary Association. He holds membership in the Presbyterian Church and was choirmaster of St. Andrew's for about twelve years. He possesses a fine voice and much natural musical ability and is well known as a singer of Scottish songs, his services in this direction being in demand at all Scottish gatherings, where he entertains with the patriotic music and ballads of "bonnie Scotland."

#### HERBERT COPLIN COX.

Herbert Coplin Cox, whose power in successful management is manifest in his control of the Eastern Ontario and Michigan branches of the Canada Life Assurance Company, has throughout his entire business life been connected with the corporation which he now represents. He was born in Peterboro, Ontario, on the 29th of June, 1873, and is the youngest son of the Hon. George A. Cox, member of the Senate of Canada, who is of English parentage. His mother, who in her maidenhood was Miss Hopkins, was a native of Peterboro.

The early educational training of Herbert C. Cox was obtained at the

Jarvis street Collegiate Institute and supplemented by three years in Victoria University of Toronto. Putting aside his text-books in 1894, he joined the staff of the Eastern Ontario branch of the Canada Life Assurance Company and devoted the succeeding five years to a mastery of every branch of the business, filling various positions connected therewith in order to obtain a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the work in all of its phases. In July, 1899, he became associated with his father in the management of the Eastern Ontario and Michigan branches under the firm style of George A. and H. C. Cox and became sole manager of these branches when six months later his father accepted the presidency of the company. For eight years he has remained at the head of the department and the importance of the position can be appreciated when it is known that the Eastern Ontario and Michigan branches produce from two million, five hundred thousand dollars to three million dollars of new business each year. Systematic and methodical, exact in the execution of the plans which he formulates and displaying many of the qualities of the pioneer in instituting new measures for the growth and development of the business, he has come to be recognized as a prominent factor in financial circles in Toronto.

Of attractive social qualities Mr. Cox has been gladly welcomed to the membership of the National, the Royal Canadian Yacht, the Country and Hunt and the Lambton Golf Clubs, all of Toronto, and his membership relations likewise embrace the Institute of Actuaries and the Royal Colonial Institute of London, England. He was one of the chief movers in the organization of the Life Underwriters' Association of Canada, and is vice-president for the Province of Ontario. He is also vice-president of the Provident Investment Co. and a director of the Dominion Securities Corporation, The Central Canada Loan & Savings Co., The Toronto Savings & Loan Co., The Imperial Accident & Guarantee Co., The Robert Simpson Company. He is also trustee of the Toronto General Hospital and the Toronto Conservatory of Music.

Mr. Cox was married in 1895 to Miss Louise Bogart Brown of Toronto. His religious views are indicated by his trusteeship in the Metropolitan Methodist Church.

## JAMES EDWARD ROBERTS.

Many theories have been advanced concerning the methods of achieving success, but sane investigation always reaches the conclusion that it is due to earnest, persistent effort, guided by common sense and supplemented by a ready recognition of the possibilities of the moment. Again this is proven in the history of James Edward Roberts, managing director of the Dominion of Canada Guarantee & Accident Insurance Company of Toronto. He was born at Nantwich, England, on the border of Wales, September 7, 1860, his parents being William and Betsey (Dickinson) Roberts, who were likewise natives of England. The family was established in Canada in 1875.

James Edward Roberts attended the Wesleyan and National schools of Nantwich and of Acton, England, where he completed his studies, and when fifteen years of age he arrived in Toronto, but after a brief period returned to his native country and passed examinations for the staff of the London & Northwestern Railway. He entered that service, in which he remained for eighteen months, when he again came to Toronto. In 1882 he became an agent for the Travelers' Insurance Company of Hartford, Connecticut, subsequently entering the service of the London Guarantee & Accident Company at Toronto as cashier. Soon afterward, however, he was promoted to the positions of inspector, superintendent and acting manager, and in 1897 he was chosen manager of the Dominion of Canada Guarantee & Accident Insurance Company, in which capacity he remained until the spring of 1906, when he was elected by the shareholders as a director and appointed managing director of the company, his jurisdiction extending over Canada, Great Britain and the British West Indies. His position is an important and responsible one, for which he is well qualified, owing to his close application and unfaltering energy in mastering every duty entrusted to him in the different business connections which he has previously held. He has been watchful of opportunity, has utilized every advantage that has presented and is classed with the strong business men who mold conditions to their own ends and who adhere closely to a strict standard of commercial ethics, and thereby gain for themselves and their

business interests an unassailable reputation. He is vice-president of the International Association of Accident Underwriters, to which position he was elected in 1895. The fact that this is the highest honor in insurance circles is evidence of his capability and trustworthiness.

Mr. Roberts was married in 1881 to Miss Annie Charlotte McClusky, a daughter of the late George McClusky of Belfast, Ireland, and they have two children: Florence Gertrude and Ettie. Mr. Roberts is a member of the Queen City Bowling Club and takes an active and commendable interest in all healthful, manly sports and pastimes. He is an adherent of the Methodist Church and in his life has displayed those sterling traits of character which in every land and clime awaken respect, confidence and good will.

#### THE W. & D. DINEEN COMPANY, LIMITED.

Recognized by all as the leading establishment of its character in the Province of Ontario, the above mentioned institution occupies a foremost place in the commercial annals of the province. Standing for all that the word progress implies for nearly half a century, it is certainly appropriate that the business receive mention in this volume as one of the foremost factors in the field of merchandising in Toronto. The founding of the house dates back to 1864, when D. Dineen opened business as a hatter. After remaining alone for a few years he admitted his brother, William Dineen, to a partnership and as the years grew additional lines were added, including furs, millinery, ladies' cloth garments and cloth coats. The early principle of the house to carry nothing but high grade goods has been strictly adhered to and the wisdom of this position has been demonstrated in the phenomenal success of the establishment. Others have come and gone, but the house of Dineen was built for permanency. It is the oldest house of its character in Toronto, and in addition to the enormous patronage received in the city, a steadily growing outside trade is annually transacted in fine goods only. A discriminating public readily recognizes the fact that the house of Dineen can satisfy any want in the line of furs and the business to-day is the largest retail fur manufacturing interest in Canada. The company has





Wm. L. Simon



*Jas P Murray*

no competitor in its hat department, either in the character of goods manufactured or in the volume of business carried on.

William Dineen, president of the company, was born in Ireland and was brought to Canada by his parents when only a year old. After putting aside his text-books he entered the clothing business with the firm of Hughes Brothers and gradually worked his way upward until he became a partner. Subsequently disposing of his interests in this concern he joined his brother in the conduct of the previously established hat business, and the growth of the enterprise to its present mammoth proportions is a figure of the commercial history of Toronto. In addition to his interests in that line William Dineen is vice-president of the Sovereign Fire Insurance Company, a director in the Sovereign Life Assurance Company, a director in the Sterling Bank and other financial institutions. He is a prominent member of the Board of Trade and the Retail Merchants' Association, and in all affairs pertaining to the welfare of the city takes an active and leading part. His public-spirited devotion to the general good stands as an unquestioned fact in his career and his co-operation is given to all those interests which are a matter of civic virtue and of civic pride. Moreover, he has taken a keen interest in yachting and boating, and is a staunch encourager of all manly and healthful sports and pastimes.

Mr. Dineen was married in 1878 to Miss Fannie Buchanan, a daughter of Dr. C. W. Buchanan of Toronto, and they are now parents of five sons: William F., who is identified with his father in business; Frank B., now in business in Toronto; Clifford McC., who is also identified with the firm; Charles, with the Western Assurance Company; and Gordon. The family home in a handsome residence at No. 230 Sherbourne street, Toronto.

#### JAMES P. MURRAY.

James P. Murray, although of Scotch parentage, was born in Limerick, Ireland, in 1852. His father, the late William Allan Murray, the establisher of the well-known dry goods firm in Toronto—now The W. A. Murray Company, Limited—was well known in the silk trade of the Britannic Isles, but

came to Canada early in the fifties of the last century, and, until the time of his death, was one of the greatest merchantmen of his day.

The son James was educated at St. Michael's College, Toronto, and St. Hyacinthe, Quebec, and when fourteen years of age he entered his father's business on King street and remained in it for twenty-seven years.

In 1891 Mr. Murray formed the Toronto Carpet Manufacturing Company, capitalized at \$50,000, commencing with three looms and nine hands. The company has increased in capitalization to \$500,000, and the number of hands to between six hundred and fifty and seven hundred. The Toronto Carpet Company manufacture the celebrated Maple Leaf brand of woolen ingrain carpets and squares, Smyrna rugs and whole carpets; also Axminster body and border carpets, mats, rugs, Brussels and Wilton, employ six salesmen, and are sellers to all the principal jobbing and large retail traders throughout the Dominion of Canada. The company also exports to South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, the West Indies and Great Britain, and has branch offices in the Board of Trade Building, Montreal, and in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Mr. James P. Murray is a thoroughly representative business man—a man of wide book knowledge, has an intuitive knowledge of art and love of everything that is beautiful; is a humane man and delightfully human, too, with gifts both of writing and of oratory—and, as is natural with a man of such versatile talents, has a host of real friends both in social and business life.

Mr. Murray has been vice-president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and chairman of several of the committees of that body. In 1899 he was instrumental in reorganizing the Association and making it an important factor in the manufacturing interests of Canada. He is a member of its Executive Council and has been at the head of the carpet section since 1892. He is a director of the New Ontario Town Site Syndicate—organized to induce immigration and manufacturing in New Ontario—and was founder and first president of the Employers' Association of Toronto—organized for the adjustment of questions arising between members and employees, and for the encouragement of the enactment of just laws to that end.



In politics Mr. Murray has much influence on the Conservative side. He is a member of the Royal Arcanum and of the Independent Order of Foresters. He is the first and at present (1907) only Honorary-active-life member of the Argonaut Rowing Club; is the founder of the Toronto Island Aquatic Association—a charter member of the Art Museum of Toronto; a member of the Executive Board of the Central Ontario School of Arts and Design; of the Canadian branch of the Society of Chemical Industry; and of the Society of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce of London, England, and also a member of the National Club, Toronto, and for the years 1906-7 was president of the Empire Club of Canada.

Mr. Murray is a Roman Catholic. In 1878 he married Marie Emelie Caron, of Ste. Eustache, Quebec. Mrs. Murray died in 1881 and in 1884 Mr. Murray married Nano, daughter of Michael Hayes, County Crown Attorney of the county of Perth, Ontario, and she died in 1896. Mr. Murray's six children are: Marguerita E.; Mona F.; Stuart Allan; Hilda A.; William Alexander and James Athol.

#### ISIDORE FREDERICK HELLMUTH, K.C.

Isidore Frederick Hellmuth, K.C., practising at the Toronto Bar, as a member of the law firm of Kingsmill, Hellmuth, Saunders & Torrance, was born February 21, 1854, in Sherbrooke, Quebec, his parents being Isaac and Catharine (Evans) Hellmuth. The father, a native of Poland, resided in England for some time prior to his arrival in Canada in the '40s. He was an Anglican bishop of Huron for many years, during which time he resided in London, Ontario, but his last days were spent in England, where he passed away in 1901.

Isidore F. Hellmuth supplemented his preliminary education by study in Hellmuth College, at London, Ontario, which institution was founded by his father in 1865. He later became a student in Trinity College, at Cambridge University of England and was graduated with the Bachelor of Law degree in 1877. The same year he was called to the England Bar at London and after returning to Canada was called to the Bar of Ontario in 1877. Locating for practice in Toronto he continued with the firm of

Crooks, Kingsmill and Cattanaach until 1882, when he removed to London, Ontario, where he resided until 1900. In that year he returned to Toronto and re-joined his old associates at the Bar under the firm style of Kingsmill, Hellmuth, Saunders & Torrance. He was appointed King's Counsel by the Ontario government in 1902. His practice is large and of a distinctively representative character and he has a wide and comprehensive knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence as is evidenced by his successful handling of important litigated interests entrusted to his care.

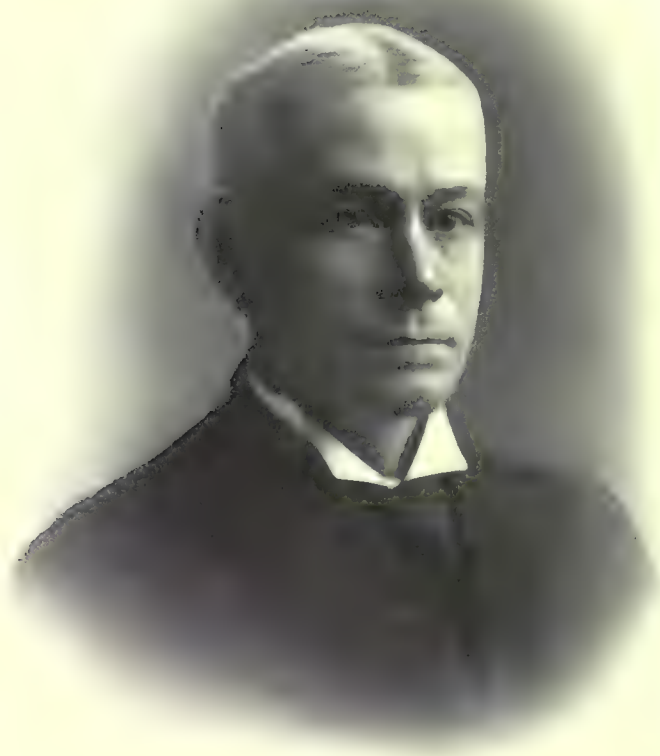
Mr. Hellmuth was married in 1880 to Miss Harriet Emily Gamble, a daughter of the late Clark Gamble, K.C., of Toronto. Their four children are: Miriam, the wife of J. R. Meredith of Toronto; Harold; Phyllis and Gordon. Mr. Hellmuth is a communicant of the Church of England, and in politics is a Conservative, manifesting in the questions and issues of the day a public-spirited interest, yet possessing none of the political ambition which seeks the rewards of office in recognition of party fealty.

#### JULIAN SALE.

Julian Sale, managing director of The Julian Sale Leather Goods Company, Limited, of Toronto, was born in London, England in 1847. With his parents he arrived in Toronto in 1854. His education was acquired in the public schools of this city and at the model grammar school. Choosing an active workaday occupation rather than the professional career which his parents desired for him, he was apprenticed to the leather goods trade. He advanced in skill and proficiency and knowledge of detail, until in due course, in 1877, he began business on his own account. Later his business and that of H. E. Clark & Co., King street, owned by Mr. Matthew Langmuir of The M. Langmuir Manufacturing Co., were merged, and The Julian Sale Leather Goods Co., Limited, was incorporated.

That this proved a strong combination is evidenced in the acknowledged high place which the company holds as manufacturers of traveling equipments and leather goods generally. The business has grown along safe and substantial lines, and the success which is now enjoyed is most gratifying.

Mr. Sale, though independent politically, is progressive, perhaps radi-



Edward Lee.





cal, takes great interest in public affairs, voting for those men and those measures which make for the welfare of the people as a whole.

Mindful of the importance of balance, Mr. Sale is an advocate, on the physical side, of outdoor recreation, and is a member of Lambton and Rosedale Golf Clubs. And, not neglectful of the intellectual faculty, is a lover of good books.

#### FREDERICK BARNARD FETHERSTONHAUGH.

Frederick B. Fetherstonhaugh, one of the most prominent patent barristers and solicitors of the Dominion, living in Toronto, was born in Paisley, Bruce county, Ontario, June 2, 1863. His father, Francis Fetherstonhaugh, now deceased, came to Ontario about 1856. He was descended from Irish ancestry and the seat of the family for generations was Carrick House on Lake Belvedere, in county Westmeath, Ireland.

In early boyhood Frederick B. Fetherstonhaugh became a resident of Toronto and pursued his education in the Ryerson school and the Collegiate Institute. He also entered the University of Toronto, but did not complete his course, and instead took up the study of law. Following his admission to the Bar he became associated with Donald C. Ridout, the pioneer patent barrister and solicitor of Ontario, with whom he remained until 1880, when he began practising alone. He was the first tenant in the Bank of Commerce building in Toronto. The firm of Fetherstonhaugh & Company was founded as patent barristers and solicitors, engineers and draftsmen, and is to-day the best known firm of this character in Canada, having a clientage in excess of any other patent lawyers of the Dominion. In the law perhaps more than in any other profession advancement depends upon individual merit and skill. There is demanded not only a thorough preliminary preparation, but also careful study of every case, and there is no department of law which involves broader or more comprehensive knowledge of many subjects, or in which litigation is more complex and involved than in patent law. That Mr. Fetherstonhaugh, as senior member of the firm, has gained a foremost place in this department of practice, is indicative of superior knowledge, of ready understanding of the principles

involved, and of correct application and adaptation. The firm prepare applications for letters patent for inventors, report on the scope and validity of patents, act as experts in the courts and in fact handle a patent from start to finish, and the volume of their business has grown in extent and importance until they are the acknowledged leaders in the department of patent law in Canada. They have branch offices in Montreal, Winnipeg, Ottawa and Vancouver, and their library on this subject is one of the finest in the country, for they acquired the entire library of Mr. Ridout upon his death and to it have made large additions.

Mr. Fetherstonhaugh was married in 1887 to Miss Marion Rutledge, a daughter of James Rutledge, a descendant of Colonel Rutledge, an old county Mayo family, Ireland, and they have one son, James M. Finding his chief source of rest and recreation in outdoor life, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh is a life member of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the British Empire League and the Argonaut Rowing Club. He also belongs to the National Club, Ontario Bar Association, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and the Engineers Club of Toronto. He belongs to the Church of England, being a communicant of St. James' Cathedral; and in politics is a Conservative. His residence, one of the most beautiful homes of the city, stands on the Lake Shore road at Mimico amid the most artistically laid out grounds in the province.

#### THE REV. PRINCIPAL MACLAREN.

The Rev. William Maclaren, D.D., LL.D., Principal of Knox College, Toronto, is a son of Scottish parents, David Maclaren and Elizabeth Barnet, both relatives of Perthshire. Principal Maclaren was born in Tarbolton, in the county of Carleton, Ontario, on the 26th of January, 1828, and is now in his 80th year. He was educated at the grammar school, Ottawa, and at the Toronto Academy, from which he entered on the study of theology and arts at Knox College, both departments being then taught there. He was ordained to the ministry in 1853, when called to the charge at Amherstburg, Ontario, where he, from the commencement of his ministry, made his mark as an able and scholarly preacher and devoted pastor, attracting a wider

attention than usually falls to the lot of a clergyman in his early years. The result was that he was much in demand by other congregations, and in 1857 he accepted a call from Knox Church, Boston, Mass. (afterwards known as Columbus avenue Presbyterian Church). His ministry then was extremely promising, though brief, for in 1859 he returned to Ontario, at the strong invitation of the Presbyterian congregation at Belleville, where his labors were abundantly crowned with success. Here he remained surrounded by a devoted people and winning the reputation of a man of scholarly tastes and earnest purpose. He was now known extensively throughout his church and the important congregation of Knox Church, Ottawa, secured him as its pastor in 1870. The growing importance of the capital of the Dominion, not only politically, but in a social and religious sense, opened up a most promising field of usefulness to Mr. MacLaren, then in the prime of his powers. It was not long, however, until his gifts were directed in a new and different field; for in 1873 he was appointed by the General Assembly to the chair of Systematic Theology in Knox College, his Alma Mater. The work of this chair he continued to discharge with great ability and satisfaction, until recently, when on account of increasing years, and the duties placed upon him as principal of the college, a position to which he was appointed by the General Assembly on the death of the late Principal Caven, he asked to be relieved of his professional labors.

In the classroom his influence was scarcely second to that of his great colleague, Dr. Caven. He had a thorough grasp of his subject, was clear and pointed in his expositions, and was what is now-a-days known as "safe" in his views, or in other words, he held by the theological positions of his youth. His personal character being of the highest quality, and his disposition most kindly, it is not surprising that his students found in him not only a friend, but a deeply revered father and guide, while his large experience and extensive knowledge of the conditions in, and affairs of, his church, enabled him to give the young men attending the college sound practical advice and wise counsel. When he first became a professor, the church required and expected the assistance of her able sons in the professoriate as well as in the pastorate, in carrying on her work, and Mr. MacLaren, already well known to the people and ministry alike, did not seek to

evade the demands made upon his services. He had as his colleagues marked men, of high standing and influence. Dr. Caven came as near to being a leader of the church as sturdy Presbyterianism, which regards all the true pastors as having the same authority and equal power one with another, would reasonably submit to; Dr. Gregg, scholarly and energetic, with a strong following whose implicit confidence he commanded; and Dr. Proudfoot, the unexcelled homilete, who impressed his mind deeply on the ministers of his church by his learning, and on the people by his earnest sincerity. These men were heard in the courts of their church, and of them Professor Maclaren was not the least influential, or indefatigable, in service. From the days of the sainted McCheyne and the Bonars, the missionary spirit pervaded the Presbyterian Church, and nowhere more thoroughly than in Canada. Professor Maclaren occupied the important position of convener of the Foreign Mission Committee of his church for sixteen years, a position in which his business aptitude as well as his deep sympathy, found useful scope, and in the exercise of which great results were attained. It was during his occupancy of this office that missionary operations were extended to far Formosa, by the heroic Mackay, to India by a devoted band of men and women, while the outlying portions of the Canadian field, on the wild shores of the northern Pacific, were not overlooked. His attitude towards the greater movements in the church has always been one of respectful caution, and his sound judgment and prudence have had much quiet influence with men who may be regarded as pillars of the ecclesiastical edifice, he, himself, has had no small share in upbuilding. He has been a controversialist of ability, and when he considers himself called upon to place his views, either as a propounder or critic, before the public, his pamphlets never fail to find readers. His style, if not so keen as his aged colleague Dr. Gregg's was wont to be, or as tersely direct as that of Dr. Caven, is trenchant and lucid to a degree, and whether in defence of the doctrines of his church, or in attacking what he considers to be mistaken views, he is always a formidable if perfectly courteous opponent.

In the great movement which has been in progress for the last few years, making for church union in Canada, he does not see eye to eye with some of his respected brethren, on some of the points involved, in the







R. Dawson Harling.

working out of the question, but the mellowing influence of a ripe mind are noticeable in his restrained addresses on this question. The church has not been unmindful of his many services. In 1883, Queen's University, Kingston, conferred the degree of D.D. upon him, and in 1905 he received his degree of LL.D. from Toronto University. He was appointed delegate of the first Council of the Presbyterian Alliance and to several subsequent ones; and in 1884 the highest honor possible for the church to confer was bestowed on him, when he was elected Moderator of its General Assembly. In 1854 Principal Maclaren married Marjorie, the third daughter of James Laing, Nidrie Park, Melbourne, P.Q.

#### R. DAWSON HARLING.

R. Dawson Harling, representative in Canada and the northern States of the Manchester Ship Canal Company, was born in Liverpool, England, in 1861. His education was acquired in the National schools of his native town, finishing with a two years' course at St. Mark's College, Chelsea; and when he had put aside his text-books to learn the more difficult lessons in the school of experience, he entered into the steamship business in connection with his brother, Thomas Harling, at Liverpool.

They were ship brokers and forwarding agents, and whilst trading with the principal seaports of the world, they made a specialty of the Canadian business. A large number of steamers under their charter plied between Montreal, Quebec, St. John and other ports of the Dominion to various British and Continental ports.

When the Elder Dempster line was started from Canada Mr. Harling settled in Toronto as the general western freight agent of that line, and also of the Head Line, the former of which ran steamers to London and Bristol, England, and the latter to Dublin and Belfast, Ireland. In 1898 he added to his list the agency of the Manchester Ship Canal Company, which also combined the agency in Ontario of the Manchester Liners' Limited, the first steamship company to run steamers from Canadian ports direct to Manchester. The claims of this new position became such an important factor that early in 1899 a new agreement was made whereby he

resigned all other agencies and has since devoted his whole time and energy in furthering the interests of the port of Manchester in Canada and the United States. The Province of Ontario has witnessed the activity of Mr. Harling in a greater degree than any other part of his immense territory, partly owing to his decision in making Toronto his headquarters, but chiefly to the fact that in this province he acts directly for the Manchester Liners Limited. Regular lines of steamers also run from Boston, New York, Philadelphia and New Orleans, whilst there is hardly a port of any note on the Atlantic seaboard which has not a trade direct with Manchester.

Mr. Harling has watched the trade to and from Manchester grow from small beginnings. The total trade handled on the ship canal in 1894 was under one million gross tons, whilst for the year ending 31st December, 1906, the figures reached the large total of 4,750,000 gross tons.

Mr. Harling was married in 1892 to the eldest daughter of the late Mr. John Roberts, Chief Customs Inspector of the port of Liverpool, England, and they have three children. He has been a member of the Board of Trade since 1898, and this year was elected on the Board of Arbitration. He takes no active part in politics, but his social relations embrace the St. George's Society, National Club and Empire Club, whilst in religion he belongs to the Church of England.

#### GEORGE HUGHES WATSON, K.C.

George Hughes Watson, K.C., who since 1875 has been an active member of the Toronto Bar, practising at the present time as the senior partner of the firm of Watson, Smoke & Smith, is uniformly recognized as one of the ablest legists representing the profession in Ontario. He was born near Schomberg, in the township of King, York county, September 28, 1850, a son of Thomas Noakes and Clarissa (White) Watson. The father was a native of Pennsylvania, and came to Canada in 1815 with his parents, who were United Empire Loyalists. His grandfather, John Watson, came from England when a young man and was a descendant of the Watsons of Rochinham, Northampton. Thomas N. Watson engaged in clearing and developing of land in township of King, which under his direction was



transformed into valuable farming property. His time was thus occupied until his life's labors were ended in death in 1864.

George H. Watson acquired his early education in the Newmarket grammar school, while his more specifically literary course was pursued in Victoria University, from which he was graduated in 1871, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He afterward took up the study of law in the same institution and won the degree of Bachelor of Law in 1874. He was called to the Bar of Ontario the same year, after studying under the direction of the late Hon. Lewis Walbridge, who was afterward chief justice of Manitoba.

Mr. Watson began practice in Toronto in 1875. The practice of his firm is scarcely surpassed in extent or importance in Toronto. They represent leading corporations and prominent clients, and for the past fifteen years Mr. Watson has enjoyed a large counsel business throughout the province. His success came soon because his equipment was unusually good. Along with those qualities indispensable to the lawyer—a keen, rapid, logical mind plus the business sense and the ready capacity for hard work—he brought to the starting point of his legal career rarer gifts—eloquence of language and a strong personality. An excellent presence, an earnest, dignified manner, marked strength of character, a thorough grasp of the law and an ability to accurately apply its principles, are factors in his effectiveness as an advocate. His practice has not been restricted to any one branch of the profession, although for the last fifteen years he has been engaged almost exclusively as counsel at *nisi prius* and in the appellate courts. The law of the corporations, however, which has developed so rapidly in volume and complexity, now comprises the largest subdivision of civil law and composes the larger part of his office practice.

In 1875 Mr. Watson was married to Laurene, a daughter of the late Alfred Munson, of Cobourg, who was a prominent contractor during his long and useful career. They now have two children, Norah and Strafford. Mr. Watson is a member of Ionic lodge, A.F. & A.M. and is a communicant of St. James' Church of England, while politically he is a Liberal.

## CAPTAIN ROCHFORD MONCREIFF MELVILLE, R.N.R., J.P.

Captain Rochfort Moncreiff Melville, whose efficient official service is evidence of his progressive and patriotic citizenship, was born in Dublin, Ireland, June 4, 1852, his parents being James and Annie Gordon (Bell) Melville, natives of Scotland and of Dublin, Ireland, respectively. The father was manager of the Provincial Bank of Ireland at Dublin and other points, being connected with that institution for more than a half century. He died in 1904.

Spending his boyhood days in Dublin, Captain Melville of this review was a student in Cork College and in Middleton College, also of county Cork. Leaving the schoolroom at the age of sixteen, he spent a short period in the Provincial Bank at Dublin and afterward entered the marine service as midshipman. He won successive consecutive promotions until he became officer in command, serving as such from 1870 until 1882. During this time he visited the ports of India, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, South America and the South Sea Islands and principal countries of the world, gaining a knowledge of the various countries and their peoples which only travel can bring.

In the winter of 1882 he arrived in Canada, his first employment being with pick and shovel on the construction work of the Canadian Pacific Railway. After three months he came to Toronto and for two years was in the employ of Blake, Lash & Cassels, barristers and solicitors. From 1884 until 1888 he was engaged in the real estate business, after which he accepted a steamship agency, representing three or four local and Atlantic steamship lines. His business has constantly increased, however, until he is now the representative in Toronto of the principal steamship lines operating from New York, from Pacific ports, from London and the Orient. In this connection he has secured an extensive clientage and his previous experience in the marine service has been of much assistance to him in working up a business which has now reached large proportions and is a gratifying source of profit.

In 1883 Captain Melville was married to Elizabeth E. Bradshaw, a daughter of George Bradshaw of Temple View House, county Tipperary,





*Josef Mayr*



Ireland. They had one son, Hector George, and one daughter, Kathleen. The wife and mother died April 25, 1891, and on the 17th of April, 1900, Captain Melville married again, his second union being with Blanche Anna, the youngest daughter of the late Captain Pilsworth, an officer in the English army. They have one son, Charles Beresford, who is now in his fourth year and was named in honor of Lord Charles Beresford and at his request.

Captain Melville is a supporter of the Conservative party and is a well informed man concerning the political issues and paramount questions which are before the public to-day. He has, however, had little ambition in the line of office seeking, but is now filling the position of justice of the peace, to which he was appointed in September, 1906. He is a member of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, representing the congregation since 1900. He has worthily won the title of a self-made man for, dependent upon his own resources from the age of sixteen years, he has worked his way steadily upward, gaining success with varied experience such as makes him to-day a broad minded, intelligent man and one worthy the high esteem in which he is uniformly held.

#### FREDERICK WYLD.

Frederick Wyld, for many years an active and honorable business man of Toronto, but now living retired at "Dunedin," St. George street, Toronto, was born at Scotston Park near Queensferry, Scotland, on the 24th of December, 1832, and is a son of the late William Wyld, a merchant at Leith, Scotland, who died at the age of fifty-seven years. Being left an orphan at the age of nine, Frederick Wyld acquired his education principally at Irvine Academy in Ayrshire, Scotland, and was then indentured to a business firm in Edinburgh—the old established and successful house of Craig Brothers, with whom he remained for six years. He afterward spent two years in a similar position in Glasgow and Belfast. The favorable reports which he heard concerning business opportunities in the new world led him to make his way to Canada, and in 1854 he crossed the Atlantic. Soon afterward he secured employment with the firm of F. W. Gates &

Company, proprietors of one of the oldest and most reliable wholesale dry goods houses of Hamilton. After two years in that service he established business on his own account as a general merchant in the county of Norfolk, where he remained for some years, continuing in the same line thereafter at Port Rowan.

It was while residing there that Mr. Wyld was married to Miss M. L. Barrett, a daughter of H. M. Barrett of Port Royal, formerly of Sorel, in the Province of Quebec. About 1860 he removed to Hamilton, where he carried on business until 1872, when he came to Toronto, making the last move because of the advantages offered through railroad connections for the distribution of the goods sent out by the wholesale house. In this city he was joined in business by Henry W. Darling under the style of Wyld & Darling, and in 1878 their business was consolidated with that of W. R. Brock under the firm name of Wyld, Brock & Darling, exclusive wholesale dry goods merchants.. This relationship existed for some years, when Mr. Darling retired from the business and ultimately associated himself with the late Senator McMaster under the name of McMaster, Darling & Company. After his withdrawal the firm of Wyld, Brock & Company continued in business at the corner of Bay and Wellington streets for some time, and later he purchased the opposite corner and erected a very handsome stone warehouse. There the business was successfully conducted under the style of Wyld, Grasett & Darling, and afterward as Wyld, Darling Company, Limited, up to the time of the great fire of 1904, when their establishment, like that of many others, was levelled to the ground. Mr. Wyld, having no sons to succeed him in business and having already traveled far on life's journey, determined that he would retire from active life. His losses occasioned by the fire were very heavy and yet in previous years he had been remarkably successful, so that he was enabled to retire with a comfortable competence. He is, moreover, financially interested in various corporations and business concerns, being connected with the board of directors of the Standard Bank of Canada, of which he is also vice-president, the Confederation Life Insurance Company of Canada, of which he is vice-president, the Canada Permanent Loan & Mortgage Company, the

Dominion Transport Company and the Toronto General Trusts Company. His investments have been judiciously placed and the extent of his interests even after the fire make him a prosperous resident of Toronto.

Mr. and Mrs. Wyld have one daughter: Mrs. W. C. MacDonald, the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel MacDonald of the Forty-eighth Highlanders, Toronto; and one son who died in infancy. The family attend the Church of England. Mr. Wyld holds membership with the Toronto Club, the Toronto Yacht Club, and St. Andrew's Society. In politics he is a Conservative, but has never taken any active part in public affairs, not from lack of interest, but simply because his business cares have fully occupied his time and attention. When a young man at Rowan Mills, in Norfolk county, he was appointed justice of the peace, but otherwise he has held no public offices. He is one of the most respected residents of Toronto, having through the years of a long and active business career sustained an unassailable reputation. He has been notably prompt, energetic and reliable, possessing in large measure that indispensable quality of common sense which is too often lacking by those who would win success. He has been quick to recognize the value of a situation, to co-ordinate interests and to bring all the means at hand into harmonious working conditions, and thus through the manipulation of all the forces that he could muster he has wrought along honorable business lines and well merits the rest that he is now enjoying.

#### HERBERT HENRY BECK.

The field of insurance is constantly attracting men of enterprise, energy and laudable ambition, who find in this scope for their dominant qualities, recognizing that the business offers excellent opportunities for advancement. A representative of this class is found in Herbert Henry Beck, now manager of the Anglo-American Fire Insurance Company at Toronto. Of English birth, he claims the hamlet of Heacham in the county of Norfolk as the place of his nativity, while the date of his birth was April 2, 1852. His parents were Thomas Anthony and Anne (Whisson) Beck. When only a year old he lost his father. His education was acquired in the Snettisham grammar school in the county of Norfolk and in his early

business experience he was an employee in the Birkbeck Bank and shipping office at Hull. The year 1876 witnessed his arrival in Canada and the following year he made his way westward to Manitoba, settling on a ranch near Minnedosa. After a few years he became connected with the Hudson Bay Land Company, acting as inspector until 1880. In 1886 he organized the Manitoba Assurance Company, of which he remained the chief executive officer until 1904, when he sold out to the London & Liverpool & Globe. On the 15th of November, 1905, he re-organized the Anglo-American Fire Insurance Company and has succeeded in placing its business on a sound financial basis. He is general manager and as such has developed the business along progressive lines until within the short space of two years he has made the enterprise a very successful one. Mr. Beck has thorough and intimate knowledge of the insurance business, has made a close study of the possibilities and therefore his views upon insurance are sane and serviceable. He is now vice-president of the London Mutual Fire Insurance Company and a director of the Montreal Fire Insurance Company of Canada.

Mr. Beck is a man of domestic tastes, finding his keenest enjoyment at his own fireside. He was happily married in 1885 to Miss Florence, a daughter of the late John Hall of Roundhay Park, Leeds, Yorkshire, England, and their children are now six in number: Dorothy, Marjory, Hazel Marian, Anthony Russell, Phyllis and Herbert Hugh.

Mr. Beck has no politics, but is an ardent Imperialist. He is a member of the National Club and is a gentleman of affable disposition and courteous manner, who wins friends wherever he goes through the recognition of his genuine personal worth.

#### WILLIAM JAMES HILL.

William James Hill, registrar of York county, was born December 21, 1854, at Toronto, a son of William and Mary (McClure) Hill, the former a native of Yorkshire, England, and the latter of county Fermanagh, Ireland. Both the paternal and maternal grandfather of Mr. Hill served in the British army at the battle of Waterloo and through the Peninsular war.



149



John Flett

The parents settled in Toronto about 1840. For more than sixty years the father was a local minister of the Methodist Church and put forth earnest and far reaching effort to advance its cause. He died in the year 1897.

Having acquired his education in the public schools of Toronto, William James Hill learned and followed the bricklayer's trade and after a few years engaged in the contracting business on his own account. He has made steady progress in his chosen field of labor and the position which he occupies as a leading and successful contractor is indicated by the fact that he built the aluminum plant for the Pittsburg Reduction Company, the plant of the Belgo Canadian Pulp Company at Shawinigan Falls, Quebec, the sulphide plant for the Sault Ste. Marie Pulp & Paper Company, also the concrete foundations for the blast furnace at Sault Ste. Marie. All these are important structures, demanding the utmost care and ability in their erection, and are monuments to the enterprise, skill and handiwork of the builder.

Mr. Hill, in matters of citizenship, exemplifies the same progressive spirit which he manifests in his business life. He served for five years as school trustee and for six years as alderman of the City of Toronto, and in 1894 was elected reeve of York township, in which capacity he served for four years. In 1898 he was elected a member of the Provincial Parliament, representing West York in the Liberal interests. His appointment to his present position as registrar of York county followed upon the death of James Massey, the former incumbent, in 1904. Methodical and accurate in administering the affairs of the office, actuated by a spirit of fidelity to all public trusts, he has made a most creditable record in official circles.

In 1891 Mr. Hill was married to Miss Hannah Bloor, a daughter of James Bloor of county Bruce, and they are now parents of five children: Effie, Agnes, Ruth, Winnifred and Gordon. Mr. Hill is a life member of Ashlen lodge, A. F. & A. M., and also of York lodge of Masons and the York lodge of the Ancient Order of United Workmen.

#### JOHN FLETT.

John Flett, of Toronto, who is closely identified with the mercantile and financial life of the province, is a representative of that Scotch spirit

who recognize that right is right and wrong is wrong. This quality has been manifest throughout his entire business career, making him one of the most honored representatives of the business interests of the province, while his splendid success is attributable to close and unremitting application and energy which never flags.

Mr. Flett was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1833, a son of John Flett, who was a native of the Orkney Islands and was at one time an Edinburgh writer to the *Signet*. In 1837 he brought his family to Canada, settling in Chippewa in the days of the Mackenzie rebellion. He became proprietor of a general store and John Flett was his father's assistant through the period of his boyhood and youth. He entered the store after he had completed his education, and upon his father's death in 1868 succeeded to the business, which he successfully conducted until 1875. He then sought a broader field at Toronto and, joining H. Lowndes, became a wholesale dealer in dry goods specialties. The business has been continued with excellent success to the present time and to-day Mr. Flett is president of the large importing house of Flett, Lowndes & Company, which has successfully weathered all financial storms and has made steady and satisfactory progress. It is regarded as one of the most safe and reliable business concerns of Toronto, having from the beginning enjoyed a profitable trade. Throughout the years Mr. Flett has watched market indications, has noted and anticipated public demands in his line and has made his house a foremost factor in trade circles of the province. He has likewise become interested as a director and stockholder in many of the prominent financial and commercial institutions of Ontario. He became identified with the Globe Savings & Loan Company at its inception almost fifteen years ago and his good judgment being quickly recognized by his associates, the first year he was elected to the position of second vice-president. He has remained continuously on the board from that time to the present, later being chosen first vice-president, and when declining health made it necessary for William Bell to resign the presidency Mr. Flett was the unanimous choice of the directors as his successor. The company has ever pursued careful, prudent and safe methods and such a policy has been maintained under the direction of Mr. Flett. It possesses not a few special features, being the only com-



pany having three hundred thousand dollars of the capital permanent, non-withdrawable and paid up. It charges no membership fee. Its mortgages are absolutely discharged at a fixed period whether the stock is matured at that time or not. It has an interesting life insurance feature, so that in case of the borrower dying his widow gets a discharge of mortgage. This is the association to which Mr. Flett has given a considerable share of his time and careful thought and the results of this work on the part of himself and his fellow directors bear evidence in the position of the Globe Savings & Loan Company to-day.

The control of the important mercantile and financial interests with which Mr. Flett is connected would by many be recognized as sufficient to entirely monopolize the time and attention of an individual, but Mr. Flett has found opportunity to faithfully and ably discharge various duties of citizenship and of public service. He has been alderman of Toronto for one year, during which time he exercised his official prerogatives in support of many progressive measures which had direct bearing upon the work of reform and improvement in municipal affairs. For six years he was a member of the board of license commissioners for Toronto and its efficient chairman. In politics he is a Liberal and at one time contested the Dominion House against W. R. Brock, but was defeated by two hundred votes. He is a life member of the Toronto Board of Trade and holds a position on the council of that institution. He has a commendable military record to his credit, for during the Fenian Raid he was captain of a company and in addition to a land certificate he received in recognition of his services a Fenian medal.

He is a trustee of the Sick Children's Hospital, is president of the Flett-Lowndes Co., is vice-president of the Lowndes Co., is president of the Flett-Lowndes Syndicate that erected the buildings in which are housed the companies above named.

His wife, to whom he was married in 1878 and who bore the maiden name of Rhoda Mary Forbes, died June 1, 1899. They had three children: Annie Forbes, Jessie Lowndes and Walter Ernest. Mr. Flett became one of the early members of the National Club and is a communicant of the Episcopal Church. He has taken an active and helpful part in church

work and was at one time Sunday school superintendent. He possesses the strong and sterling characteristics of his Scotch ancestry and his life record proves that prosperity and an honored name may be won simultaneously and that success is ambition's answer.

#### EBENEZER FORSYTH BLACKIE JOHNSTON, K.C.

Ebenezer Forsyth Blackie Johnston, K.C., barrister of Toronto, was born at Old Cambus, formerly an old Roman fortification on the east coast of Scotland, December 21, 1851. After coming to Canada he began preparation for the legal profession in 1872. He passed the necessary examinations and at the same time entered on a thorough and comprehensive preliminary reading and was called to the Bar of Ontario in 1879, having passed as a solicitor two years previously. For a few years he practised at Guelph, removing thence to Toronto, in October, 1885, on his appointment as deputy attorney-general and clerk of the executive council, a position which he filled for about four years. Not satisfied with the limits of official life, he resumed the private practice of law and a liberal clientage was almost immediately accorded him. He acted for three years of his earlier practice in Toronto as Inspector of Registry Offices, but resigned that position in 1892.

He has frequently acted as Crown counsel at Provincial Assizes, being retained for the Crown on several important murder trials, and in such cases as the celebrated dynamite prosecution at Welland. In that capacity he has won distinction in his profession. He has also conducted with great success nearly all the important criminal defences for several years past, notably the Clara Ford and the Hyam cases, in which he was leading counsel, and in later years, the Sternaman, Sifton and Hammond murder cases. He marshals the evidence in a case with the precision of a military commander, turning aside no point that may possibly bear weight upon the decision, and never for a moment forgetting the important point upon which the decision in every case finally turns. He conducted the celebrated Gamey-Stratton case for the government and it is universally admitted that his efforts turned the scale in favor of his clients.



*E. D. Phurness*





In 1887 he was appointed by Sir Oliver Mowat a commissioner to inquire into the working of municipal institutions. His political service has largely been in the line of professional duty.

He has won distinction as a leading jury lawyer in both civil and criminal cases, being strong in argument, logical in his deductions, forceful in his presentation of a cause. He is looked upon as one of the strongest cross-examiners at the Bar. He was appointed Queen's Counsel by the Ontario government in 1890.

In his younger days Mr. Johnston was for some years a constant contributor to the *Guelph Mercury*. He also served as president of the Guelph Caledonian Society and as president of the South Wellington Reform Association. He is a strong political speaker. His close and discriminating study of the political situation and the possibilities for reform and improvement found elucidation in his addresses as a young man to the public, and his reasons were presented so clearly and cogently as always to make a strong impress on his audience. Of late years, the demands of his profession have prevented him from taking an active part in politics. He was offered the position of Attorney-General by the late Ross government, but for business reasons was forced to decline it.

In January, 1886, Mr. Johnston was married to Miss Sara, daughter of W. C. Schreiber, formerly of Barrie. Their residence is at No. 14 Spadina road, Toronto. Mr. Johnston is a Presbyterian.

### JOHN W. COWAN.

In the history of commercial enterprise and progress in Toronto in recent years John W. Cowan deserves mention, for the extensive manufacturing and mercantile interests of the Cowan Cocoa & Chocolate Company, Limited, found inception in the energy and business enterprise of him whose name initiates this review.

Born in Tipperary, Ireland, in 1842, he is a son of the late Edmond Cowan, who was born in Ireland and came to Canada in 1852, his death, however, occurring soon afterward. The son was educated in Ireland and in the public schools of Princeton, Ontario, supplemented by study in the

Commercial College of London, Ontario. In 1856 he entered the field of mercantile activity as a salesman in a grocery store, where he remained for eight years. He afterward spent three years clerking in a wholesale grocery house of London, Ontario, when, desiring a change, he removed to Hamilton, where he was employed by the wholesale grocery firm of G. K. Forster & Company. He next went upon the road as a traveling salesman and on the expiration of seven years became a partner in the business.

Sometime afterward Mr. Cowan withdrew and established himself in business in Toronto under the name of J. W. Cowan & Company, importers of teas and coffees, continuing in the trade until 1890. In the meantime, about 1885, he became interested in cocoa and chocolate, buying out the machinery of a small business which had failed, located on Temperance street. He conducted the business under the firm style of Cowan, Musgrave & Company for eleven months and became convinced that the venture was proving unprofitable. He then removed the machinery to Front street, installing it in the basement of a tea and coffee warehouse. About that time his health failed and for several years he made annual trips to England. Each year, however, he lost money in cocoa and chocolate, and in 1889 he decided to establish the business upon more modern plans and formed a joint stock company in 1890, called the Cowan Cocoa & Chocolate of Toronto, Limited. From this time the business has had a steady and most satisfactory growth. Soon it became necessary to have enlarged facilities and a warehouse was built in Mincing Lane, off Wellington street, where the manufacturing was also conducted. This building soon became inadequate and in 1898 the company purchased and removed to a building on King street. Again the growth of the trade demanded enlarged quarters in 1904 and Mr. Cowan, who had already made four removals, determined to build a structure which would be large enough for years to come and to secure land that would enable him to make extensions if necessary. Accordingly he purchased four acres and erected the present factory, one hundred and twenty by two hundred and five feet. The business has steadily grown since the joint stock company was formed and the output has increased fourteen fold and is still growing. The firm is now

represented on the road by eight traveling salesmen, who cover the entire territory between Halifax and Vancouver, the shipments of the house being sent to every part of the Dominion. The employees altogether number between one hundred and twenty-five and one hundred and fifty, and the business has long since become a very profitable investment.

Mr. Cowan has the assistance of his two sons, Frederick Warren and Herbert Norton. He was married to Miss Isabella Dimmock, daughter of Charles Dimmock of Brantford, and they have four children.

In politics Mr. Cowan is a Conservative and in church associations a Baptist. He also has membership in the Board of Trade and the Manufacturers' Association, and is qualified to speak upon business conditions and methods for in his own life he has demonstrated the possibilities for successful accomplishment and proven that prosperity is ambition's answer.

#### FREDERICK MOWAT.

Frederick Mowat, sheriff of the City of Toronto, is a son of the late Sir Oliver and Jane (Ewart) Mowat, and was born in Toronto, February 23, 1851. His education was acquired in Upper Canada College and the Galt grammar school under the direction of the celebrated educator, William Tassie. At the age of eighteen years he began farming, which business interests claimed his attention until 1875. Through the succeeding three years he was wharfinger in the City of Toronto, and from 1879 until 1881 was again engaged in agricultural pursuits, which he followed in Manitoba. He then conducted a real estate business there until 1884, and in Toronto until 1887, when he was appointed sheriff of the city, which position he has since filled.

In 1891 Mr. Mowat was married to Miss L. W. Gregg, a daughter of Major George Gregg, of Toronto, and they have three children: Edith, George Gregg and Helen Waterson. Mr. Mowat holds membership in the Presbyterian Church and in St. Andrew's, Caledonian, Caithness and Gaelic societies.

## CHARLES KIRK CLARKE, M.D., LL.D.

Charles Kirk Clarke, of Toronto, is superintendent of the asylum for the insane and one of the expert authorities upon the subject in America. This is an age of progress and of specialization and Dr. Clarke is an exponent of the spirit of the age. Throughout his professional career he has made a study of mental diseases and confined his practice to such and to-day the medical fraternity accords him a position of distinction as an expert on the treatment of the insane that is second to none in the country.

Dr. Clarke was born in Elora, February 16, 1857. His father, Charles Clarke, was clerk of the Ontario Legislature for many years. He married Emma Kent, and while spending the days of his boyhood and youth in his parents' home Charles Kirk Clarke pursued his education in the grammar schools of Elora. Later he was provided the advantages of instruction in Toronto University, from which he was graduated in 1878 with the degree of M.D., while in 1906 Queen's College of Kingston conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Law. Entering upon the active work of the profession, he has demonstrated in the prosecution of his chosen calling the possession of superior skill and knowledge in this line, winning more than local prominence as a representative of the profession. He was clinical assistant under Dr. Workman in the asylum for the insane and has been in this branch of the service since. He was assistant physician for a time, and in 1880 was appointed assistant superintendent of the asylum in Hamilton, while later he became assistant superintendent in Rockwood hospital and in 1885 was made superintendent of that institution. On the 19th of October, 1905, he received the appointment as superintendent of the asylum in Toronto. He has made the subject of insanity a life study, and has paid special attention to criminal cases in this connection, on a large number of which he has been consulted for expert testimony. In 1902 he was appointed royal commissioner in British Columbia for the purpose of bringing order out of chaotic conditions in the insane asylums in that province and his labors in that connection gained him the commendation of the entire medical fraternity. He is especially interested in training schools and hospitals



which are designed for the treatment of the insane. The progress that has been made along the line of establishing training schools and special hospitals in Canada is largely due to Dr. Clarke, who has expended much time and energy in perfecting this branch of the service. The training school at Rockwood was organized under his initiative efforts and was one of the first of the kind established in America. He is to-day recognized as an authority on all cases of insanity and is associate editor of the *Journal of Insanity* published at John Hopkins University at Baltimore, Maryland; was on professional staff of Queen's University as professor of mental diseases and is now professor of mental diseases of Toronto University.

Dr. Clarke is also much interested in the study of ornithology and has been a contributor to different magazines on this subject. In fact scientific investigation is a matter of deep interest to him and his study and research have been carried far and wide into the realms of knowledge. He is a member of the American Medical Psychological Association and is pre-eminently a student, interested in everything which tends to bring to man the key to the complex mystery which we call life.

In 1879 was celebrated the marriage of Dr. Clarke and Miss Margaret Andrews, of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, by whom he had six children: Charles, Emma, Margery, Harold, Herbert and Eric. In 1904 Dr. Clarke wedded Theresa Gallagher of Kingston, Ontario. It would be almost tautological in this connection to enter into any series of statements as showing Dr. Clarke to be a man of great mental force and of broad scholarly attainments, for these have been shadowed forth between the lines of this review. He is not, however, solely a scientist. On the contrary he possesses broad humanitarian principles and in his practice there is constantly displayed that keen sympathy without which the physician never attains the highest possible success.

#### JOHN MASSEY.

John Massey, whose business record has been marked by steady progress until he to-day occupies the responsible position of joint general manager of the Canada Permanent Mortgage Corporation of Toronto, was born

in Cheshire, England, November 7, 1847, and his parents, the Rev. Samuel and Mary (Fryer) Massey, were also natives of Cheshire. The father was clergyman of the Anglican Church, and in 1857 brought his family to Canada, settling first in Montreal. He was for some years rector of St. Simon's Church of St. Henri, continuing his ministerial labors there until within a year or two of his death, which occurred in 1900, when he was eighty years of age. His wife survived him until 1905, passing away at the advanced age of eighty-seven.

Completing his education in the old Montreal high school, under Dr. H. Aspinwall Howe, John Martland and other sterling teachers, John Massey entered business life as an employee in a wholesale commission house of Montreal, where he remained until 1867. He then came to Toronto and was with Lyman, Elliott & Company, wholesale druggists. After six years he became associated with the Western Canada Loan & Savings Company, which was his initial effort in the department of business in which he now occupies a most onerous and responsible position. He acted as accountant and subsequently became assistant manager of the company, and in 1900, when the business was re-organized under the name of the Canada Permanent Mortgage Corporation, he became the local manager for the Ontario branch. Further advancement was awarded him upon the retirement of J. H. Mason, when he was made joint general manager for the Canada Permanent Mortgage Corporation. From his earliest connection therewith he resolutely set himself to the task of mastering the business in every detail and his close application and ability won recognition in successive promotions until he is to-day one of the foremost representatives of the mortgage and loan business in the province.

In 1866, when a young man of nineteen years, Mr. Massey did military service during the Fenian Raid with the Victoria Rifles of Montreal. He was at Hemmingford and Huntingdon on the borders of Malone City, New York, at which place the Fenians were camped. He is a past master of Ionic lodge, A.F. & A.M., and has membership relations with the Toronto and Albany Clubs. He is likewise a communicant of the Anglican Church and in politics is a Conservative. He has been identified all of his life with athletic sports and was instrumental in bringing to Toronto and buying the





J. M. Clark



first dozen lacrosse and hockey sticks; which games have since gained widespread popularity.

Mr. Massey was married in 1875 to Miss Kate Louisa Robinson, a daughter of Joseph Robinson, of Queen's Park, Toronto, and they have five children: Kate Muriel, Alan Frederick, Grace Porter, John Melville and Dorothy Wincham.

In his business life Mr. Massey has followed a policy most commendable. He has pursued a course characterized by straightforward dealing, and while careful in looking after his own interests, as every successful business man is, he has been most careful also not to encroach on the rights of others. He thus retains the respect and admiration of employees and of his associates in the business world and of all with whom he has had transactions.

#### JOHN MURRAY CLARK, M.A., LL.B., K.C.

John Murray Clark, to whom has come the attainment of a distinguished position in connection with the profession of the law, is a practitioner at the Toronto Bar, but his reputation is by no means limited by the boundaries of the city. A man of distinct and forceful individuality, of broad mentality and most mature judgment, he has left and is leaving his impress upon judicial circles. For years he has been an important factor not only in the trial of causes before the court and as counselor, but also in the interpretation of law as expounded in various publications. He is, moreover, one of the most able advocates of the cause of education in Ontario. A native of St. Mary's, Ontario, he was born July 6, 1860, of Scotch parentage and his early educational privileges were supplemented by study in St. Mary's Collegiate Institute and in the University of Toronto. In the latter institution he won the prize in logic awarded by the late Professor G. P. Young, the Blake scholarship in constitutional law, economics and jurisprudence, the McMurrich medal in natural science, the gold medal in mathematics and physics and the prize for essay on Minority Representation. He was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1882 and soon afterward accepted a position as mathematical master in St. Mary's

Collegiate Institute. Determining upon the practice of law as a life work, he began preparation for the profession as a student under the preceptorship of Messrs. Edward and S. H. Blake and was called to the Bar in 1886 with honors, being awarded the Law Society's gold medal. He had previously won his Master of Arts degree at the University in 1884 and in 1891 was graduated with the Bachelor of Law degree.

Advancement in the law is proverbially slow, yet Mr. Clark's success came soon because his equipment was unusually good. Nature bountifully endowed him with the peculiar qualifications that combine to make a successful lawyer. Patiently persevering, possessed of an analytical mind and one that is readily receptive and retentive of the fundamental principles and intricacies of the law, gifted with a spirit of devotion to wearisome details, quick to comprehend the most subtle problems and logical in his conclusions, fearless in the advocacy of any cause he may espouse and the soul of honor and integrity, few men have been more richly gifted for the achievement of success in the arduous and difficult profession of the law.

Mr. Clark has practised continuously at Toronto and is now the senior member of the firm of Clark, McPherson, Campbell & Jarvis. He has been retained as counsel in some of the most important cases tried in the courts, including that of Dorland versus Jones, known as the Quaker case, which was the leading case on church property until the famous decision in the House of Lords in the Scott church case; many of the cases arising out of the closing up of the business of the Central Bank, the Collingwood Dry Dock Company and the Ontario Express & Transportation Company; Vigeon versus Northcote; the arbitration re-disputed accounts between the governments of the Dominion, Ontario and Quebec; Attorney-General of Canada versus Attorney-General of Ontario, a case arising out of the Huron and Superior Indian treaties; and the provincial fisheries jurisdiction case in the Supreme Court of Canada and before the Privy Council in England. Mr. Clark was the counsel selected by Sir Oliver Mowat, when Attorney-General of Ontario, to act as counsel in the dispute question between Ontario and the Dominion and also in the fisheries case before the Privy Council. Mr. Clark is also counsel in what is known as the Ophir case, which is mentioned in official reports as the Ontario Mining Company

versus Seybold. In that case Mr. Clark established the jurisdiction of Ontario over Indian lands not set aside as reserves and over the precious metal in all lands. The case was first decided by Chancellor Sir John Boyd, whose decision was, after various appeals, ultimately confirmed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Mr. Clark is moreover the author of various valuable works on law and also on many other questions. He is co-author with William David McPherson of the law of mines in Canada, which has been accepted as authority upon the questions considered therein. He is likewise the author of a pamphlet called *Company Law*.

Notwithstanding his busy professional career and the many demands made upon his time and energies by a large clientele, his interest in education remains a dominant factor in his life. For several years he was an examiner in physics for the University of Toronto and is one of the senators of that institution. His address before the University College Literary and Scientific Society on the functions of a great university was printed by the society in pamphlet form. Among his other publications are *Thermotics; Energy; International Arbitration; the History of the Theory of Energy and The Future of Canada*. He was president of the Mathematical and Physical Society in 1886 and 7, and was president of the University College Literary and Scientific Society in 1894-5.

To say of Mr. Clark that he is a man of broad scientific and scholarly attainments would be to make a tautological statement, for this has been indicated between the lines of this review. He is a student of the signs of the times, familiar with the great political, sociological and economical problems, and his activity in personal work or in writing has touched many of these lines affecting the general interests of society. In politics he is a Liberal and for two years was president of the Toronto Young Men's Liberal Club. As regards the future policy of the country, he favors Canada remaining an integral portion of the British Empire, the utmost practicable extension of the principle of free trade within the British Empire and the development of a vigorous Canadian national sentiment. He was one of the advocates of Imperial federation and held the presidency of the Toronto branch of the association for many years. He is now a member of

the council of the British Empire League. He was one of the original directors of the Ontario Mining Institute and represented that body at the first International waterways convention in Toronto in 1893.

He has been twice married, first in 1890 to Miss Greta Helen Gordon, who was the only daughter of the Rev. D. Gordon and a sister of Ralph Connor, the noted Canadian novelist. Mrs. Clark died in 1894. One daughter, Mary Gordon, was born of this union. He was again married in 1899 to Ann Macleod, only daughter of the late Walter Nicol Anderson. Mr. and Mrs. Clark are the parents of one daughter, Margaret Macleod. In religious faith Mr. Clark is a Presbyterian.

#### EDMOND BAIRD RYCKMAN.

Edmond Baird Ryckman, a practitioner at the Ontario Bar since 1890 and now senior member of the firm of Ryckman, Kerr and MacInnes, was born in Huntington, Quebec, April 15, 1866. His parents, Rev. Edward Bradshaw and Emmaline (Baird) Ryckman, were both natives of Canada, the latter born in Montreal, the former in Ontario. The Ryckmans were United Empire Loyalists, who settled in Prince Edward county, Ontario, in 1776, coming from Dutchess county, New York. Rev. Edward Ryckman has been for over fifty years active in the ministry of the Methodist Church.

Edmond Baird Ryckman supplemented his preliminary education by study in Victoria University at Cobourg and was graduated with honors, winning the Prince of Wales gold medal and the gold medal in Classics. His scholarship gained him valedictorian honors and he was graduated with the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1887, while later his Alma Mater conferred upon him the degrees of Master of Arts (in course) and Bachelor of Law. He pursued a law course in Osgoode Hall and was a gold medalist of the Law Society. Called to the Bar of Ontario in 1890 he at once entered upon the active practice of his profession in Toronto, and as senior member of the firm of Ryckman, Kerr & MacInnes, has a large and distinctively representative clientage. He is able in argument, logical in his deductions and strong in his reasoning and the analytical training of his mind has enabled him to solve with comparative ease intricate legal problems.







*Edward A. English*

In 1895 Mr. Ryckman was married to Miss Mable Louise Gurney, a daughter of Edward Gurney, president of the Gurney Foundry Company, and they have four children: Edward Gurney, Rosamond, Edmond Baird, and Barbara Frances.

In politics a Conservative, Mr. Ryckman has been treasurer of the Liberal-Conservative Association of Ontario for a number of years, an official connection which indicates his prominence in the organization. He is also a member of the leading Toronto clubs and of the City Club of New York.

#### EDWARD ALBERT ENGLISH.

Among the younger business men of Toronto, whose years seem no bar to ability and successful accomplishment, is Edward Albert English, now conducting a real estate, fire insurance and brokerage business in Toronto. Born in Brockville, Ontario, on the 20th of June, 1876, he is a son of John and Joanna (Caufield) English, who were likewise natives of that place. Both came of United Empire Loyalist families, who arrived in Canada in 1792, settling in Brockville to become identified with its pioneer development and growth. John English learned and followed the carriage makers' trade in early life, but abandoned that occupation to enter public office. For thirty-four years he was provincial bailiff at the Central Prison, after which he made promotion to the office of Deputy Governor of the Toronto Jail. He had filled the latter place for only a brief period when death terminated his incumbency, and he passed away at the age of seventy-two years. In his family were three sons and four daughters: John, a resident of Boston, Massachusetts; Edward A., of this review; R. E., at home; Josephine, at home; Mrs. Dr. Porter, of Orillia; and two who are sisters in St. Joseph's Convent. The family were reared in the faith of the Roman Catholic Church, of which the father was an earnest communicant.

Edward A. English pursued his education in McGill's Academy at Toronto, and in De la Salle Institute; left school at the age of eighteen years, and entered the employ of H. H. Williams, a real estate broker, with whom he continued until the 30th of May, 1903, when he engaged

in business for himself, conducting a real estate, fire insurance and brokerage business. He has secured in these various lines a liberal clientele, has negotiated a number of important realty transfers and has written no small amount of insurance for some of the leading companies.

In 1899 Mr. English was married to Miss Emily Durnan, a sister of Edward Durnan, the well known oarsman, and a daughter of the late John Durnan, of Toronto. They now have one daughter, Emily Muriel. Mr. English holds membership relations with the Canadian Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, of which he has served as treasurer for the past two years, and the Queen City Yacht Club, while his political support is given to the Liberal party.

#### ALFRED ANSLEY.

Alfred Ansley, who has made progress in his business career, and is to-day at the head of several commercial enterprises which have had direct bearing upon the business prosperity and welfare of Toronto, as well as upon individual success, was born in Brampton, Ontario, July 31, 1848, a son of Julius Ansley of that place. At the usual age he entered the Public Schools, and when he had put aside his text-books he became connected with mercantile interests in the dry goods and general store line. He was thus engaged for ten years, on the expiration of which period he went to Montreal, and accepted a position as travelling salesman for a wholesale clothing house. In 1876 he came to Toronto, and entered the employ of John Gillespie & Company, whom he represented on the road. The enterprise was established by John Gillespie & Company, and in 1880 was taken over by Gillespie, Ansley & Martin, which firm continued until 1891. On the death of Mr. Gillespie Mr. Martin retired, and H. C. Dixon entered the firm, which then became Gillespie, Ansley & Dixon, continuing as such until 1896, when another change brought about the selection of the firm style of Gillespie, Ansley & Company. In 1904 this partnership was dissolved, the firm of A. Ansley & Company becoming proprietors of the hat business, while the fur trade and stock became the property of the Gillespie Fur Company, Limited. A. Ansley & Company are now doing an extensive and successful business as wholesale



dealers in hats and caps, occupying six stories and basement in the business block at No. 52 Wellington West. Their trade extends throughout the entire Dominion and employment is furnished to eighty people in making cloth caps, while most of the hats are imported. They are exclusive agents for Canada for the firm of Christy & Company, Limited, hat manufacturers of London. Mr. Ansley is also President of Belleville Portland Cement Company, of Belleville, Ontario, and a director of the Traders' Fire Insurance Company.

In 1871 occurred the marriage of Mr. Ansley and Miss Mary Patterson, a resident of Montreal, by whom he has four children: Burton, Olga, Marcus and Agnes. Mr. Ansley is a member of the National Club, the Lambton Golf Club, and in the line of business promotion is connected with the Board of Trade and the Manufacturers' Association. He belongs to the Anglican Church. His success is due to economy and prudence, and his career forcibly illustrates what may be accomplished by determination and energy in a land where all avenues are open, and exertion is untrammelled.

#### JOHN H. DUNLOP.

John H. Dunlop, a pioneer in floriculture in Toronto, stands as one of the prominent representatives of a line of business which has grown to extensive proportions in the province and has many successful followers. His name is known among florists on the American continent, for he has evolved various improved methods of raising flowers and has brought forth a number of new varieties. A native of New York, his birth occurred January 7, 1855, and he was descended from Irish and Scotch parentage. When seven years of age he accompanied his mother on the removal of the family to Toronto, and while yet a young lad he entered business life, spending two years in a book store. He afterwards returned to New York, where he worked for some time as a carpenter, but in 1875 he made a permanent location in Toronto and leased a news stand and telegraph office from the Queen's Hotel. Up to this time he knew nothing of floriculture, but during the quiet afternoons, books and papers that could throw any

light on the subject, and on rose growing in particular, were carefully studied. Becoming acquainted with the theoretical part, in 1880 he built his first greenhouse, a modest structure six by twelve feet. The following year it was doubled, the next year a house eight by fifty was built, and the following year this gave place to a more modern structure twelve by fifty feet, what is known as a three-quarter-span house. All this time by hard work and perseverance he was becoming more competent, and as a demand for choice roses was increasing in the city, a large piece of ground was purchased on Lansdowne avenue near Bloor street, where one of the finest establishments in the Dominion stands to-day.

He was the first to force lily of the valley, about 1885, at this time considered quite a feat, and has continued growing this flower until now, when sufficient pips are placed in cold storage to give a supply all through the year. He was the first to adopt raised benches for forcing roses in winter. The system used up to this time was to plant on solid beds and leave the plants undisturbed for a number of years. This was all right at times, but there was no certainty of getting blooms in midwinter, when most desired, for they usually came on with a great crop after March. Knowing the advantage of having the supply at the right season, he adopted the raised bench, which is now generally used. He was also first to use butted glass for glazing greenhouses and is still an ardent advocate of this system, so much so that his plant of over two hundred thousand feet was all glazed in this way.

In carnations he has always taken a lively interest, growing all the new varieties, as shown in the national convention of the Carnation Society, and he usually visits the establishments that are sending out new varieties, and most of them are found in his houses. The annual display of carnations at Toronto is due to Mr. Dunlop's initiative. At his present place there are eighteen houses devoted to roses, seven to carnations, two to violets, five to asparagus, plunosus and four to propagating. This season two other houses, two hundred and forty feet long, are being erected, they are the most modern houses for roses, being the widest so far erected in the Dominion, iron trussed roofs, with brick and tile benches.

Mr. Dunlop was married in 1877 to Miss Alice Emma Montgomery, a daughter of Robert Montgomery of Brooklyn, New York, and they have six children: Martha Alice, Mabel Lester, Jessie Lorraine, Alice Emma, Margaret Baird and Frank Montgomery. The wife and mother died December 28, 1901, and in November, 1903, Mr. Dunlop wedded Mrs. Eleanor Frances Farley of Nashua, New Hampshire.

Mr. Dunlop has taken a very active interest in the development and substantial growth of the northwestern part of the city, where he is established. He assisted in organizing the Northwest Toronto Rate Payers' Association, which has been in existence for fifteen years and which for six years has been a large and important organization. In 1891 he was instrumental in organizing the Toronto Gardener and Florist Club, which is still in existence and is doing good work. He was also made a director of the Society of American Florists after the convention of 1891. He is a past president of the American Carnation Society, of the Gardeners' and Florists' Club and the Canadian Horticulture Association, of which he was the first secretary. He is also treasurer of the Ontario Horticultural Exhibition. In fraternal lines he is connected with the Ancient Order of United Workmen, the Independent Order of Foresters and the Canadian Chosen Friends. He is an officer of St. Andrew's lodge, No. 16, A.F. & A.M.; a member of Occident chapter, No. 77, G.R.C.; an officer of Cyrene Preceptory, No. 29, G.R.C., and a member of Toronto Lodge of Perfection, the Rose Croix chapter and Moore consistory, S.P.R.S., of Hamilton. He is likewise treasurer of Rameses Temple, A.A.O.N.M.S., and from the foregoing it will be seen that he has attained very high rank in Masonry. In politics he is independent, and his religious faith is indicated by his membership in the Presbyterian Church. While he is never neglectful of the duties of citizenship his time and attention have been most largely given to the development of his business, and as stated he is a pioneer florist of the province. His trade has been constantly growing and it has long since reached large and profitable proportions. He has been very successful in winning first prizes in American rose shows and he takes a personal pride in keeping his establishments in the front rank, produces the best of stock and exhibits at all shows.

## REUBEN MILLICHAMP.

Reuben Millichamp is practically retired from business, although still financially interested in various corporations. He made continuous progress, and in safe lines, and long ere he had put aside business cares he had earned for himself an enviable reputation as a careful man of business, while in his dealings he was known for his prompt and honorable methods that won him the deserved and unbounded confidence of his fellowmen.

A native of England, Reuben Millichamp was born in Birmingham, February 3, 1842. His father, Joseph Millichamp, a maltster of Birmingham, went to the United States in 1843, settling in Michigan, where he was identified with lumbering and sawmill interests. In 1855 he came to Toronto.

Reuben Millichamp, then a youth of twelve years, was educated in the Public Schools of Toronto, and in the Model School. His initial step in business life was as an employee of the firm of Dixon, Logan & Company, dry goods merchants, with whom he continued from 1857 until 1862. In the latter year he went to St. Louis, Missouri, and became connected with the express business as route agent for the United States Express Company. His efficiency and fidelity won him promotion to the position of division superintendent, and later he was made superintendent for the Merchants Union Express Company. He organized all the offices of that company from Memphis, Tennessee, to Duluth, Minnesota, and all of the western offices from St. Louis to the then terminus of the Union Pacific Railroad. When the business of the company was amalgamated with that of other express companies he left the service and began railroad contracting, completing contracts on the Missouri Pacific Railway to Kansas City, and also on the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad.

His identification with the commercial interests of Toronto dates from 1871, in which year he entered the firm of John Macdonald & Company as foreign buyer. For eleven years he remained with that firm as buyer and manager, resigning in 1882, at which time he established a





*R. M. Champ*



commission business on his own account. From the beginning the new enterprise was a successful one, and the business was carefully and profitably conducted by Mr. Millichamp until 1905, when he retired, his son becoming his successor. His excellent executive force, keen discernment and splendid powers of organization were recognized by men prominent in business life, and he was chosen to various important official positions in connection with the management of large corporate interests. In former years he was President of the Merchants' Union Company, Limited, the Irving Umbrella Company, Limited, and the Continental Costume Company, Limited, of all of which he was a founder and organizer. While he has practically retired from the field of active business he is yet closely associated financially with various leading concerns of Toronto, being President of the Siche Gas Company, Vice-President of the Anglo-American Fire Insurance Company and President of the Canadian Ethenite Company, Limited, of Niagara Falls, Ontario. He is likewise a director of the Fort William Land & Investment Company. To him there has come the attainment of a distinguished position in connection with the great material industries of the Province and his efforts, discerningly directed along well defined lines, seem to have brought him the full measure of success possible at any given point in his career. A man of distinct and forceful individuality, of broad mentality and most mature judgment, he has left, and is leaving, his impress upon the industrial and commercial world.

Moreover, Mr. Millichamp is deeply interested in educational progress, and has co-operated to a large measure in plans and movements for intellectual progress. He has been secretary, treasurer and director of the Havergal Ladies' College since its inception, is a director and member of the Council of Bishop Ridley College in St. Catharines, and a member of the Council of Wycliffe College. Interested in various social organizations, he is a director of the Victoria Club, the Lambton Club, the National Club, and the St. George's Society, and he likewise belongs to the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the Glen Major Fishing Club, and other organizations of this character. His political allegiance is given to the Conservative party, and he has served as license commissioner for the city

of Toronto. His interest embraces the different avenues of public progress, development and improvement, and has found tangible manifestation in active co-operation in many plans and measures that have been of direct benefit to the city and province. A member of the Anglican Church, for three years he has been warden in St. Paul's.

In 1868 Mr. Millichamp married Miss Williams, of Toronto, and they have three children, Olive Carrier, Reuben Williams and Muriel Beatrice Millichamp.

### ROBERT PARKER.

Robert Parker, prominent among the energetic, far-seeing and successful business men of Toronto, is the subject of this review. His life history most happily illustrates what may be attained by faithful and continued effort in carrying out an honest purpose. His integrity, activity and energy have been the crowning points of his success, and his establishment and control of an important industrial interest has been of decided advantage to the city and section in which he lives, promoting its material welfare in no uncertain manner through the employment of a large force of workmen.

Mr. Parker was born in Manchester, England, in 1859. His father, Thomas Parker, of that city, died in 1898. The family came to Canada in 1861, so that the son pursued his education in the Public Schools, later attending Berthier en-haut. Putting aside his text-books, he became connected with the dyeing business, which he has made his life occupation. In 1876, when but seventeen years of age, he started out in this line on his own account in Yorkville, North Toronto, in a very small way, having only two employees. To-day the number of workmen in his service is two hundred and ten. Thus has Parker's Dye Works grown. He soon gained a reputation for the excellence of his work and his reliability in business and a liberal patronage resulted, growing to extensive proportions. The name of Parker's Dye Works is known to-day throughout Canada, and the trade reaches from ocean to ocean. All work is done in Toronto, and the business is exclusively dyeing, but branch offices are maintained in Montreal, Hamilton, Brantford, London, St. Catharines,







John Chambers

Galt and Woodstock, while agencies have been established all over the Dominion.

In 1881 Mr. Parker was united in marriage to Miss Barbara Wilhelmina Gordon, a daughter of the late Donald Gordon, of Embro, Ont. They have one son, Robert Gordon, who is a graduate of Upper Canada College, and is now identified with his father in business. Mr. Parker is a member of the Board of Trade at Toronto. He is independent in politics and he belongs to the Church of England. He also has membership relations with St. George's Society, the National Club, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club and the Royal Colonial Institute of London, England. One of the strong elements in his success is the fact that he has continued in the business in which as a young tradesman he embarked, thoroughly mastering it in every detail, so that he has been able to carefully direct the labors of others. He has accumulated a handsome property, having made the most of his opportunities, and by carefully watching the markets, and by straightforward, honorable dealing, has secured the public confidence and the public patronage. His life illustrates what can be accomplished through industry, perseverance, good management and a determination to succeed.

### JOHN CHAMBERS.

John Chambers, Park Commissioner of the city of Toronto, was born November 11, 1850, in Canterbury, Kent, England, of which county his parents, George and Rebecca (Cox) Chambers, were also natives. He pursued his education in Sheldwich National School and the Faversham Grammar School, after which he entered upon preparation for what has been his chosen life work. He took up the study of gardening at Belmont Park, and for two years was connected with one of the largest horticultural estates in Lincoln, viz., Hartsholme Hall, and subsequently followed his calling in Yorkshire and London.

The year 1871 witnessed the arrival of Mr. Chambers in Toronto, and until 1877 he was manager of the florist and nursery business of the late James Fleming. On leaving that employ he spent about a year in landscape gardening, and in 1878 was engaged by the city of Toronto to

lay out the new exhibition grounds. After the completion of this work in 1883 he was appointed Park Commissioner, which office he has ably filled. Through his ingenuity, untiring efforts and superior skill he has made the parks indeed pleasure spots, by reason of their great beauty and attractive adornment, and Mr. Chambers' long and varied experience, his training upon some of the finest estates of England, well qualify him for the important duties that devolve upon him in his present business connection. Toronto is justly famed for its beautiful park system, and in improving these "breathing spaces" of the city Mr. Chambers has recognized the natural advantages of the topography, to which he has added all of the adornment that knowledge and scientific research have brought to the service of man.

In 1872 Mr. Chambers was married to Miss Elizabeth Robinson, a daughter of John Robinson of Lambeth, Surrey County, England. They are parents of four children, Clara C., Charles E., Arthur George and Frank Simcoe, but the last named is deceased. Mr. Chambers has fraternal relations with the Masons, and is one of the oldest past masters of Alpha Lodge, serving as Master for 1886, and belongs to the organization known as the Sons of England. He is an Anglican in religious faith, and a Conservative in his political belief. Since 1879 he has been honorary president of the Parkdale Cricket Club, and is also a member of various sporting and gun clubs, taking great interest in all healthful and manly outdoor sports. He has won the respect of his fellowmen by reason of strong and admirable traits of character, while in business life he has made advancement whereby he has long since left the ranks of the many and stands among the successful and prominent few in his profession.

#### JAMES BICKNELL, K.C.

James Bicknell, K.C., a member of the Ontario bar since 1884, a practitioner at Toronto since 1894, and also one of the prominent representatives of the Masonic fraternity, was born at Battersea Park, London, England, April 26, 1862. His parents, James and Anne (Caplin) Bicknell, were natives of Bognor, Sussex, England, and the father was an accountant by profession. He is still a resident of Hamilton, Canada, where he located with his family in 1872.





*James B. Bicknell*



James Bicknell, then a youth of ten years, continued his education, gained in the schools of his native land, in the Hamilton Public School and the Collegiate Institute of that city, but left the schoolroom at the age of fourteen years to enter a law office. When a youth of sixteen he passed his matriculation examinations to the Law Society, and while pursuing his law studies received honors and a gold medal. Called to the Bar of Ontario on the 4th of February, 1884, he immediately became a partner in the firm of Fuller, Nesbitt & Bicknell, and practiced continuously in Hamilton for a decade, when in February, 1894, he removed to Toronto. In the latter city he became a partner of the firm of Laidlaw, Kappele & Bicknell, which was dissolved September 1, 1905, soon after which the present firm of Bicknell, Morine, Bain and Strathy was formed. Concentrating his energies upon his profession, systematic and methodical in habit, sober and discreet in judgment, diligent in research and conscientious in the discharge of every duty, he has taken rank with the prominent barristers of Toronto, and has been engaged in much of the law works, including Bicknell and Seager's Division Courts Act, and Bicknell and Kappele's Statutes. He was made a King's Counsel in 1902 by the Ontario government.

Mr. Bicknell was married in 1886 to Miss Clara Kappele, who was a daughter of the Rev. Stephen Kappele, and died in 1905, leaving three children, Muriel, James W., and Kathleen. In April, 1906, Mr. Bicknell married again, his second union being with Minnie Kappele, a sister of his former wife.

Mr. Bicknell has attained very high rank in Masonry, and is a Past Master of Barton Lodge, No. 6, Hamilton, and Past Thrice Puissant Grand Master of Murton Lodge of Perfection. He is a member of the Moore Sovereign Consistory, a member of the Royal Order of Scotland, Past Grand Superintendent of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, and is affiliated locally with Zetland Lodge, No. 326, A.F. & A.M., of Toronto, and St. Paul's Chapter, No. 65, R.A.M., together with the Toronto Lodge of Perfection, the Toronto Chapter of Rose Croix, being also an honorary and life member of Succoth Chapter, No. 135, Uxbridge. Prominent socially, his membership relations extend to the

Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the Albany, Granite, Hamilton and Ontario Jockey Clubs. In religious faith he is connected with St. Paul's Anglican Church.

#### OTTO HIGEL.

To say of him whose name heads this sketch that he has risen unaided more important legal work of the Province. He is the author of valuable from comparative obscurity to rank among the millionaire manufacturers of Toronto is a statement that seems trite to those familiar with his life, yet it is but just to say in a history that will descend to future generations that his business record has been one that any man might be proud to possess. Beginning at the very bottom round of the ladder he has advanced steadily step by step until he is now occupying a position of prominence reached by few. Through his entire business career he has been looked upon as a model of integrity and honor, never making an engagement that he has not fulfilled, and standing to-day an example of what determination and force, combined with the highest degree of business probity, can accomplish for a man of natural ability and strength of character. He is respected by the community at large and honored by his business associates.

The life record of Mr. Higel began in Silesia, Germany, January 31, 1869. He received a limited education in the Public Schools of his native country, but at fourteen years of age put aside his text-books in order to earn his living. At the age of fourteen he received an appointment to the Military School from Emperor William, but being too small in stature he could not be admitted. He then learned the cabinetmaker's trade, and traveled to different cities, where he worked in order to perfect himself in this line. It was his desire, however, to be a soldier, but he found that he had waited too long and his application was refused. He then tried for the marine service, but could not get the necessary letter from his mother. However, being determined to go to sea, he went to Holland, where he worked at cabinet-making for a time, and eventually got service on a vessel as a coal trimmer. He afterward shipped with the Hamburg-American Steamship Company as a deck hand, and later as a sailor, in





Otto Higel



which capacity he made voyages to Africa and later to South Africa. He also made three trips to Montreal, and on the last occasion determined to remain in Canada.

Accordingly Mr. Higel took up his abode in Toronto. He was handicapped by various disadvantages. He could not speak the English language and had only money enough to pay for one week's board, but he possessed a resolute purpose and strong determination. Accepting any employment that would yield him an honest living, he worked on the city streets for a time, after which he secured a position with a piano action manufacturer. Carefully saving his earnings, living economically and frugally, after two years he was enabled to engage in business on his own account, and from that time forward the business has steadily grown until it has reached immense proportions, becoming one of the leading manufacturing enterprises which have made for Toronto its splendid reputation as an industrial centre. When we realize the conditions under which Mr. Higel started out in life his success seems almost phenomenal, and yet it has come as the logical sequence of his own labor, thoughtfully planned and well directed. In the control of the business which he established he has shown keen discernment, has been watchful over expenditure, and has wrought for maximum results at minimum cost, yet has never sacrificed quality to this principle. On the contrary his product has gained a reputation for excellence that insures a continuance of the trade, and the name of the house has also become a synonym for commercial integrity.

In 1891 Mr. Higel was married to Miss Selma Heinzl, of Silesia, Germany, his native place. They had been acquaintances in childhood, and the friendship of early years ripened into love. They have two children, Alma and Ralph, aged respectively fourteen and twelve years.

Mr. Higel is identified with the Board of Trade, and the Manufacturers' Association—interests for the upbuilding of business conditions—and also belongs to the Deutscher Verein and to the Lutheran Church. He stands as a splendid example of the self-made man, and the manufactory of which he is now the head is a monument to his enterprise and indomitable energy.

## OTTO HIGEL COMPANY, LIMITED.

The firm of Otto Higel was established by Otto Higel in June, 1894, and in September, 1896, a joint stock company was formed to continue the business with Mr. Higel as manager. Mr. Higel established the business with a capital of only \$80. To-day the paid-up capital and surplus is \$220,000. The manufacture of piano actions is confined to exclusively high grade actions. The company also manufacture piano keys, organ keys, organ reeds and organ reed boards, and also conduct a large machine shop in which is made the hardware connected with the make-up of piano actions. They also nickel-plate all their own material. Also make special tools of different kinds for use in the manufacture of pianos. Mr. Higel has made various improvements upon the old actions. The floor space occupied by the factory is about forty-eight thousand square feet, and the trade extends throughout the Dominion with a large export trade to England, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Japan and India. They are now preparing to export to Australia and South America. The plant furnishes employment to two hundred and eight people, and the factory is equipped with the latest improved machinery for successfully carrying on the business.

## HENRY WRIGHT.

Perhaps no country in the world can boast of an industry showing more direct returns than does the cheese industry in Canada, more especially in the Province of Ontario. In recent years mortgages have been paid off, well built, commodious brick farm houses have replaced the log shanty and the clapboard shack, discomfort and squalor have been turned into comfort and almost luxury in countless hundreds of Canadian farm homes as the export business in cheese has grown, until it has reached its present enormous volume. From the soil—the grazing lands—through the medium of cheese an overflowing stream of gold has poured into the pockets of the dairy farmer a stream of gold far exceeding in volume the output of the Klondike.

An enterprise which to-day through its home and export trade has





Harry Wright



become known throughout the entire world is the MacLaren Imperial Cheese Co., of Toronto. The phenomenal growth of this company during the past decade is almost incredible. Established in 1891 by A. F. MacLaren, who then began the manufacture of really high grade Canadian cheese, faultless in quality, which he placed on the market in jars, business relations were shortly afterwards entered into with Mr. Henry Wright, who thereafter controlled the output. In 1900 the business was amalgamated with that of Henry Wright & Company, manufacturers' agents, and the MacLaren Imperial Cheese Co., Limited, was then formed and incorporated. At this period in the history of the company the personality of Mr. Henry Wright, the President and General Manager of the company, began to assert itself, his tireless energy and spirit of dashing enterprise forging the business into the front ranks of the cheese trade, until to-day its position is unique.

Not satisfied with having established their business in various centres in Canada, with the output of the factories being sent to all parts of the Dominion, they extended their efforts into the United States, where, having to face a duty of six cents per pound, they established Canadian cheese makers for the operation of factories which they controlled there. They have now offices in Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago, all of which, however, are directly under the management of the home company in Toronto. In addition to branch houses in those cities the company have also established branches at San Francisco, Cal.; St. Thomas, Ontario; and London, England. The United States office and warehouse is at Detroit, Michigan. Seven years ago Mr. Wright visited England and introduced MacLaren's Imperial Cheese to the vast retail trade of that country. Since then it has been introduced in every country in the world, including Australia, China, Japan and South Africa. This is probably the most widespread and effective advertisement any young country has ever had, emanating entirely from the boundless ambition of one individual, the President of the Company, and has not cost the taxpayers of the Dominion one cent.

The company has a paid-up capital of \$400,000, and their output the largest in the world, their general output being larger than that of all

other companies in North America. The company is not resting on its laurels, its policy is progress, and quite recently it secured the services of expert cheese makers from Europe, its intention being to at once establish a factory for the manufacture of different varieties of foreign and fancy cheese in Canada. With the best raw material in the world, the company is satisfied that it can successfully make any description of cheese.

In gaining a foothold with their own product in every market in the world the company has simply adopted the same tactics used in the first place to capture the home trade, and in order to give other manufacturers the advantage of their experience, conduct an Agency Department, which is in active operation throughout the Dominion, and through the medium of its corps of expert salesman will undertake to place any article of real merit upon the Canadian market. The secret of the company's agency department's success lies in the fact that they never accept an agency without first satisfying themselves that the goods to be sold have merit, and that the manufacturer is responsible and reliable.

#### ALFRED TAYLOR HUNTER.

Alfred Taylor Hunter, a distinguished representative of the Toronto Bar, was born in Dundas, Ontario, October 25, 1868, a son of John Howard and Annie (Gordon) Hunter, who were natives of Bandon, County Cork, Ireland, and Inverness, Scotland, respectively. In 1855 J. Howard Hunter became a resident of Canada, and taught school in Galt, Beamsville and Dundas, also becoming Principal of the Collegiate Institute at St. Catharines. In 1874 he was appointed Principal of the Blind Institute at Brantford, and in 1881 received the appointment of Provincial Inspector of Insurance of Ontario, in which capacity he is now serving. Mrs. Hunter crossed the Atlantic several years prior to her husband's removal to the New World, and they were married in Canada.

Alfred Taylor Hunter acquired his preliminary education in the Public and High Schools of Brantford, and in Jarvis Street High School, while subsequently he was a student in Toronto University College, graduating in 1890 with the Bachelor of Law Degree. Determining upon the practice of law as a life work he made preparation for the pro-





A. J. Hunter



fession as a student in Osgoode Hall, in Toronto. He was called to the bar of Ontario in 1892, and is now a member of the well-known law firm of Hunter & Hunter, his brother, W. H. Hunter, being a senior partner. In practice his success came soon, because his equipment was unusually good. An excellent presence and earnest manner, marked strength of character, and thorough grasp of law and the ability to accurately apply its principles made him an effective and successful advocate, and have insured him equal rank with the distinguished practitioners of Toronto. He is, moreover, the author of a number of important law works, among the best known of which are his *Power of Sale Under Mortgages*, *Real Property Statutes and Foreclosure of Mortgages*.

In 1896 and again in 1904 Mr. Hunter unsuccessfully contested West Toronto for the Dominion House. He is a keen and discriminating student of the political situation of the country, has decided views upon the questions relating to its welfare, and his opinions carry weight in the councils of his party. His military service embraces connection with the Twelfth York Rangers, which he joined in 1898, being made captain of No. 7 Company in 1903.

In 1900 Mr. Hunter was married to Miss Olive May Jeffrey, of Midland, a daughter of Fred. Jeffrey, a merchant and police magistrate of that place, and they have one daughter, Miss Lucie Howard Hunter. Mr. Hunter's fraternal relations are with St. Andrew's Lodge, A.F. & A.M., and other departments of Masonry, his high rank in the craft entitling him to membership in Rameses Temple of the Mystic Shrine. He also belongs to the Independent Order of Foresters, the Ancient Order of United Workmen, the Sons of England Benevolent Society, and Cameron Lodge L.O.L., No. 613. He is likewise a life member of the Argonaut Rowing Club. His social qualities render him popular in these organizations, while his intellectual force and scholarly attainments are shown in his conduct of a large law practice, connecting him with much of the important business of the courts.

## ROBERT E. MENZIE.

Robert E. Menzie, of resourceful business ability and keen insight into business problems, the solution of which is furnished by his well formulated plans, unfaltering energy and unabating perseverance, is a son of Robert and Mary (Bell) Menzie, and was born in Sarnia township, Ontario, his natal day being November 10, 1854. His parents were also natives of Ontario. The paternal grandfather, who came from Scotland in 1830, was a direct descendant of Sir Robert Menzie, of Glasgow, Scotland. Robert Menzie, the father, was an agriculturist of Sarnia township, and one of the pioneer settlers of Lambton county, where he cleared away the brush and developed the hitherto uncultivated tract of land into fields of rich fertility.

The educational privileges of Robert E. Menzie were limited to those afforded by the country school nearest his home, and when but fourteen years of age he entered business life as a workman in the oil fields at Petrolia. He was an observant lad, fond of mechanical work and interested in everything about him, and moreover he displayed a ready adaptability that enabled him to improve his opportunities, and when he heard that there was more money for him in steamboating, and a chance to learn about the engines, he secured a position as fireman on one of the lake steamers. For six years he was upon the lakes, advancing in that time to the position of chief engineer on one of the largest steamers plying on those waters. On the expiration of that period he returned to Petrolia to become an oil operator and producer of crude oil. His skill in engineering well fitted him for the new work, and the position was a responsible one for a young man of his years. Soon after his return to the oil fields he invented and introduced the first cast-iron wheel for jerking oil wells, and this important invention gave him his real start in life.

In 1883 Mr. Menzie promoted and became the General Manager of the Producers' Refining Company, and was also sole owner of the renowned Menzie Oil Refinery that successfully held up the oil trust about 1887. Two years later Mr. Menzie promoted the Premier Oil Refining Company, and constructed the plant at Petrolia, and for this company he







John H. Train

built and introduced the first of the large tank cars in Canada for the carrying of petroleum that are now so commonly seen upon all railways. In 1891 he promoted the Sarnia Salt Company, Limited, and constructed its plant, and two years later his business ability found scope in another direction—the organization of the Menzie-Turner Company, and the successful establishment of its business. In 1903 he organized the Menzie Wall Paper Company, of which he is President and General Manager. In addition to his official connection with that corporation he is managing director of the Canada Brass Rolling Mills, Limited, treasurer and director of the Sovereign Life Assurance Company, and vice-president of the J. F. Crown Company, Limited.

In 1876 Mr. Menzie was married to Miss Christina M. Holmes, a daughter of the late William Holmes of Sarnia township, Lambton county. They have five children: Robert William, Harold W., Seymour, Essie and Pearl.

Mr. Menzie is a member of Georgina Lodge, A.F. & A.M., and the Knights of Pythias fraternity, while in club circles he is connected with the National, the Caledon Trout and the Royal Canadian Yacht Clubs. He belongs to the Baptist Church, and in his political views is independent. The terms progress and patriotism might be considered the keynote of his character, for throughout his career he has labored for the improvement of every line of business or public interest with which he has been associated, and at all times has been actuated by a fidelity to his country and her welfare.

#### JOHN J. MAIN.

John J. Main, Manager of the Polson Iron Works, at Toronto, was born February 18, 1852, on the Island of Alderney, in the English Channel, while his parents, John and Sophia (Hale) Main, were natives of Cornwall, England. The father came to Canada in 1852, and in 1856 was joined by his family. He was a contracting blacksmith and located first in Hamilton, where he was in the employ of the Great Western Railroad. Subsequently he removed to Montreal and became an ex-

tensive contractor with the Grand Trunk Railroad in the manufacture of hand forged engine axles, etc., such being his business relation until 1860. That year witnessed his arrival in Toronto, where he entered upon the contract with Frank Shanley, C.E., to keep the roadbed in repair on the Northern Railway from Toronto to Collingwood, with works at Aurora, later at Argus and finally at Barrie. From 1865 until 1869 he did similar work for the Northern Railway carshops at Toronto, retiring in 1870.

John J. Main pursued his education in the Public Schools of Montreal, Aurora, Argus and Barrie, and at the age of thirteen years put aside his text-books to learn the more difficult lessons in the school of experience. He was apprenticed to the machinist's trade at Newmarket, under Samuel Sykes, being bound for a term of six years. His duties were of a varied nature, necessitating his rising in the morning at four o'clock, getting up steam in the shops and afterward taking his turn at the machines during the day until six o'clock in the afternoon. Nine months were thus passed, when, feeling that the life was too strenuous, he ran away, stealing a ride on a farmer's wagon to Toronto, where his parents were then living. After relating his story to his father he was sent back to his employer with a letter that if the boy's statement were true to cancel the indenture, and if not to give him a good thrashing, and put him back to work. When Mr. Sykes read the letter he said he guessed the boy had better go. Following this he again entered upon an apprenticeship in the boiler-making department of the old Northern Railway engine shops, and when he had completed a term of five years he engaged with his father on the contracts of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce and Nipissing Railroad. During his apprenticeship with the Northern Railway he also received three years' technical training in the old Mechanic's Institute, and thus equipped by comprehensive technical as well as practical training he entered upon an active career in the line of mechanical pursuits, advancing steadily step by step to his present position of prominence as a representative of industrial life in Toronto.

In 1872 Mr. Main went to the United States, where for two years he followed his trade of boiler making. In 1874 he was married in Canada,



and the following year again went to the States, where he remained until the spring of 1877, holding a position as foreman at a salary of \$5 per day. At length he resigned and returned to Canada, accepting the position of foreman in the Ingles & Hunter boiler works, at Guelph, at a salary of \$2.50 per day, his object in making the change being to have the opportunity for working out some original ideas. This he did and subsequently returned to the United States, where he became superintendent of large boiler works. Sixteen months later, however, he came to Toronto, re-entering the employ of John Ingles. He was given a substantial interest in the business and continued his association therewith until 1895, in which year he engaged with the Polson Iron Works as superintendent of the boiler department.

The following portion of an article from "The Canadian Engineer" will give an idea of how he is regarded by the craft:

"In 1896, James R. Annet, Joseph Wright, and himself, got control of the Canadian patent rights of the famous 'Heine' boiler. He became manager of the Canada Heine Safety Boiler Co., and superintendent of the Polson Boiler Works. This boiler business prospered wonderfully. In August, 1906, Mr. Main bought out his partner, Mr. Joseph Wright, and straightway sold out to the Polson Iron Works—becoming third member, and a director of that firm, also Manager of the whole works. It is only fair to say that when Mr. Main went with the Polson Co. in 1895 the affairs of the company were at a low ebb. The present successful and prosperous condition of the company's business is largely owing to his energetic and resourceful co-operation.

"Space alone prevents us telling in detail the eventful story of his deeply interesting business career; his struggles to get a technical education; his winning of a Mechanic's Institute three years' scholarship; how he walked three miles three nights a week to evening classes; how the old boiler makers kept the secrets of their laying-out formula up their sleeves, necessitating his wandering into factory after factory, even to workshops in the 'States,' in order to make himself master of the boiler maker's craft. All this would make a romantic story, as profitable reading as Smiles' 'Lives of the Engineers.' Although 55, Mr. Main is a fine

example of physical vigor and vitality, one of the secrets being his almost life-long abstention from alcoholic drinks and tobacco, and his love of the open air—for he is an enthusiastic motorist. Like Gladstone, he is the happy possessor of the power of compelling sleep at will. As a mechanic, there is probably no man better known in industrial Canada. His pupils are holding responsible positions in almost every workshop in the country.”

He has thorough understanding of the business in every detail, having steadily worked his way upward from a humble position as apprentice in this line of business activity until he stands to-day as one of its foremost representatives in Ontario.

As stated, Mr. Main was married in 1874, in which year he wedded Mary Hill Spry, a daughter of Frank Spry, of Island Jersey. He is prominent in Masonry, having taken the higher degrees, and filling various offices in its different branches, and to-day he is one of the leading members of the Mystic Shrine. In politics he is a Conservative, but while social and fraternal interests receive from him due attention, his time and energies are largely concentrated upon business interests, and his course has been marked by consecutive progress since he started out in a humble capacity at the age of thirteen years. Each step that he has made has been a forward one, enlarging the scope of his business vision and the field of his activity, and aside from the interests already mentioned he is President of the Cuban Realty Company, Vice-President of the Canadian Oil Company, and director of the Dominion Radiator Company, President of the Aluminum Seal Company and Vice-President of the Temagami Navigation Company; his wise counsel and sound business judgment promoting the success of these various interests.

#### JOHN ROBERT HOIDGE.

John Robert Hoidge, well known in industrial and commercial circles in Toronto, was born in Tyrone, in County Durham, Ontario, September 12, 1862, his parents being John and Elizabeth (Calicutt) Hoidge. The father, a native of Devonshire, England, came to Ontario



J. P. Hodge





in the '50's, settling in Durham county. The birth of the mother occurred in that county, her parents having settled there in the early '40's on coming to the New World from England. The father is a builder and contractor, being senior partner for the firm of Hoidge & Sons, of which John Robert Hoidge is now general manager, while his brother, Richard James, is also a member of the firm.

John R. Hoidge was reared to this business, becoming connected therewith in early life, and continuing an active factor in its conduct to the present time. His position as a representative of this line of industrial activity is indicated by the fact that in 1905 he was honored with the Presidency of the Builders' Exchange of Toronto. He has for a number of years been one of its most prominent members, and his election was an indication of the high regard which is entertained for him personally and professionally by the contractors and builders of the city. He has, moreover, extended his efforts into other lines of activity, being manager of the Hoidge Marble Company, manufacturers and workers of marble. This firm supplied the material for the Traders' Bank Building, which was the largest contract of its kind ever let in the city of Toronto, and in fact the structure is the most extensive office building in the British Empire, being eighteen stories in height, the framework being made of steel finished in marble, and the building is indeed one of the finest office structures on the continent. The trade of the Hoidge Marble Company has reached extensive proportions, and the patronage of the firm of Hoidge & Son is also large, rendering both lines of business very profitable.

In 1887 occurred the marriage of John Robert Hoidge and Miss Lovedy, a daughter of Stephen Cotton, of Durham county. They have two children, Reginald and Marjorie. Mr. Hoidge holds membership in the Methodist Church, is a Liberal in politics, and belongs to Zetland Lodge, A.F. & A.M. An analyzation of his life record shows that the enviable position which he to-day occupies in business circles is the result of his untiring labors, his ambition, his energy and his well directed efforts.

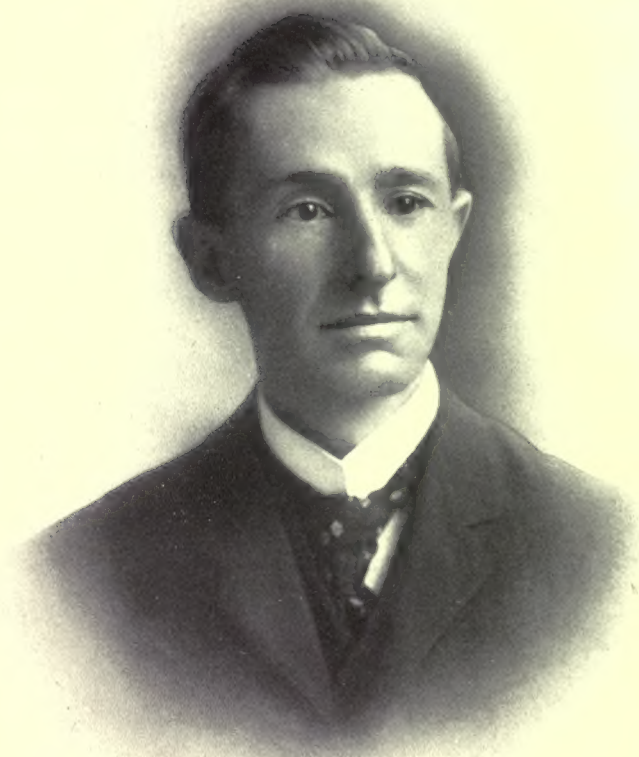
## SAMUEL J. RUTHERFORD.

Samuel J. Rutherford, manufacturer and importer of Toronto, handling a general glass business of all description, was born in Millbank, Perth county, Ontario, March 12, 1870. His parents, William and Eleanor (Freeborn) Rutherford, were natives of Ireland, and in the early '30's came to Canada, casting in their lot with the pioneer settlers of Perth county. The father was postmaster of Millbank for forty years, being the first incumbent in that office and continuing through four successive decades. He rendered military service to his country in the rebellion of 1837. He died in 1886.

A Public School education was supplemented by study in the Stratford Collegiate Institute, and on leaving school at the age of fifteen years, Samuel J. Rutherford came to Toronto. He afterward prepared more especially for business life by a course in the British America Business College, and then entered the field of merchandizing in a clerical capacity. He afterward became an employee of the Toronto Plate Glass Company, and from a clerkship gradually worked his way upward, winning promotion in recognition of ability, tireless energy and fidelity until he is now a partner of Edwin Hill in the ownership of the business, which is the manufacture and sale of art glass and mirrors and the importation of all kinds of glass. The continuity of development in business has made this an enterprise of importance, the sales being large and profitable, and the factory is one of the model and well equipped industrial concerns of the city, being supplied with all of the latest improved machinery for the facilitation of the work.

In 1902 Mr. Rutherford was married to Miss Bessie, a daughter of John MacLaren, of Dublin, Perth county, and a sister of A. F. MacLaren, member of parliament of North Perth, of whom mention is made on another page of this volume. They have one daughter, Helen. Mr. Rutherford is a member of the Methodist Church and of the Canadian Club, and his political views accord with the principles of the Conservative party. He stands as a type of that class of men who secure their advancement through their own efforts and ready adaptability of circumstances, combined with a recognition and utilization of opportunity.

678'



S. J. Rutherford





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